THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE LEADER IN
MAORI SOCIETY

(A study in Social Change and Race Relations)

by

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Presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

8th October, 1954.
(Outstanding New Zealand leader).
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PREFAE

Like the Apostle Paul, I am debtor to all men.

The Nuffield Foundation generously extended my Dominion Travelling Fellowship for an extra year, and kindly gave me permission to work for a higher degree during that period. Professor R. Piddington, Professor of Anthropology at Auckland University College, sponsored my candidacy for a Nuffield Fellowship, and referred me to the Edinburgh University.

Dr. Little, Head of the Department of Social Anthropology at Edinburgh University, suggested the special topic for my research, and guided my studies to conform with the requirements of the University.

Professor R. Firth, Professor of Anthropology at the London School of Economics (a tohunga indeed in Maori culture), through discussions, clarified many of my ideas on New Zealand affairs.

Mr. W. H. Cocker, Chairman of the National Council of Adult Education in New Zealand, offered me all his valued advice in my desire to go overseas for study, and through his influence the Adult Education authorities made a grant to my family.

My wife assisted me in the early stages in useful and constructive criticism of sections of this work, and, through her patience and encouragement, has played a large part in making my research possible.

The burden of the typing of the original manuscript, with so many extracts in the Maori language, has been borne by my two friends, Misses Marama Koea, of the Atiawa Tribe, Taranaki, and Patricia Walker, Christchurch, Maori and European New Zealanders respectively, who during their sojourn in the United Kingdom, willingly gave their time.

To all, I offer my thanks.

In thought this work is dedicated to my kuia and ariki, Te Puea Herangi, and Koroki Te Rata Mahuta, of the Royal House of Potatau Te Wherohero. My inspiration to pioneer the way into the Whare Wananga (Higher Schools of Learning) of the United Kingdom, is derived from them, and through the Tainui Trust Board they contributed their share towards the care of my family during my two years absence.
If my research has achieved no other purpose than to confirm through my association with leading British Social Anthropologists, the conviction that it is possible for the Maori people and their culture to assume an integral part in the wider New Zealand society, then my period of study has been worthwhile. Te Puea Herangi and other Maori leaders dreamed and worked with this goal in view.

However, I am personally responsible for the ideas embodied in this study, presented and expressed as they are, in the style of the old time Maori orator on the tribal marae, and tempered only by the techniques gained from European training.

M. Winiata,  
c/o Department of Social Anthropology,  
University of Edinburgh,  
EDINBURGH.
MAORI HAKA:

Whakarongo mai - te iwi nei,
Whakarongo mai - te motu nei,
Ahakoa te iti o matou e
Aha - ha
E kore te whakama, E piri ki ahau
E kore to whakama, E piri ki ahau
He Maire tu au - Ka pukengatia
He Maire tu au - Ka pukengatia,
Ksh ana, Ksh ara, Ksh aue!

Hearken all ye peoples,
Hearken all ye islands,
Tho' we are few in numbers
Aha - ha
We shall never be dismayed
We shall never be dismayed
For we are like the Maire tree,
Tho' it is small, it weathers the storm
Tho' it is small, it weathers the storm
Ksh ana, Ksh ara, Ksh aue!

******

1. First stanza of ancient ritual incantation uttered by a visiting Orator, as he moves cautiously on to a strange marae in the presence of his tribal hosts. The purpose is to clear or waerea his path of those hidden obstacles imposed by sorcerers. Used by Kaumatua orators of Waikato today. The language is archaic and defies any but the freest of translations, thus making such attempts useless.

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CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

a. Status and Role of the Maori Leader

The Maori leader is conceived of here, first of all, as a person who occupies a position in the Maori social structure, derived through general kinship and lineal descent. The position he occupies may, in the terminology of Ralph Linton, be alternatively described as status.1

However, the Maori leader is also something more. He holds a status to which a degree of superordination is ascribed, by virtue of his superior kinship, in relation to statuses acquired through general kinship connections, by other persons in the group.2

Because the leader holds this superordinated status there are certain leadership roles which he automatically performs. Role and status are really two aspects of the same social phenomenon. Linton defines role as the dynamic aspect of status, brought into operation when the leader exercises the rights and obligations constituting his status.3

All societies freely select the bases for their hierarchical status scheme, either from factors of birth, personal ability, various acquired qualities, and, very frequently a combination of all these.4

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4. MacIver, R.M. and Page, Charles H., Society, London 1952, pp.146, 353: Status is equivalent to standing or position in a group secured by common descent or general kinship connections traced through the genealogies from a tribal ancestor; superior kinship gives leadership status and is traced along the senior lines in the descent from the eponymous ancestor of the tribe.
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<td>Feasts, marriage arrangements, welcoming of visitors, mortuary rites.</td>
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<td>Education, Whare-Wananga etc.</td>
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Chart I (See p ii)
In the Maori social structure, the fundamental basis of superior status is primogeniture, which may be supplemented or, in part superseded by personal force of character, prowess in war, skill in administration, and a high concentration of social values considered important by the society. The combined bases of ascribed and achieved statuses, in the structure of Maori leadership, determine the whole series of political, administrative, ritual, economic and social roles which the leader is called upon to carry out.

The accompanying synoptic chart on Maori leadership in traditional society not only summarises the analyses of status and role, but also illustrates the particular approach followed in this study.

The following points might be noted: – (1) There are four classes of leaders in traditional Maori society – the ariki, the rangatira, the kaumatua, and the tohunga. (2) Each class of leader holds superior status in a specific system of social relations. (3) The leadership classes telescope each other, i.e. A tohunga may in practice be a kaumatua, rangatira and ariki at the same time, though in analysis each class is regarded as separate. (4) Each leader includes in his position diverse elements of both secular and ritual functions. (5) The structure of all the leadership classes follows a common pattern.

1. Firth, R. Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori, London 1929, pp.92-93.
2. Buck, Sir Peter (Te Rangihiroa), The Coming of the Maori, Wellington 1949, pp.343-347; Firth, op.cit., pp.94,117, etc; Gudgeon W.E., JPS Wellington, Vol.16, 1907, p.34; The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Pt.2. (New Zealand), Cambridge 1933, pp.11-12.
4. The ideal pattern of leadership fixes each class in its own distinct social group. The study of the historical and contemporary periods of Maori society shows that the model corresponds to the facts.
5. Linton, op.cit., pp.113-114. Linton shows that every individual has a series of roles deriving from the various patterns of relationship in which he participates and also a series of statuses, but at the same time there is a role and a status in general.
b. The Maori Leader and the Social Structure.

By definition, the Maori leader holds a superior status position within a system of social relations. No leader stands in a vacuum. He may be the head of a kinship group, or the leader in a ritual system. In other words, there is no leader without followers, and the constant interaction between the leader and those who follow him occurs within an organisation or a group. The Maori states the matter thus - 'He aha te rangatira ki te kore te iwi?' (What is the chief without the people (tribe)?) By implication, the answer is, 'He is no one.'

In spite of the varying interpretations among social anthropologists concerning social structure, the core meaning is still that embodied in the metaphorical pronouncement made by Radcliffe-Brown, namely, that social structure is a network of social relations. This description for general purposes is adopted in this thesis.

More concretely, the Maori social structure has reference to a series of incorporated social groups, subdivided, yet at the same time united by kinship bonds, inhabiting specific areas of land, and giving to leadership a scope for activity.


Chart 2. (see p. iv)  

Leaders and the socio-political system.
The social groups on which the Maori social structure was based were the canoe (waka)\(^1\), tribe (iwi), subtribe (hapu)\(^2\), and the extended family (whanau).

Maori society denotes the largest extension, and the most generalized form of the social structure. Here we refer to the total group of the Maori people, including the inter-relationships between them, and considering the group as a whole in its relation to some other social and cultural entity.\(^3\)

The dynamic feature of the social structure or, for that matter, of society, is supplied by the principle of interaction, which includes the complementary forces of conflict and co-operation.\(^4\)

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1. Firth, Economics, pp.101-102.
2. The term subtribe is the one mostly used in Maori communities. The best sociological treatment of the Maori social group in the literature is Firth, ibid, pp.96-102; Also see Buck, op.cit 332-337; Beaglehole, E. Polynesian Maori, in The Maori People Today, p.51; Firth uses Clan for hapu; Others like Piddington, An Introduction to Social Anthropology, Vol.1, pp.117,151, retain the Maori terminology, hapu.
3. Radcliffe-Brown, op.cit., pp.2,4,5,12, is not explicit though he seems to identify society with the process of social life, consisting of an immense multitude of actions and interactions of human beings, acting as individuals or in combinations or groups. (p.4); Nadel,S.F. The Foundations of Social Anthropology, pp.79-30, refers to the totality of social facts projected on to the dimensions of action.; Firth R. Elements, p.27, states that society emphasises the human component, the aggregate of people and the relations between them. For the sociologists viewpoints see Parsons, Talcott, The Social System, p.19 and MacIver and Page, op.cit, p.5.
4. Homans, op.cit.,pp.35-37, uses the interaction concept in the study of the small group. Cf. Evans-Pritchard, E.E. The Nuer, pp.139-191. He states, the maintenance of tribal structure must ... be attributed to opposition between its minor segments, - referring to the Nuer political system, p.150.
For example, in traditional Maori society, conflict is expressed in the institutions of war, confiscation, and regulated defiance between groups, while co-operation is seen in the communal activities and participations of various kinds, economic, military and social.¹

c. Study of Social Change and the Maori Leader.

As a practical proposition, social change may be regarded in two ways.² Firstly, as a continuous process occurring in the ordinary course of events in any dynamic society. In the transmission of ideas and skills, from one generation to another, perhaps quite unconsciously, new emphases are given, or the older ways of behaving are altered.³ The leader, in the person of an inventor or a discoverer, urged on by the drive for prestige, or compelled by some crises, may deliberately initiate new procedures that will finally lead to a change in the inter-relationships between members of the society.⁴

1. Keessing, Felix M., The Changing Maori, New Plymouth, 1928, pp.29, 30, 32, 38. He describes the extremely positive and assertive self-expression in traditional Maori society reflected in war, art, craft, play, ceremonial and work. The implication is that the cohesion of the tribe was indirectly maintained by the conflict between the constituent subtribes. This notion must be ranged alongside the strong kinship system which tied the Maori social structure together.


4. Linton, op.cit., pp.307-312; on his second visit to Tikopia, Firth found that ritual relations had been effected by shortage in food owing to a hurricane.
D and A: Varying percentages throughout.
B and AB: Absent in Tuamotu, Australs, Mangareva, Easter, Rapa.
B: Low percentage in Hawaii, Tahiti, New Zealand.
Ranges in Samoa: 13.7 to 26.3
B: Fiji 16.5
B group present in Melanesia and Micronesia, increasing towards the West.
Or, too, the inherent unbalance in the basic relations of the system, needs to be readjusted in order that the system may work satisfactorily. Individuals, who see or feel the unbalance, will seek to remedy the asymmetry of the structural arrangement in the society as a whole.¹ Changes of this, more or less, autogenetic character undoubtedly took place in pre-European Maori society. For instance, the Maori has the same basic common culture as the Samoan, Tongan and Hawaiian peoples; chiefship is found throughout these Polynesian groups, but the attitude of the Maori to the chiefs assumed a less servile form, than that of the Samoan. In New Zealand itself, among the various tribes, the status of aristocratic women, in the political system of each group differed quite markedly. Among Te Arawa, no woman was allowed to speak in the welcome to visitors, while among the Ngatiporou of the East Coast women of rank enjoyed this right together with men.² These variations on a common theme illustrate the localised aspect of internal changes that affected leadership.

The second way of considering social change, is to look at the effects of the impact of two or more societies upon each other.³ The difference between the two cases is more apparent from a cultural standpoint as Gluckman states, than from that of the more

¹. Firth, op.cit. p.82, Cf. Radcliffe-Brown, op.cit., pp.181,182,183, where he distinguishes between eunomia and dysnomia in society; Also Durkheim, Emile, The Division of Labour, Illinois 1949, Book 3; and Suicide, London 1952, Chap.5; Piddington, Introduction, pp.245-246; Buck, op.cit. pp.344, 348, 349; Williamson, op.cit. pp.160-186, and Cha. p.11; Beaglehole, op.cit., pp.51-54, 67-74, for cultural variations as result of environmental determination.

². Best, E., The Maori, Vol.1, Wellington 1924, p.348; Buck, op.cit. pp.344,345. The writer has witnessed this custom many times among Te Arawa, in his own tribal district at Taumarua, and in Waikato.

analytical structural angle. When we penetrate the cultural variations, to study social relations, we shall see that the process of social change is the same, wherever it occurs and under whatever circumstances. After the arrival of the European in New Zealand fresh status factors were ascribed to Maori leadership. Such features were either readily absorbed into the traditional structure, or they were rejected, in accordance with specific set principles. The roles of the leader did not radically change at first, they were merely augmented, widened or reinforced through the association with the European; this was a phenomenon that was repeatedly occurring in traditional Maori society. Stripped therefore of the detailed cultural variants, and considered from the point of view of a single field of

1. Gluckman, Max, An Analysis of the Sociological Theories of Bronislaw Malinowski, The Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No.16, 1949. Gluckman states: 'Malinowski must write this point of view for in fact real differences are as marked as he describes: here is European culture, here is African culture, and here is the tertium quid of contact, but,' states Gluckman, 'this prevents his observing certain significant similarities which are present in the patent differences he describes,' p.12. Malinowski's scheme of analysis distinguishes three aspects of culture in a contact situation, see Dynamics, pp.VI, 23, 26, 62, 64, 73-74, 102, 109; Also - Coral Gardens and their Magic, Vol.1, pp.430-431.

2. For further statements on the single field of social interaction see Gluckman, ibid, pp. 6,7,12,13,14 and his Analysis of Social Situation in Modern Zululand, Bantu Studies, vol.14,1940, p.28; Shaver, I., Contact Between European and Native in South Africa - In Bechuanaland, in Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa, p.27; in same volume, p.62, Fortes, in Culture Contact as a dynamic process, contends that 'to study culture contact as a dynamic process the anthropologist must work with communities rather than custom,' and p.39, 'Culture contact has to be regarded not as transference of elements of one culture to another, but as a continuous process of interaction between groups of different culture.' Hoernlé, A.W., and Hellman, Ellen, The Analysis of social Change and its bearing on Education, in Colonial Review, Vol.7, 8, Dec.1952, p.237. Because the term social change is generally used to describe change within a Modern Western Culture, and the term Culture Contact to describe the changes due to the juxtaposition of two entirely different cultures, it has become common to regard the two processes as different in kind, there appears to us to be no justification for this. Culture Contact is one type of social change different not in kind, but in degree.'; Little, K. The Study of Social Change in British West Africa, p.15, Africa, October 1953.
social interaction, the process of social change is the same, whether induced internally, or through the agency of external forces. 1.

Having made that clear, it is necessary, at this stage to sound the warning, that the particular orientation pursued in this thesis, in the analysis of the contact situation in New Zealand, as it affects Maori leadership, takes full cognisance of all the psychocultural and the socio-political features there. 2 This orientation arises from a survey of the general body of literature on culture contact, acculturation, and social change, as well as a close study of the history of Maori-European association in New Zealand.

The quantity of descriptive analysis and empirical generalisation, on the study of contact situations, is extensive both among British and American anthropologists. 3 The attempts however at theoretical

1. See Gluckman, op.cit., pp.6, 7, etc; Firth, Elements, pp.82, 84.
3. British Scholars who have written extensively on social change: Malinowski Mair, Firth, Richards, Hunter, Gluckman, Forde, Shapera, Little, the Wilsons, Read, etc; Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa, is a collection of papers by scholars of the Malinowski School. Malinowski's posthumous work, The Dynamics of Culture Change: Articles in Vols of Africa and Bantu Studies; Wilson, M. & G., Analysis of Social Change, Cambridge 1945; Firth, R. Elements, Chap. 3, etc.


formulation, especially with British scientists, is somewhat restricted. 

Malinowski's much maligned scheme, and that suggested by the Wilsons, directed attention to problems of interpretation based, in the case of the former on the concept of cultural functionalism, and that of the latter on a systematic theory of society, as a nexus of relations moving towards equilibrium. Gluckman's penetrating critique of Malinowski's approach crystallised the concept of the single social field referred to above, and also found in the earlier writings of Fortes, Shapera and others.

Little's study on British West Africa, further clarified the 'continuum' of social change, expressed through modern specialised associations among organized natives. The most recent definitive attempt in Britain to construct a theoretical framework for the study of social change is made by Firth, drawing upon his earlier work in New Zealand. Firth shares in the modern concentration upon social change as a realignment of social relations, rather than as a clash of different cultures, though his discerning separation of organisational from formal structural change, is a significant contribution to theory.

The present study, being of the order of a descriptive analysis of social change in New Zealand, while conceiving of change in terms of the single social field, freely borrows a rather mixed bag of operational concepts from, inter alii, Malinowski, Gluckman, Little and Firth. The major concepts only may be stated in this section, but others will appear in the text. Malinowski's three fold approach

2. The Dynamics of Culture Change, pp.73-83.
5. Fortes, Culture Contact as a Dynamic Process, op.cit.
to a contact situation, though jettisoned by many, is useful in the conceptualisation of diverse categories of the contextual background of leadership in social change. His cultural isolate of the institution emerges in this study, as the counterpart of the unit in the scheme of systemic interaction, which traces the evolution of New Zealand society. Further, these institutions ascribe status to leaders, and from the impinging society, send, what Firth has called, catalytic agents of change, comprised of material goods, practices, and ideas into Maori society.

A purely structural analysis of social change, while being incisive, nevertheless frequently lacks the atmosphere of real live situations. Both Malinowski and Firth attempt to retain this dynamic reality; the former by an examination of the motives, intentions and policies of the aggressive impinging culture, and the latter by giving the individual psyche a central role in the initiation of change. In the study of social change and Maori leadership both emphases are needed. Manipulatory programmes and weighted policies from European society, not only drew certain kinds of reactions from Maori leaders, but these also created special classes of leaders.

Firth's twin principles of social convection and social conduction, pinpoint the unwanted and unforeseeen changes which followed the early contacts between Maori and European. First, Maori chiefs welcomed the European with open arms, but at a later stage of pressure and reaction, they tried to turn back among themselves and to their own culture, with little avail, for they soon discovered that they had given, and had been given, much more than they had desired.

1. Dynamics of Culture Change, pp.86, etc.
2. Malinowski, ibid, pp.49-50; Firth, Elements, p.86.
3. Malinowski, op.cit., pp.64-65; Firth, op.cit., p.86.
4. See Section on Charismatic leaders in text.
5. Elements, p.86.
Little's application of the concepts of disintegration and reintegration to the associational reformulation of traditional society in situations of intensive interaction, suggests a valuable method of interpreting specific historical and contemporary scenes in New Zealand. These associations, including nativistic movements, welfare organisations, administrative bodies, etc., not only help in personal and group adjustment but also provide Maori leadership with a scope for activity.

Gluckman's criticism of Malinowski's functional scheme yielded two positive values to the present study. First, it clarified the single social field approach which lies at a deeper level of abstraction than Malinowski's functional analysis, and second, it reinforced a personal conviction of the writer, concerning the relevance of sound historical reconstruction, in a study of the changing role of the leader in Maori society.

1. Study of Social Change in British West Africa, p. 15 etc. Also Of Westermiin D., The African Today and Tomorrow, pp. 112, 113, 114, 124, 125; and Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., pp. 183-184; proliferation in Maori society as a result of contact leads to a multiplicity of specialized leaders.

2. Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 16, 1949, p. 4. No one would dispute that fictitious reconstruction is bad, and all reconstruction difficult, but the work of historians of Europe shows how much can be done; Eileen Power put flesh and blood on Medieval people. The anthropologist who is working to a small time depth can use similar material, not only of native informants, but also from official records, books of travellers and missionaries, etc. These may not always be accurate reports of native culture, but their description are by actors in the contemporary scene. Obviously their accounts will not be as good or as comprehensive as those of modern field workers, but they are often illuminating. Cf. Firth, A.A., Vol. 53, No. 4, 1951, p. 486. Of British Anthropologists, Firth writes, "It is true that excited by the rich material to be gained from observation of the living subject and keenly aware of the imperfections of the earlier records, they have tended to overlook the possibilities of historical reconstruction. That the study of change required comparison in time was recognised. Of Nadel, S.R., A Black Byzantium, London 1942, p. 276, etc., and Malinowski, Coral Gardens and their Magic, London 1935, pp. 336, 363, 368. Malinowski's Introduction to Method of Study of Culture Contact, pp. VIII-XXVIII and Mair's article, pp. I-3; this controversy is also dealt with in Beale's Acculturation, In Anthropology Today, and by Evans-Pritchard in Man, Sept. 1950 (Market Lecture). For the treatment of specific Polynesian material see Piddington, R., The Study of Polynesian Cultures, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 60, Nos. 2 and 3, 1951, pp. 108-121, and Williamson, R.W., Essays in Polynesian Ethnology, London 1939, p. 349 (edit) R. Piddington. Defence of Historical reconstruction; Buck, P. An introduction to Polynesian Anthropology; Bernice, P., Bishop Museum Bulletin, 187, 1945, pp. 125-126; Also for the place of tradition in the study of Polynesian Culture.
However, all diachronic schemes for the study of social change must sooner or later deal with the concept of history, and the validity of historical reconstruction. These problems are of particular relevance to this thesis, and the issues involved are clear cut, firstly the reconstruction of pre-European Maori society and its hierarchy of leadership, and secondly, the tracing of the process of interaction between Maori and European, since the beginning.

To gain a clear picture of pre-European society, the guide is common sense, in the handling of the recorded and unrecorded oral traditions, and the cross-checking with existing forms of Maori society. The aim is not to create history, but to establish a base line of social relationships - the Maori social structure - prior to the impact with the European.

For the post-European period, where the documentary evidence is more adequate, the method is to take for purposes of analysis and comparison selected periods of New Zealand history in sequence, framed within specific dates. By constant reference to the pre-European background, the aim here is to describe what has happened to the Maori social structure, and how Maori leadership has changed in its role as well as its status.


The contemporary scene, though within the historical perspective, requires a more synchronic approach, as leadership is not only analysed abstractly, but it is also studied in action, within a rural and an urban Maori community. The concept of history used here has been found valid in the analysis of social change in the work of Mair, Shapera Malinowski, Buck, Gluckman, Evans-Fritchard, Little, Nadel, Keesing and Firth. The results of the application of the concept in the present instance must be evaluated from the text itself.

d. The Maori Leader in the emerging New Zealand society.

The study of social change as Firth observed, is largely a matter of finding out what is happening to social structures. However, changes may occur in the relationships between structures, as inside them, juxtaposed as such structures are in any contact situation, in a single field of social interaction. One side of the problem shows Maori society disintegrating through the introduction of European institutions, but re-intergrating again, frequently under the control of Maori leaders. The other side of the problem finds the same Maori society becoming slowly but surely merged as a subsystem in an evolving wider New Zealand society.

It is this developmental process in the evolving New Zealand society, conceptualized by Homans elsewhere as a 'moving equilibrium' that is an important aspect of our study, since Maori leadership operates within such a social milieu.

2. Cf. Little op. cit. p.15; Westerman, D., op. cit. chap. 11; Linton, The Study of Man, pp.233-235, 234. The process of interaction between groups rearranging to form a nexus of relationships which is N.Z. society.
3. Cf. Homans, op. cit. p.422, a Social System may be said to be in a state of moving equilibrium, when the interaction between the component parts tend to follow a pattern which is relatively stable; Wilson, G. & M. op. cit. p.73, the nexus of group relations move towards relative equilibrium. Note that there is no necessary acceptance of the concept of static equilibrium. Society is not static, but dynamic as Firth states; Elements of Social Organisation, p.82.
For that purpose, the auxiliary concept of systemic interaction is suggested. The over-all picture of the New Zealand contact situation, viewed both diachronically and synchronically, is one of a wide field of social interaction in which several homogeneous groups, varying in degrees of integration, motivated by divergent ideologies and originating from both Maori and European sources, have been drawn together into a network of external relationships. Intertwining them are sets of common interests and needs, sufficient to give relative stability to the evolving society.

Briefly, though these points in terms of leadership will be elaborated to greater length in the text, the nature of the emerging New Zealand society, with the Maori sub-system as a corporate unit within it, offers increasing mobility to Maori leaders, as well as the creation of inter-group tensions that affect the pattern of leadership itself.

e. The Maori Leader and the Destiny of his People.

From any dynamic study of the emerging New Zealand society must rise the problem of the goal toward which group interaction is leading. The practical nature of the problem is reflected in the question frequently asked of Maori leaders, "What is the future of the Maori?"

1. Systems of commerce, religion, government and the Maori Social structure, may encompass groups of people. These social systems set up in New Zealand interact one with the other. As these systems have been established only recently, the relationship pattern has not reached a high degree of co-ordination. At a later stage in the history of New Zealand, compromise between the social systems is achieved with the establishment of a unitary over-all organisation to regulate their relationships.


3. In accordance with the inside approach pursued in this study, the 'raw' Maori viewpoint is stressed throughout this section. The whole problem is one for the Maori people themselves to solve.
Theoretically, this goal is currently expressed by New Zealanders in the form of three concepts, assimilation, segregation, and accommodation. These terms are used descriptively in the present context to denote a set of ideologies, rather than in their strictly sociological meaning. Generally speaking, assimilation means the biological, as well as the cultural, absorption of the Maori in the European. Segregation indicates a separation of Maori and European into two different locales. The fundamental idea in accommodation is embodied in the belief that the Maori should not give up his culture but should retain it at all costs.

1. For a more rigorous scientific use of the terms see: Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago, 1924, p.610. - Process of assimilation includes acculturation; Collins, Sydney F., Moslem and Negro Groupings on Tyneside, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, 1952, uses assimilation in the same inclusive sense. He notes the difference between the social and biological aspects of assimilation. Inter-marriage is referred to as amalgamation to denote the difference as against cultural assimilation. He adds - Miscegenation and complete acceptance of the cultural heritage of the dominant group does not guarantee assimilation into it, if Park's contention that the negro is not accepted into American life is true. - The mixed blood stands with the negro. In New Zealand the mixed blood may stand either with the European or the Maori, though among the Europeans he is still regarded as having Maori blood. Assimilation according to Park and Burgess is a process of interpenetration and fusing in which persons and groups acquire the memories and sentiments of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them into a common cultural life. (In assimilation, in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, p.) Collins, op.cit. defines Assimilation as implying in its ultimate state that the members of the minority are so completely incorporated into society that they identify themselves completely with it and cease to be considered as an outside group. Cf. Taft's definition of assimilation, infra.

2. Collins, op.cit.p.6. - The concept of accommodation includes the related ideas of social adjustment and conflict. Adjustment has been defined in three ways, firstly, biologically, as a process of variation and selection called adaptation, secondly, as applied to psychological processes, and thirdly, in a sociological sense - the fulfilment by the immigrant of certain roles and modes of behaviour which are considered as norms in his new society. Burgess, E.W. Accommodation, Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol.1. New York 1930, Conflict and accommodation are related in the sense that the latter either grows out of the former or is the result of social adjustment between groups which otherwise might come into conflict. Collins,op.cit.p.7. Accommodation refers to the means by which differences between racial and cultural groups are resolved. In this state the minority combines to retain its separate identity and does not enjoy complete acceptance by other members of the society - there may in fact exist widespread prejudice of a mild character, but there is a compromise. The minority is tolerated.. enjoys a degree of protection from public opinion.
The history of New Zealand shows the interplay between the ideologies underlying these concepts. For instance, in the Treaty of Waitangi, an attempt was made to reconcile assimilation and accommodation. Hence Maori policies and the structure of many New Zealand institutions were designed to include both ideologies. On the other hand, during the mid-19th century, the programmes of many Maori leaders, embodied a desire for segregation from the European, but the foundations of European institutions had been sunk so deeply into the soil of Maori life that prolonged segregation was impossible. Many of the protest movements of this period carried the banner of Te Manamotuhake - Maori home rule. Up to the end of the 19th Century, Te Aukati boundaries of the King Country enclosed the second Maori King, Tawhiao, and his followers, where they endeavoured to restrict extensive European settlement outside the central parts of the North Island. This isolationism was lifted about the year 1900, when the Railways and the main highways were built.

One may observe traditional divisions between Maori and European in terms of ideologies regarding the future of the Maori people. The European generally favours the rapid assimilation of the Maori minority into the European majority, but the Maori strongly prefers a relationship of accommodation. Frequently, the two viewpoints clash in the form of political platforms, learned utterances of academics, educational policies, ecclesiastical pronouncements, press controversy and opinions of the man in the street.

The real cause for the conflict in ideologies is the misunderstanding concerning the process of interaction. Firstly, there is an inability to

2. Buck, Forward to Some Modern Maoris, p.XV11, reply to Beaglehole; Ngata, Sutherland, The Maori Situation, p.36, etc. The revival of Maori Culture during the last 30 years, building of carved meeting houses, an expression of this urge. The insistence on a separate Maori Battalion in World War II also see Note, drive in Waikato to strengthen the King Movement.
3. The National Party's policy stress the fact that all people in N.Z. are New Zealanders, the Maori stress firstly, the fact they are Maori. This latter view is taken up by many Europeans. Note the resolution passed at the Anthropology Section of the Science Congress, Auckland,1953, which condemned Government attempts to ignore distinctive Maori Cultural features; See Here and Now, Monthly Review, Auckland, July, 1954, pp.3-4, 29-30.
appreciate that assimilation and accommodation may be regarded as stages in a process. It is not realised, that there need not be any incompatibility between assimilation and accommodation as far as the process of group interaction in New Zealand is concerned. Assimilation may be a remote and far-off event in the process of interaction, while accommodation may describe an intermediate state in the continuum that leads toward the ultimate mergence of Maori and European.

Another source of trouble is the static interpretation given to the conditions of assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation is not so much a static condition, in which the cultural majority swallows up the cultural minority. It is rather a process, a movement, in which there is elasticity to varying degrees, between the interacting groups. New Zealand European culture and society are not static entities. European society, like any social system, is dynamic, therefore it is in constant flux.

Thus, Maori culture, set in its natural habitat, and backed by its historical past, is inevitably adding its own unique features to the body of the dominantly European New Zealand culture.

Similarly, neither is accommodation a state of perfect equilibrium, reached once and for all. It is rather a process of becoming. Maori culture is continually changing and moving through stages of accommodation, and adaptation, toward the ultimate goal of the social reality, for

1. Assimilation and Accommodation in the conventional sense are exclusive conditions. It is held here that while the final destiny of the Maori is mergence with the European, this could be achieved through the gradual adaptation of Maori culture, not its destruction.

2. See section on Accommodation, p. XV

In practice the Maori is rapidly assimilating European values, etc. Maori and European attend the same schools, work at the same industries and use the same facilities; Cf. Sutherland, The Maori Situation: 187.

3. New Zealand literature has been absorbing Maori features, such as history, tradition, language and mythology.
convenience termed New Zealand society. Considered in this light, New Zealand society of the future may well be composed of a synthesis of both Polynesian and European elements.  

The varying emphases upon different ideologies in the New Zealand situation also reflects the existence of two sets of fundamental attitudes. Many European New Zealanders, naturally take the superiority of their own technologically stronger culture for granted. They give a multitude of reasons why the Maori must accept that culture, but usually see little cause why the Maori should want to retain his own identity. The Maori for his part, in common with so many minority groups, motivated by the urge for social preservation reacts by way of tenaciously holding on to remnants of his culture which, though diluted, nevertheless gives him the satisfying sense of belonging in a social group, a feeling of elevation and a status of self-respect.  

Maori leaders of thought through personal, pragmatic and practical experience have made positive contribution toward the study of group interaction in New Zealand as well as to a theoretical understanding of the matters we are discussing.

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1. Free intermingling of the two peoples account for this.
2. The clash, of course, is ideological, not really social or physical; see Sutherland, The Maori Situation, Wellington, 1953, p.36.
3. The main drive for the preservation of Maori culture comes from the Maori side. Many Europeans support this idea.
Intimate involvement in social problems, enabled Maori leaders to achieve a dynamic sensitivity to the reality of group interaction. Carroll in the early 1920's advised the Maori people to adhere to their Maoritanga. The vague term maorihood, stressed the central meaning in the concept accommodation, though some Maori leaders thought the Kaumatua was advocating adherence to a static Maori culture.

It was left for Ngata to give a more dynamic meaning to the term Maoritanga. Ngata formulated the modern leader's ideology for Maori-European interaction in the related concepts, adaptation, adjustment and approximation. By these terms Ngata meant, not the total annihilation or swallowing up of Maori culture and society, nor the regression to a condition long past, but the controlled approximation of Maori culture and society, to the norms and standards of contemporary New Zealand society. Ngata realised that it was unrealistic to speak of assimilation when the Maori in the bulk lived at lower social, economic and educational standards than the European, and unrealistic too, when the Maori possessed a high degree of physical, cultural and social visibility in contrast to the European. Ngata, far from exaggerating differences of colour and culture between the two groups,

1. Sutherland, The Maori People Today, p.176; The Maori Situation, p.42; See Aristocrats of Knowledge in text.
2. See JPS, Vol.59, No.4, Dec.1950 and Vol.60, No.1, March 1951, p.51. Hon. E.B. Corbett's speech in House referring to Ngata's use of term approximation. The writer has had prolonged discussion with Ngata himself on these concepts. See also McEwan, J. "Sir Apirana Ngata in Maori Acculturation" in same issue of JPS, pp.14-16, Cf. Adaptation: Biological and Sociological; designate both a process and a state, as a state, equivalent to adjustment. In Social Sciences, used to denote a process. Accommodation part of adaptive process whereby conflicts are resolved and conflicting elements brought into a state of mutual toleration and hence of co-operative functioning. Conflict, competition, rivalry and emulation are as much parts of the processes of adaptation of individuals and groups to each other as are mutual aid and co-operation. See Hanks, Frank H., in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol.1, pp.435-436; See also Radcliffe-Brown, op.cit., pp.8-9, Adjustment (used in biology, psychology, mechanics and the social sciences). In biology - relationships between (a) parts of organism, (b) organism and environment; In sociology - adaptation of organism to social environment; In social pathology - relations of persons to group, i.e. family. In Anthropology race adjustment used in treating of sub-racial group relations.
was only after all acknowledging the undeniable social and physical facts—
differences of colour, language, and social organisation. Moreover, Ngata
was convinced, that Maori culture through adjustment and adaptation could
secure a worthy status in New Zealand society. The Maori possessed, in his
arts and crafts, in his literature, and his physical and mental ability,
real contributions to give to the common pool of culture and life in New
Zealand. Adaptation was the crux of the theoretical formulation of Maori
leaders concerning the goal for group interaction between Maori and European
cultures conceived as a movement towards the closer integration of the Maori
in New Zealand society, and not as an attempt at separation. This was the
meaning of Buck's farewell advice—poroporoaki—to the Maori people
"Hei aha te motuhake, engari te kotahitanga." (Not separation but unity and
integration). The present goal of group interaction in New Zealand, from the
point of view of Maori leaders is a condition of unity in diversity, not a
uniform identity, nor a segregated existence. There is equal stress on both
the diversity and the unity.

Now the concepts formulated by Ngata and other Maori leaders show
certain specific parallels with the findings of an investigation made by
Ronald Taft on the integration of migrants into Australian life since the
end of the Second World War.

Address, British Association for the Advancement of Science, Section H.,
1931, p.13. When he speaks of social integration he assumes that "the
function of culture as a whole is to unite individual human beings into
more or less stable social structures, that is to stable systems of groups
determining the regulating the relation of those individuals to one another,
and providing such external adaptation between the component individuals
of groups, as to make possible an ordered social life."

2. Cf. Munn, T. Percy, Education: Its data and First Principles, London 1920,
pp.10,35; also Taft, Ronald, The Shared Frame of Reference Concept
applied to the Assimilation of Immigrants, in Human Relations, London,
From the study of the Australian situation, Taft has constructed a conceptual framework that would be applicable to the New Zealand situation, and would also add necessary scientific refinement to the theoretical formulations of leaders, like Ngata and others. Taft wrote:

"A conceptual approach to assimilation based on the shared frame of reference, and the role expectation concepts, has been proposed to replace the traditional monistic or pluralistic biases. The central feature of the approach is that assimilation is a process (rather than a state of affairs), in which differing frames of reference approach convergence through interaction. The frames of reference involved, may include heterogeneous role prescriptions for the members of the groups concerned, agreement upon which is a necessary part of the assimilation process. The relative potency of the groups interacting in assimilation will vary according to various characteristics, at present not established."

Translated into New Zealand terms Taft's scheme postulates the existence, (1) of systems of Maori and European values, and structures of social relations, as component parts of New Zealand society; (2) of a superordinate organisation of common standards, norms of behaviour, and institutions generally accepted by both Maori and European; (3) of a process of unhindered interaction between the two groups converging upon closer integration; (4) of differing role prescriptions imposed by the temporary variations in social, economic and educational attainments.

Taft's scheme is a scientific formulation, a refinement and a summary of

1. Taft, ibid, p. 56. See also Comparison between Ngata's view adaptation and Taft's concept of assimilation.

2. Ngata's concept of adaptation is identical with the concept of assimilation (shared frame of reference) as defined by Taft in contrast to the general European view on New Zealand. Ngata and other Maori leaders conceived of an interlocking and equal-relationship between Maori and European Societies within the same overall socio-political system. Taft classifies assimilation into (1) Monistic Assimilation - A process of becoming alike. As applied to social groups the term assimilation implies a positive evaluation of the values of the majority group and a negative one of the values of the minority group. Assimilation then becomes a swallowing up of the minority group, so that it loses its identity by taking over the values of the majority; (2) Pluralistic Assimilation - Two or more cultural groups can form part of the same community and at the same time keep assimilation down to a minimum. The agreement to do so is based not on prejudice but the wish to preserve and tolerate differences; (3) Shared Frame of Reference - applied to assimilation. Two or more groups living side by side within one country not only tolerating each others' value systems, but also sharing a supra-ordinate value system which includes an acceptance of this mutual tolerance. Thus assimilation is the process by means of which persons originally possessing heterogeneous frames of reference converge towards common frames of reference as result of social interaction. (Taft, op. cit., pp. 46-49)
the empirical generalisations which Ngata and other Maori leaders formulated in the circumstances of their experience, concerning the destiny of the Maori people as an integral component part of New Zealand society.

f. Categories of Maori leaders in social change.

Sociologists and social psychologists have addressed themselves to the task of discovering suitable criteria, for analysing types of leaders. The classic example is that of Max Weber who finds his criteria in historical situations which evolved, in sequence, the traditional, the charismatic and the bureaucratic types of leaders. Successive scholars have adopted his typology with minor alterations. In dealing with the material from the contact situation in New Zealand, the writer was confronted with two problems; one was to work out a typology consistent with the definition of leadership adopted, and the other was to break this typology down further into smaller and more workable dimensions. Categories had to be devised at two levels, namely, at the widest range, the types of leaders, and at the narrower limits, the class of leaders.

The criteria for typing Maori leaders was suggested by a three-fold conceptualisation of the background or social context in which leadership acquired its status. There were postulated for the New Zealand contact situation

3. See especially Studies in Leadership, also Merton, Robert, K., Bureaucratic structure of Personality, Social Forces, 1940; Lasswell, Harold D., Psychopathology and Politics, Chicago, 1930, Chapt. 8.
as Malinowski had previously done for Africa, three aspects or phases, namely, Maori society, European society, and the systems and organisations which originated from both Maori and European societies, either interlocking or existing in more or less parallel fashion. In other words, Maori leadership could be sponsored either by Maori traditionalist society, or by European institutions or by Maori and European systems.

Each leadership type naturally fell into the smaller dimensions of classes, in terms of the functions they performed or according to some other easily identifiable feature. Moreover, it was found convenient to postulate groups of leaders such as charismatics, bureaucrats, professionals, etc., and to regard these as constituting classes.

All Sociologists have stressed the idealised and even arbitrary nature of their typologies, and the possibility of concrete individual leaders posing first as one type and then another at the same time, according to situations and circumstances. This proviso is also applicable to the present study, for the reason that leadership typologies are merely practical and convenient methods of breaking down the empirical data for closer analysis. This tendency to overlapping, or to constant shifting, is more obvious when we study the classes in each of the leadership types. For instance, a professional class of Maori leader may be found in both the Maori sponsored type, and also in the European sponsored type. The interlocking feature in New Zealand

1. The Dynamics of Culture Change, p. 62, etc; the three phases are brought more clearly into the section on the Modern period.

2. Studies in Leadership, pp. 55-56; Gouldner states that most typologies show (1) Two main criteria, (a) Modes of Leadership Ascent, techniques employed to rise in structure, (b) Techniques employed to maintain leadership; (2) A tendency to converge and overlap. Each leadership type is discussed as an ideal type. "The Concrete individual leader, it need hardly be mentioned, will only approximate in varying degrees the characteristics indicated for each. He may, moreover, possess combinations of the characteristics of two or more of the types to be represented." p. 57.
society making for ease of mobility from Maori to European society and vice versa, encourage this shift in leadership classes.

When the shifting characteristic of leadership classes is discerned, the issue will immediately arise concerning the constancy of the definition and identity of the leader. However the difficulty on this score disappears though when we remember that the leader, per se, is a person who holds a superior status in a system of social relations, the Maori leader has certain added qualities, that distinguish him from, say, a European(Pakeha) leader. The first of these qualities, is his close association with the Maori people, the second is more personal and individual, and pertains to biological and cultural characteristics. To illustrate. A European cannot be considered a Maori leader, no matter how close he is linked with the Maori communities. On the other hand, a Maori person, in ethnic and cultural terms, may pass into European society, severing his connections with the Maori people, and losing any status he might hold in Maori society, and the right consequently to be regarded as a Maori leader. We may therefore regard as Maori leader, a person who acquires his leadership status by holding a superior position in Maori traditionalist society, in Maori-European systems or in European institutions, but his essential qualifications are his associations with the Maori people and the kinship relationships he possesses with the Maori group.

1. The easy access of Maori persons into European society, the acceptance of intermarriage are factors in horizontal mobility. Half-castes may live in European communities and may be regarded by their neighbours as Europeans, though on occasions in quarrels, the term Maori may then be applied to them, in a derogatory manner. Half-castes, on the other hand may pass themselves off as Europeans for purposes of the Census returns. Half-castes may also live in Maori communities, as members of the Maori group. But here again they may be teased as Pakeha(European) with just a slight touch of derogation in the use of the term.

2. The general term for European is Pakeha—meaning fair skinned. In this study the term European is preferred to Pakeha to describe all non-Maori persons. The locus of identification of the leader combined with the ethnic and cultural qualities constitute the Maori leader. By definition a European who holds a leadership position, e.g. Welfare officer, in a Maori community is not regarded here as a Maori leader.
g. The Structural View of Race Relations.

It is usual in studies involving social change problems to adopt a rather concentrated focus on the actual process without a very wide excursion into other associated questions.¹ However, it is proposed in this study to link social change with the problem of race relations in New Zealand. There will, of course, be time and space only for the broadest treatment. The thesis advanced in this regard, is that social change and race relations are very closely tied together in an intimate causal linkage. Further, that types of race relation as Little has emphasised so often, evolve concomitantly with certain kinds of social structures.² It would be of value to test out this important generalisation on the New Zealand material. Then finally the present study proceeds on the view that the Maori leader has always played a significant part in race relations in New Zealand.³

2. METHODOLOGY.

(a) The Approach from Within Society.

The demands of objectivity in both the natural and the social sciences logically deny validity to any study based upon subjective impressions and unsystematic observation. This is an elementary axiom in scientific investigation. However, there are certain points of view held by some social

1. Generally studies of social change concentrate on internal changes in the recipient societies, while the external forces are neglected. Malinowski considered the effects of external policies on the process of culture contact, and was alive to the connection between social change and race relations. The Dynamics of Culture Change, pp.56-57; Cf. Sutherland, I.L.G. The Maori People To-day, p.170; race relations problems arising from social change.


scientists, drawn by way of inference from that axiom, that require constant
re-examination. One such type of inference, though made some fourteen years
ago, is still read and heard in anthropological circles. Herskovits had
advocated in 1938 that western anthropologists studying culture change, should
select -

'those situations where nations of America or Europe were or are today
in no way involved... since here the student who comes from these
countries can in no wise identify himself with the process he is study-
ing.' He further points out that there are real handicaps to scientific
objectivity - 'in neglecting to look beyond the horizon of our culture.'

Dr. Kaberry who quoted the remark, has effectively answered this viewpoint
when she appealed for a realistic approach to the whole question and indicated
the growing mass of important reports coming from the very sources Herskovits
had criticised. While agreeing to caution against the dangers of ethnocentric
anthropology, Dr. Kaberry nevertheless submits -

'Within recent years both British and American anthropologists have
published work which proves that the objectivity acquired in scientific
training in the field can be carried over into the situations where an
analysis of our cultural institutions is also demanded.'

The literature of social anthropology as well as sociology from America, Africa,
Oceania, India and the Far East, may be added to the list Kaberry had in mind.
Her call to realism is also pertinent; if the formal objections of Herskovits
and others are sustained, the result would be the elimination of much valuable
and important research.

The confusion it seems stems from the inability to disassociate the aims
and the methods of science. Often the methods are regarded as themselves, the
aims, and a halo of infallible validity is woven around specific methods.

1. Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, p.XII.
2. Malinowski, ibid, pp.XII, and XIII.
3. Malinowski, ibid, p. XIII.
Further there is the matter of personal inclinations, and even value judgements, which need not necessarily detract from the worth of any scientific investigation as long as the resultant bias is fully accounted for.  

Probably one of the most outstanding features of British anthropology today is the variety of its emphasis depending very greatly upon the personal inclinations of professional anthropologists, and also upon the disciplines in which they received their preliminary training, and the institutions where they studied the science. Yet no one will deny that Malinowski and his functionalism, Radcliffe-Brown with his natural science and structural orientation, Evans-Pritchard who regards anthropology as an art rather than a science, and Firth effectively attempting an eclecticism between the culture and social structure concepts, have not added their full meed toward making for anthropology a respected position among the recognised sciences.  

The fact is of course, that the social scientist while striving for objectivity, thereby does not become transformed into some gigantic Frankenstein monster devoid of personal inclinations and cultural background. The facets of truth may be gleaned by one method or by another, but the important aim is science is the achievement of that truth.  

Now an inference of the same order as that discussed above, is found both by implication and by explicit statement, in the current literature of social anthropology. This concerns the role of the member of a primitive society in a research programme carried out within that society.  

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the utmost importance, in view of the growing number of educated members of these groups who are turning their hand to an investigation of their cultures. The validity of an outsider studying a society is accepted without question for such a procedure has long been considered to be normal. However, should a member of that society carry out the investigation, some sort of justification seems to be necessary. 1

Both Malinowski and Evans-Pritchard had posed the problem facing a native in an endeavour to understand his culture. Evans-Pritchard said -

'The social anthropologist discovers in a native society what no native can explain to him - however conversant with the culture, can perceive its basic structure. This structure cannot be seen... It is a set of abstractions, each of which though derived, it is true from analysis of observed behaviour, is fundamentally an imaginative construction of the anthropologist himself.' 2

Earlier Malinowski wrote -

'The Trobriand natives have no knowledge of the total outline of their social structure, which is given integration as a sociological synthesis by the ethnographer'. 3

There are some fundamental assumptions in these statements inherent in the scientific tradition to which both Malinowski and Evans-Pritchard are heirs, perhaps not as siblings but certainly as parallel-cousins.

The tradition quite properly imposes an ideal structural pattern upon the raw material secured by the anthropologist. But such a construction as Evans-Pritchard has pointed out is an imaginative one of the anthropologist himself. The theory may, or may not, fit all the facts, or may fit only the facts as found in one society,

2. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, Past and Present in Man, Sept. 1950, p.7. Evans-Pritchard also makes the distinction between understanding the culture and understanding the structure in a society. The native possesses knowledge of the culture, the structure is understood only by the social anthropologist.
and not those in another. In plain language, while the native cannot be expected to understand fully the imaginative construct of a society devised in the mind of an anthropologist, the inference, so often drawn, that the native is thereby unable to understand his own culture and delineate its main outlines according to his own models of thought, may well be questioned.

That there is in reality a far greater measure of congruence between the two points of view touched upon here, may be seen when the methods of field work are examined. Malinowski, the doyen and pioneer of modern field work techniques, sought after the ideal, which he said was -

"for the moment to enter into the soul of a savage and through his eyes to look at the outer world and feel ourselves what it must feel to him to be himself".

Nadel reiterated the longing -

"The unfamiliarity of the cultural make up necessitates prolonged study, and a study of an intimate nature, in which the strangeness is overcome by something like an intellectual assimilation...the intangible faculty of thinking with another person's mind and seeing through his eyes. Call it empathy if you like, something of this faculty must be present in the good field anthropologist....."

The imaginative construct of the anthropologist, if it is at all to be sound, must embody a typology of the social structure as the native himself

1. Levi-Strauss, Social Structure in Anthropology To-day, Chicago, 1953, p.525. "The term Social Structure has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models which are built up after it" and again, "a Structure consists of a model meeting with several requirements". The speculative nature of a social anthropologist's model is illustrated by Firth from Evans-Pritchard's study of The Nuer. Evans-Pritchard after ten years had to correct the distortion of the reality of Nuer life to which "the abstractions made in the earlier analysis necessarily and intentionally led," quoted by Firth in Contemporary British Social Anthropology, p.481, from Radcliffe-Brown. A.R., and Ford, C.D., African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, Oxford 1940.

2. Levi-Strauss, op.cit., p.527, "Thus one cannot dispense with studying a culture's home made models for two reasons. First, these models might prove to be accurate, or, at least, to provide some insight into the structure of the phenomena; after all each culture has its own theoreticians whose contributions deserve the same attention as that which the anthropologist gives to colleagues.... these culturally produced models... furnish an important contribution to an understanding of the structures...


sees it, knows it and understands it. All sound methods of research attempt to get as close to the native as possible, in order to attain his vantage point, his way of looking at things. The conclusion is obvious, that given the training in scientific techniques of research, a native member of a society is in an enviable position, not only to appreciate and evaluate his society, but also to add to the sum total of knowledge on general anthropological theory. 2

Now the method used in the present study endeavours to pursue the line suggested in the foregoing discussion. The method has been called experiential observation, as indicating the approach from within society, by a member of that society. There is, of course, an increasing volume of work carried out in all parts of the world by members of native societies on their own groups using the methods of modern social anthropology. However, time is too soon to place any evaluation on the contributions made to theory, and the criticism may be valid that the scientists of the kind referred to, still use the concepts borrowed from the West.

The implication inherent in the foregoing discussion is that theoretically what might be termed native concepts and interpretations, the inventing of new schemes based on the materials within the native societies themselves, may well, even as is of course happening at present, assume yet still greater importance in the work of native social anthropologists.

1. Levi-Strauss, op.cit. p.527; Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, The Social Anthropologist, goes to live for some months or years among a primitive people - he learns to speak their language, to think in their concepts and to feel in their values.

The method as applied here consists of: (1) Following native interpretations and theories, paying attention to value judgments, personal associations and emotional experiences of members of the society as raw material; (2) Selective use of documents embodying the society's own interpretations; (3) Utilisation of techniques found valuable in work in other societies.

This method pursued by all sociologists working in their own communities has long been used in New Zealand, particularly by Maori leaders. One of the classes of leaders to be discussed in the body of the study, is that of the educated men who came into their own in the early part of the 20th century. They were men deeply embedded in the workings of the society, as members of Maori groups and also as leaders in social, economic and political movements for Maori welfare. They met problems with trained minds, they used techniques from the West, they worked from inside Maori society, and in many respects, they gave to sociological theory in New Zealand a body of principles that were in advance of anthropological thinking on questions of social change in other parts of the world. Through the method of experiential observation these men hammered out on the anvil of their experience, while tackling the practical problems of their people, doctrines that are now commonplace in anthropological literature. This fact is one of the main reasons justifying the further use of the method of experiential observation in the present study.

No claim is here made for an absolute adherence to what is termed experiential observation, that is the whole study being entirely written


(2) It is necessary to stress the essential emphasis of this study is upon the Maori viewpoint, what the Maori feels in his reaction to the impact with the European. The writer was brought up in a Maori village, member of a subtribe and has had wide experience in Maori movements which embody the Maori reactions. Too often studies on Maori society reflect the European viewpoint and an attempt to water down Maori reaction.

(3) Sutherland, I.L.G., The Maori People To-day, pp.32-33.
out of the writer's own experience. But the main trend is in that direction. For instance, the field work reported here is the result of what the writer himself had done and participated in, not as an outside observer, but as part of the actual processes described. Further, documentary data are selected on the criterion that these express the Maori point of view, and that the writers were themselves Maori or were Europeans who have had long and continuous association with the Maori people. The aim of the study is in part to give expression to Maori views, theories and interpretations of the structure of their own society, and the reactions towards problems of social change set within a sociological scheme. The techniques chosen throughout the study have also been selected with the hope that these rather than others, will give the freest expression to Maori views.

b. The Problem of Sources.

The range of the study spreads over some 200 years, covering part of the pre-European era and coming up to modern times. So wide a sweep invariably raises the question of sources and their authenticity, from the angle of modern social anthropology. The circumstances of the study necessitated a heavy reliance on written sources, though notes on, and experiences of Maori

1. The writer is in charge of Maori Adult Education in the Auckland University District and has been closely associated with Maori leaders, Ngata, Bennett, corresponded with Buck, lived with Te Pua Herangi, an Adviser to King Koroki, knew Ratana the prophet, and other tohunga leaders described, worked in Maori communities in Waikato, King Country, Bay of Plenty, North Auckland, Auckland City and suburbs, etc. Knew personally most of the leaders mentioned in text.

2. The works of Buck, Ngata, Kohere, Sutherland, Smith; also of Gorst, Fenton, give due regard to these matters, Firth's work and that of Keesing are outstanding sympathetic scientific studies. Ngata said of Smith, N. The maori People and Us, "There is evidence that the young New Zealander will be less English, more detached, more New Zealand in his appraisal of past events, Mr. Smith is probably the first of this new type to face the reading public with confidence that the facts he has assembled are revealing and convincing." Foreward, ibid.
society and culture acquired by the writer since childhood, form the main
background of research.

The written documents of the traditional society are checked with
what remains of that society in New Zealand to-day, in an attempt to recon-
struct a clear outline of the social structure and the functions of leader-
ship. Ever, Firth was the

In point of fact, for the purposes of this study adequate written sources
do exist, giving that picture. The works of Best, Tregear, Buck, Firth, Earle,
Beaglehole, Cowan, Sutherland, Marsden, Brown and many more may be regarded as
quarries from which the modern social anthropologist may pick some valuable
material. Probably the main criticism of some of the written sources is the
failure to apply an adequate body of theory to the analysis of society, but
this could hardly be helped since anthropology in its modern garb is not yet
a hundred years old.²

Three standard works have been used widely in the study of traditional
culture and society, those of Best, Buck and Firth. Best got close to the

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1. See, for example, Ngata’s Tribal Organization in The Maori People To-day.
The Maori communities in Kawhia, Rotowha, Ngawhawhia, and Tauranga are
well-known to the writer.
Suggested classification of some of the sources (see also: Taylor, C.R.H.,
A Pacific Bibliography, Wellington 1951, pp.147-207).
(i) Accounts of explorers, traders, whalers, and missionaries: Tasman,
Cook, G履ue, Earle, Nicholas, Polack, Savage, Wakefield, Tate, Marsden,
Diffenbach, etc.
(ii) Amateur ethnologists: Shortland, Stack, Taylor, Manning, Grey, White,
Gudgeon, Percy Smith, Tregear, Hamilton, Brown, etc.
(iii) Anthropological and Sociological: Best, Cowan, Firth, Buck, Ngata,
Pomare, Kelly, Keesing, Ramsden, Sutherland, Williams, N. Smith, McQueen,
Turbott, Ball, Hawthorn, etc.
2. The teaching of Anthropology was started in Otago University in 1923; a
full chair was established at Auckland University College in 1950.
Enthusiastic Ethnologists associated with Polynesian Society: Percy Smith,
E. Best, Cowan, Skinner, Williams, etc. New Zealanders who begun their
studies in the Maori field have won world reputations in Anthropology —
Buck and Keesing and Hawthorn, North America; Firth, Great Britain.
Early interest in anthropology concentrated on Polynesian and Maori
origins, and also material Culture. Archaeology of a sort is found in the
work of Duff and others on the Moa in the Southern parts. Cf. Beaglehole,
E., New Zealand Anthropology To-day, J.P.S., Vol.46, 1937, pp.154-172 for
a discussion of source material.
conservative and isolated Tuhoe tribes early, he lived and talked with them in their own language. Buck, as a Maori, frequently intuitively gets the inwardness of Maori society, even to a stress on biological concepts in social organisation. Firth's Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori stands as a monument to careful, comprehensive documentation lighted by experiences in the Urewera. Moreover, Firth was the first to apply modern sociological concepts to the study of Maori culture and society; the result validates the claim, in this case anyway, that it is possible for a scientist to come close to what the native vaguely feels about his institutions.

For the post-contact era there is also sufficient material in diaries, journals, histories and the official records of government administrators and missionary societies. Two important considerations governed the selection of documents, first the 'nearness' of the authors to the period concerned, and second the 'nearness' of the viewpoint expressed to Maori reactions.

The modern period is well served, though the Maori viewpoint has only recently begun to come through in the works of men like Sutherland, Ramsden, Smith, as well as in those of the Maori leaders - Ngata and Buck. For the rest, there are two important though less tangible sources. These are the corpus of information found in Maori committees from which the research worker might draw with discrimination, and then the writer's personal experience, again, from which, in his role as a social scientist, he may draw.

c. Field Work.

It has been mentioned above that the greater amount of the study was done through research into documents. This has been supplemented by letters carried out with Maori elders in New Zealand, and other leaders in Maori
affairs. Data on Maori communities where partly collected by the writer, prior to coming to Edinburgh and partly through a directed compilation by members of the localities concerned. However there has not been any prescribed research field work programme, in the orthodox sense, but rather an analysis and an extraction of the life long experiences of the writer, as a member of a Maori tribe, a leader in community projects in Maori districts, an educational and welfare-officer, as well as an associate of several of the Maori leaders whose work is described in the study. The outline of the work was first completed in continuous sitting with only slight reference to documentary records, and the whole was then augmented with data from written sources to reinforce and illustrate the generalisations made.

Ethnographic material, where required, was incorporated in the text or given in the footnotes. It is an attempt to describe with the aid of structural concepts, the workings of the Maori social structure, from within the society, during the process of social change due to impact with the wider European community.

For what it is worth the present research may be regarded as a first attempt by a Maori working from within the society, using the structural concepts of modern social anthropology tempered by Maori derived theories.

1. Communications were received from Kohare and Reedy, Ngatirongo; Te Hare Pihana, I. Tangi, Ngatiranginui, Bishop Panapa, Ngatiwhakaa; Rev. E. To Tuhia, Ngapahui, Te Awa, Papatoeto; Pei Te Hurinui Jones, and Tama Rewati, Ngati-Maniapoto; King Koroki, Te Puna Herangi through Ngapaka Kukutai, Chairman of the King's Council, Waikato; Whina Kupa, and Mira Petricevich, President and Secretary, National Organisation of Maori Women's Welfare League; C.M. Bennett, Assistant Controller, Maori Welfare; Claude Carflu, Secretary, Te Arawa Trust Board.

2. The writer is a member of the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe of Ngatiranginui, Rauranga, and was brought up in the Huria Village community. He was secretary of the Waitemata Tribal Executive Committee in the Auckland City, a member of the Papatoetoe Combined Social, Cultural and Sports Society, and Secretary of the Pukekohe Maori Community Centre Committee. Further information was sent about Huria and Te Reti Settlements by Landis Pearson, Secretary of the Huria Tribal Committee, and I. Tangi, the local Maori Welfare Officer. The bulk of the raw material is in the hands of the writer, inclusion in the study would have meant unnecessarily adding to the bulk. The generalisations on Maori leadership made throughout are based on personal experience and are supported by factual data.

Discussions in London with Marama Koea, Taranaki, Gay Kikihana, Ngatiraukawa, Anne Ngata, Ngatirongo helped in checking the wide application of the data.
It may well be the precursor of, and an aid to, similar work by other Maori students.

d. Dating Technique.

A dating technique is adopted in this thesis for framing specific time spans. The value of a dating technique, is that it makes possible a more intensive investigation of narrower slices of historical processes, and therefore allows for exact comparisons, to indicate, as well as clarify, the extent of changes.

1. Firth, Contemporary British Social Anthropology, "This involves a close attention to dating, sequence of which is normally made to serve as the time index." p.485. Cf. use of dating technique in other studies: Nadel, S.F., A Black Byzantium, London, 1942, pp.76 et seq; Shapera, I., Native Land Tenure in Bechuanaland Protectorate, Lovedale, 1943, pp.7-15; Evans-Pritchard, The Saunsi of Cyrenaica, Oxford, 1949. The first scientific use of the dating technique in the study of culture change in New Zealand was made by Firth, Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori, pp.448-473. "In attempting to reduce the mass of data to some kind of order and to clarify the issues involved, four main phases can be roughly distinguished in the transformation from the former to the present economy. These phases cannot be regarded as stages of evolution in the sense of being sharply differentiated, one from another by specific traits proper to each other. Broadly speaking, the same factors of transformation are active throughout the whole period under review; it is in the nature of the reaction against them by the native and in the scope of their operation that the distinction lies." p.449. While this is largely true, the writer in the present study has thought it necessary to give some consideration to the motives and policies from European Society, as Malinowski advocates in his study of the African situation. European policy in New Zealand determined whether Maori reaction was either one of conflict, compromise or cooperation, and cannot, therefore, be entirely ignored.

Some Schemes for dating historical periods in New Zealand: I. Firth (Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori, pp.471-472) A. -1840. Initial impact. Native Economic structure appears to have remained practically unimpaired. B. 1840-1860. Enthusiastic Adoption of material culture, extensive use of European productive commerce, under the control of the chief of the hapu. No great change in production or distribution. C. 1860-1880. Stagnation and reaction due to social friction and land troubles. Little change in economic structure. D. 1880-1929. Renewed productive effort. "The former Maori material culture has been largely replaced by that of the white man, and the old economic structure has given way in corresponding fashion." Cf. Ngata brings third phase up to 1900. "When the Waikato people abandoned their attitude of isolation and again took part in native affairs." The Maori People Today, p.137. Also Native Land Development, 1946, (Reprint of G.10 Report, 1931), 1946, pp.11-12. II. Dating sequence in present thesis: (A) Pre-European and up to 1800: Traditional Maori Leaders; (B) 1800-1840: Leaders in transition (i) Enthusiastic acceptance of European; (C) 1840-1900: Leaders in transition (ii) Charismatic Leaders of Protest; (D) 1900-1953: Modern Leaders of adjustment, conservation, and assimilation.
The date limits are necessarily arbitrary, as all dating frames must be. The choice of date limits, depends upon the aims of the investigator and the features of his material.

Pre-European society is visualised as existing intact up to about 1800. The historical data bears fairly clear testimony to this, though conditions differed as between certain coastal districts and those further inland. Pre-European society, as reconstructed from authentic documentary accounts, etc., provides the background for the stage on which the subsequent drama of social change is enacted.

In the study of social change, 1840 marks the end of the spasmodic attempts by European pioneers to effect change, and the definite superimposition of British authority upon that of the chiefs. That date also indicates the point after which social change became more deliberately controlled and directed, and the consequent lessening of the initial enthusiasm of the chiefs for European goods and services. This intermediate period of intense European pressure, and the process which later became direct Maori reaction, is brought up to 1900.

A little before that year Maori society had reached in its development a critical stage, from which there emerged the most outstanding class of modern leaders, fitted with the education of the European, and endowed with an irresistible zeal to control from the inside, the forces which were creating excessive disintegration in Maori society.

The modern period is taken for convenience up to 1953. Earlier, in 1952, the last of the great modern leaders died, to bring another era to an end.

1. Aristocrats of Knowledge, Carroll, Ngata, Buck, Bennett, Kohere, Paul, Wy Repge, Pomare, etc.
end. But leadership did not die with them, for the immediate present is witnessing the growth of a multitude of localised leaders, more suited to the existing types of social structure, and pooling their resources to form the collective leadership of the Maori people. The present and future kind of leader is described in the proverbial saying 'Ehara tuku toa, i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini'. (My fighting skill is not that of the solitary warrior, but rather that of the combined striking force.)

e. The aim and plan of the work.

The aims in this thesis are: to analyse the pattern of leadership in pre-European times, to investigate the changes that have taken place in the status and role of the Maori leader since the impact with the European, and to give an account of the condition of leadership today. The main questions being asked are: what happened to the Maori social structure during the contact situation? what kinds of leaders arose in the intermediate historical period? what place has kinship in the basis of leadership? are the traditional leaders still in operation, and what is their function in New Zealand society? what new classes of leaders are there? what gives them their authority, and what are their roles?

In order to secure satisfactory answers to these questions, it has been necessary to put the change process within a series of successive periods in a historical time span, and to refer constantly to the developing social background of the Maori leader, in the form of groups, movements and organisations. Reiteration of some points has, therefore, been unavoidable.

The dating technique has further proposed a tendency to regard each period studied, as a complete unit, but the underlying unity should be quite easily perceived, for the principal themes are the same throughout. These are-
These are the basis of authority, the range of leadership functions, and the structural context in which the leader works and operates.

The seemingly prolonged statement on historical processes is made for the purpose of indicating the changing social circumstances in which leadership maintains its existence.

Much of the material is familiar to New Zealanders, though perhaps new to others. In any case, historical statements, expressive of the Maori view point, have rarely been given in previous studies.

There are two methods of presenting the background historical material—by losing the leader in the historical processes, and by separating, as in the present instance, the history from the phenomenon of leadership. The latter method, while lacking perhaps in the dynamic interplay between leader and social forces, nevertheless, gains in clarity of analysis. Furthermore, leadership as treated here, strongly implies its social context.

The thesis opens with an account of the conceptual framework and the methodology. The text continues with leadership in traditional society. First, the socio-political context of the leader is described, then follows an examination of the classes of leaders in traditional society, considered in relation to their status and roles. The account of the ancient village community in this part, directs attention to the institution of chiefship at the centre of the society.

The examination of the periods of social change follows the same general pattern. The historical material, first of all, indicates the background for leadership, and then the leadership classes are considered with particular attention given the status and role of each. In addition to featuring the policies and ambitions motivating the donor society, the resultant movements and groups associated with the leaders in the recipient society are also described. In the modern period is considered
In the modern period is considered the conceptualized background of leadership, in three phases, namely present day traditionalist society, Maori-European situations, and European institutions, related in each case to the types and classes of leaders found in each phase. Material from both urban and rural districts in New Zealand, included in the investigation of the modern period describes the Maori social structure as it exists today, and outlines the patterns of leadership within these settings.

The penultimate chapter summarises the general conclusions of the study, while the final statement adds a personal note concerning the philosophy of the Maori leader of the future, and incidentally focusses attention upon one of the underlying themes of the study, the nature of the inter-relationship between the Maori and the European, as seen through the eyes of the modern Maori leader.
THEORIES

A. WEST (old)
   a. Already Mixed Migration
   b. Multiple or waves of Migrations

B. EAST (Heyerdahl)
   a. Pre-Inca Migration to Easter Island (Circa 500 A.D.)
   b. North West Coast Migration to Hawaii Islands (Circa 1100 A.D.)

Map 2. Compiled from Buck and Heyerdahl
In the Brewster country, the original inhabitants, especially the Tini-o-Taui, but their beasts and life with Tarae, the captain of the Raetihi, gave the name to the place. As a social group to which I descend from the crew members of the canoe has been the class of several distinct waves of explorers from central Polynesia, the most deliberately planned of which was comprised of a fleet of seven or eight canoes about the middle of the 14th century. Apparently this migration was made up of energetic people who preferred to leave their homeland rather than put up with wars and shortage of food.\footnote{Buck, P., Vikings of the Sunrise, New York 1938, Chapt.19, - Coming, pp. 4-64; Best, The Maori, Vol.1, Chap.2 and pp.340-341, Te Whatahoro, The Lore of the Whakewanananga, Pt.2. (Memoirs Polyn.Soc., Vol.4., New Plymouth, 1915)\\footnote{Ngata's letter to the writer; Firth, Economics, P.101; also see Buck, P., Vikings, p.270.}

They intermarried with the inhabitants of the country and in time dominated and absorbed them. The mixed origin in the present Maori population is manifest throughout the genealogies which trace the descent from a variety of ancestral lines. The distinctions in the lines of ancestry come out in land inheritance and succession to chiefly titles. At Ruatoria on the East Coast of New Zealand the title of the local people to land comes from their ancestor Maui, who was in the country prior to the landing of the canoes in 1350, but the mana-tangata, aristocracy of the tribe, derives from the chiefly families associated with the Horouta canoe.\footnote{Ngata's letter to the writer; Firth, Economics, P.101; also see Buck, P., Vikings, p.270.}
In the Urewera country, the people claimed ownership of land from the original inhabitants, especially the aboriginal tribes Nga Potiki and Te Tini-o-Toi, but their boasts concerning their chiefly ancestry are linked with Toroa, the captain of the Matatua canoe, whose great-grandson Tuhoe-Potiki, gave the name to the present circle of tribes.¹

As a social group te waka is made up of a cluster of tribes which descend from the crew members of one of the canoes. Recent research upon the canoes has shown the close relationship between the captain and the crew, often consisting of three or four generations of an extended family. On arrival in New Zealand, they settled in the same territory.² By continual division and fusion through increase of numbers in the extended family groups, larger groupings held together by common descent were formed.³ While the link back to the common ancestor was kept fairly strong by story and sentiment, the cross ties between units of a cluster of tribes were weak. Ordinarily, the centrifugal forces of kinship were much stronger than the centripetal ones, thus preventing outward trends of association. The Maori socio-political system did not become united by a central government; and certainly here at the waka level was an opportunity for some sort of over-all amalgamation. It was not till recent times, owing to the external pressures of European society, that there was any movement toward a closer association of groupings joined by descent from a canoe, and occupying the same territory.⁴

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¹. Best, E., Tuhoe, New Plymouth 1925, pp. 19, 23, 25, 210, 211; Gudgeon, W.E., The Maori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand, JPS Vol.3., p.208, 'No Toi raua ko Potiki te whenua, no Tuhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga.'
². Records of the Tutuku Committee, Ngaruawahia, the Wananga, Mangamuka and the Arawa Genealogical Committee, Rotorua; Buck, Coming, p.331.
³. Buck, ibid, p.335; Best, Vol.1, p.340; Firth, op.cit., p.345.
There was, however, in song, oratory and poetry, a sentimental attachment between social groups and the ancestral canoes. This backward looking sensitiveness rather than a political unity, characterised social relations in the waka. The following poem was translated by Buck, and shows the pride of the Maori in his ancestral canoes:

'Behold Taimui, Te Arawa, Matatua, Kurahaupo and Tokomaru
All afloat on the ocean vast
The tree trunk was hollowed in Hawaiki
And so Takitimu took form
A night was spent at Rangipo
And Aotearoa took the sea at dawn
These are the canoes of Uenuku
Whose names resound unto the heavens
How can their fame be ever forgot
When they float for 'aye on memory's tide.1

Though the canoes which made the historic voyage have been reduced to dust by the centuries, they retain their beauty of line and form in the imagination of the people, and remain fully manned by the ancestral voyagers in the hearts of their descendants.

The main points then about the waka are: it was a very loose cluster of related tribal groups based in a specific territory, and bound by a romantic sentiment back to the crew members of the canoe. The canoe ancestor was accorded a great deal of prestige that was reflected later in the leading families of the country.

The relationship between each canoe cluster of tribes was maintained by war as well as by marriage among persons of the highest ranks, though marriage at that distance was rare.2

2. The oral traditions of Ngati-rangmuri, Tauranga, record marriages between the leading families of Te Arawa, Matatua and Takitimu canoes, as well as between those of Takitimu and Kurahaupo. Information from the Kaumatua Te Hare Piahana.
LANDFALL OF THE CANOES — RATANUI, WHANGAPARAOA

Map 3. Compiled from Buck, Records of Tutuku, Nganuawahia, and letters from Ngata.
When the waka did come together for war purposes, the genealogies indicated the centre of leadership, assumed by the most senior line of the descendants of the founding family. The person concerned was the ariki, paramount chief, whose position was acknowledged, but who was unable to force himself on other groups. The combination did not remain united very long before other formations were established. The unity was reinforced by physical contiguity and claims to territory in which several groups held a stake. But essentially the waka was a very loose type of group, and rarely acted in any solid form of union.

1. The Tribe - (Te Iwi).

Te Iwi was the largest socio-political organisation that existed in Maori society.2 While a canoe gave its name to a cluster of related tribes, the eponymous ancestor imparted his name to the tribe or iwi, although an incident in tribal history also provided the name. Special prefixes were attached to the name of the tribe, signifying descent from a common ancestor, clearly delineated in the genealogies, and these were: - Ati-, Ngati-, Aitanga-, Ngai-, and Whanau-. Both female and male ancestors gave the names, the most important feature here being the definite blood connections between all members and the ancestor.3

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3. Beattie, H., Traditions and Legends, JPS, Vol.24, pp.100-101. When Takitimu was leaving Hawaiki, for this land, Puhihakawae farewellled his immigrant brother Tutakahinahina, (O Tutakahinahina! When you reach the land on which the clouds of heaven rest, look at me as I stand here aside (whakataha) in the rippling waves, let your people be called hereafter, by my position, Waitaha.) (by the waterside); Maxwell, CFF., The origin of the tribal name, Ngatikuri, JPS, Vol.4., pp.163-185; Buck, op.cit., pp.334-335, 'In most tribal names, the eponymous ancestor is a male but instances occur in which the ancestor selected is a female, as in Ngatiruanui of Taranaki.' (p.334); The name Te Rarawa, North Auckland, comes from an incident of an ancestor eating an exhumed enemy (Kai-Rarawa), Te Aupouri from the smoke screen which enabled their ancestors to evacuate a besieged fort; Smith, S.Percy, Taranaki Coast, JPS, Vol.16, p.109.
Tribal districts were fixed in the areas where the canoes landed in 1350. Maori tradition is full of accounts of the land claiming episodes that occurred, the best known of these is that associated with the leaders of the Arawa people:-

'Kei te taunaha haere mai a Taikahu me i nga whaumua katoa o te tahatika, a Maraemui, Opotiki, Ohia, Whakatane, Te Awa-a-te-atua, Maketu, Tauranga. Katahi ratou ka noho i reira. Me te rere haere atu te waka ra, a te Arawa, mea, mea a ka taka kei waho o Maketu. Ka kite atu a Tamatekapua ki te kumore o Maketu, ka taunahatia atu e ia ko te kuraetanga o tona ihu. Ka kite hoki a Hei, ka taunahatia hoki e ia a Rangiuru ko te Takapau-o-Tapuikamui-a-Tia. Ka taunahatia e Naki a Motiti, ko Motiti-mui-a-Naki; no Hawaiki tenei ingoa, koia te pepeha nei, 'Kei Motiti pea koe.' Ka tukua nga punga ki Maketu, ka tau te waka ra i te po; i te po e moe ana.'

'Taikahu and the others were laying claims to the lands on the coast, Maraemui, Opotiki, Ohia, Whakatane, Te Awa-a-te-atua, Maketu and Tauranga. Then they abode there. But the canoe, Te Arawa continued on, until finally she stood toward Maketu. Tamatekapua spied the point at Maketu, and he claimed it as the tip on the end of his nose. Hei also looked and claimed Otawa as the belly of his son Waitahami. Tia beheld the land at Rangiuru and claimed it, calling it the belly of his son Tapuikamui. Naki fixed his claim upon the island of Motiti, calling it Motiti that belongs to Naki. This name is found in Hawaiki, heard in the ancient saying 'Perhaps thou art at Motiti.' They then weighed anchor at Maketu, and slept there that night.'

By identifying the various land marks with parts of the chief's body or that of his offspring, title to those areas was fixed and acknowledged, for as Buck points out, no one dared to disturb the integrity of the anatomy of a chiefly personage.

1. From Tapore Teia of Tapuika, Te Arawa.
2. Buck, op.cit., p.56.
These boundaries had great social importance indicated by special marks stones, posts or holes, and instituted with elaborate rituals performed by the tohunga. Down to modern times the territorial boundaries denote a significance of far greater cultural value than the conventional points shown by the European surveyor on his plans. The history of the tribe is revived in the recital of the prominent land marks that constitute the boundaries of the land. Among the Waikato peoples the following text is recited by the leading orators in proud identification of their affiliations:

'Ko Mokau ki runga, ko Tamaki ki raro, ko Parewaikato, ko Parehauraki, ko Mangatoatoa.'

- Mokau above, Tamaki below, Parewaikato to westwards and Parehauraki to eastwards. Mangatoatoa stands in the midst.

In context that simple statement becomes weighted with tribal history and sentiment. Away on the East Coast among the hard-headed Ngati-Porou and allied tribes the same tendency to embody tribal pride and history in the land marks of their territory obtains. Ngata one of their number writes:

'Among the East Coast tribes at Poverty Bay, northwards, the points are Toka-a-Taiau, Taumata-o-Aonui to the North East of Opotiki, the furthest limit of Ngatiporou. Between these points are the subtribal terminals, so that Toka-a-Taiau to Tawhiti embraces the Aitanga-a-Hauti and Whanau-a-Ruatapure with their respective subdivisions, and Tawhiti to Patangata embraces Ngati-Porou proper, with its many subdivisions and Tikirau near Cape Runaway to Taumata-a-Apanui is the territory of the Whanau-a-Apanui. Southwards, the three subtribes which inhabit Poverty Bay proper are comprised in the territory between Toka-a-Taiau and Te Paritu. They are Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Rongowhakaata and Ngati-Tamanuhiri. The Paritu is the recognised northern limit of Ngati-Kahungunu, a tribe whose name extends southwards to Wairarapa.'

1. This saying is heard on ceremonial occasions, in the Waikato and Maniapoto tribal districts, up to the present time.
And so with the passing of the generations, and with the maturing of tribal experience, both in war and peace, there gathered around the headlands, bays, and bush in tribal territory, a host of honeyed memories and sentiment, that somehow seem to merge the land into the thinking and feeling of the tribe. After all, it was here the tribe fought its wars, suffered its defeats, and won its victories; here the chiefs shed their blood. Here, too, the tribe built its villages, erected the sacred places, founded its tapu school of higher learning; and in yonder hills, in caverns deep, laid up the bones of its illustrious dead. Every river, valley and mountain became the stuff from which tribal legend, song and poetry were made.

We have seen that a cluster of tribes was loosely joined together because of their descent from the crew members of a canoe, but that this relationship rarely reached a co-operative focus. While the tribe was the largest group that showed distinct autonomy in its internal organisation, and in its external relations with other similar groups, it must be stated that the tribe was itself a loose federation of smaller constituent groups, related by common descent and ties of affinity. The tribe was a well defined framework of relationships between groups which were themselves closely autonomous. The structural relations within the tribe were maintained by the constant interaction between constituent groups, expressed through war on the one hand, and on the other by kinship, sentimental attachment to a specific district common leadership, common gods, and a history that traced back to a romanticised past.

DISPOSITION OF MAORI TRIBES IN NEW ZEALAND
1700-1800 A.D.
The process of interaction found in the forces of conflict and cooperation was fundamental to the maintenance of the Maori socio-political system at all levels and is particularly important in the structure of the relationships in the tribe.

Marriage was endogamous except in rare cases among the chiefs when unions with outside high born families were arranged for political or social reasons. At the head of the tribe was the ariki or paramount chief. He was the acknowledged leader of the whole tribe because of his ancestry from the senior member of the founding family, transmitted through the first born offsprings, and for similar reasons he became the tribal representative in dealing with other tribes, the performer of religious rites, and the supervisor of the companies of war.

3. The Subtribe - (Te Hapu).

The tribe was made up of several subtribes, each of some two to three hundred people. The subtribe was located in the village, thus giving it a more compact organisation, but at the same time widening the range of common interests and experiences for the members. The village was on that part of the tribal land which was owned by the subtribe, and this ownership was recognised by other subtribes in the tribe. The village was fenced off, and on the rare occasions when two or more subtribes occupied the same village, the separate sections were partitioned off. At the centre of the village stood two institutions, the marae (communal centre) and the whare runanga (assembly house). These together represented the social core of the group.

2. Best, Tuhoe, pp.214-215, gives a list of the subtribes of Tuhoe, Vol.1., pp.340-342; Firth, op.cit., pp.96, 99-100, Firth gives "several hundreds" as a hapu population. This is the best sociological analysis of the hapu. Firth like Best, though with more exact definition, applies the term clan to the hapu; Buck, op.cit., pp.331, 332, 333. Buck uses the unfortunate term expanded family for the hapu, literally expressing the biological descent from common ancestors.
In addition there were the sacred places, such as the tuahu (altar), the waitapu (sacred water), the turuma (latrine), also used in war and educational rituals. Outside the village at a convenient distance were the cultivations of kumara (Ipumaea Batatis), taro (Colocasia Antiquorum), and hue (Lagenaria Vulgaris), and not very far away were the sources of other food supply, such as the bush with its bird life and haunts for the edible rat, the inland lakes and rivers with the koura, (Paranephrops Planifrons), kakahi (Diplodon Lutulentus), tuna (Anguilla spp.) and piharau (Geotria Chilensis) and the sandy coast line and bays where teemed fish of all kinds.

The size of the village was determined by the availability of food supplies, and by factors of security against the attack of other tribes or subtribes. There were two types of villages, the pa tuwatawata, the fortified village on a high prominence, and the kainga down on the flat.

1. (continued from Page 8)
This united the family groups for purposes of work, and military defence; Ngata, Tribal Organisation, in The Maori People Today, p.167; Smith, The Peopling, JPS, Vol.6, p.91; Skinner, W.H., The Capture of the Rewarewa Pa, JPS, Vol.2, 1909, pp.179-185; Best, Vol.2, p.314, said that Whakawhiti village contained 2,000 fighting men in 1834, and Okuratope Pa (1815) had 200 huts. Also see his Vol.1, pp. 340-343 for a general discussion; Skinner (supra) states Puketapu hapu of Atiawa Tribe occupied the main village of Puketapu with 800 to 1,000 warriors.

1a. Best, Vol.1, pp. 280, 288, 333 (Tuahu); ibid, p. 290 (Turuma).

2. Buck, op.cit., pp. 373-378; Firth, op.cit., pp. 76-80, 99. Firth makes a very useful analysis of the village community. Best, Vol.2, Chap. 15; Smith, JPS, Vol.5, 1897, p. 78, in the pa tuwatawata the Ariki lived on the highest terrace or the tihi or toi.
Now undergirding the more physical aspects of the subtribal village was the inevitable kinship system outlined in the genealogies which joined all members to a common ancestor who may have lived up to nine generations back, and through him to the eponymous ancestor of the tribe twenty or more generations away. The subtribal ancestor was generally the one where the branch line stemmed away from the tahuhu or main ridge-pole of the genealogy. This ancestor gave the name to the subtribe or may be as with the tribe, the name was obtained from an important incident in the history of the group, associated with an ancestor. Again the prefixes used in the naming of the tribe were applied here, indicating the biological descent of each member.¹

Marriage was both endogamous and exogamous, although the stress was on endogamy. The usual advice given a youth was, 'E moe i a korua ano kia mate iho ko korua'. Marry among yourselves so that when you quarrel, violence is between yourselves. The fear always was lest, in a domestic quarrel, a wife from another group should be assaulted or insulted by the husband, thus bringing the wrath of the wife's people upon the husband and his subtribe.²

Descent and inheritance passed through both the patrilineal and the matrilineal lines. Firth coined the useful term ambilateral to describe this double type of descent. It was usual for the wife to live in her husband's village, so that the offsprings grew up there, and maintained closer associations with the father's subtribe.³

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¹ Firth, op. cit., p.100. 'Thus the principle on which the hapu was based, that of descent from a common ancestor was a fundamental factor. This idea was the root principle of the whole constitution of Maori society. Its ramifications extend throughout all types of grouping, whether economic, social or political.'
² Firth, ibid, p.98. Buck, op.cit., p.366; Best, Vol.1, p.447.
³ Firth, op.cit., p.98.
Land rights were inherited either through the mother or the father. There was however an important stipulation. In order to make good one's claim to land in another subtribal area, one was required to keep the lighted fires burning there. This is known as te ahi ka, achieved through occupation and cultivation. Otherwise the claim became mataotao or cold and the title was extinguished.¹

Large scale projects were carried out by the subtribe, such as the building of an assembly house, the clearing of cultivations, the fashioning of important canoes, the execution of fishing expeditions and the conduct of war. All these features of subtribal life were focussed in the rangatira (chief) the leader of the subtribe. His status was determined by primogeniture and the personal qualities valued by the group.²

4. The Extended Family - (Te Whanau).

The subtribe consisted of extended or joint family groups. The whanau was, for our purposes, the basic social group in the Maori socio-political system and comprised the most intimate circle of social relationships. The terms joint and extended family, correctly describe the whanau, although the individual, biological, elementary or nuclear family existed within this again.³

2. Gudgeon, W.E., Maori Wars, JPS, Vol.16, 1907, p.34, makes the necessary distinction between the ariki, the eldest born of the tribe, sacred, and regarded almost as a god, and the rangatira. The ariki, a senior rangatira.
3. Best, Vol.1, pp.341, 342, 343, 344; Buck, Coming, pp.333-335, Buck's use of terminology unorthodox and confusing. The biological family for the whanau and the expanded family for the hapu. Better for comparison to use extended family for whanau, and biological, individual or nuclear family for the smaller constituent group. Firth, op.cit., pp.96-98, useful sociological treatment. Also note his examination of the biological family in answer to Best's attempt to lose the smaller in the larger group. Best gives whanau tahi for sibling group, whanau tuturu for lineal descent of three to four generations. After fourth generation enough members to form subtribe, C.F. Radcliffe-Brown, op.cit., pp.50-53, for wider theoretical statement. Also Buck, Ethnology of Manihiki, Bish. Mus., Bulawayo, 99, 1932, p.36.
The whanau consisted of three to four generation levels, including grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren and numbering as many as thirty persons. The numbers increased with each generation. While women were brought into the group through intermarriage, husbands sometimes came to reside with their wives too, especially if the status of the woman was higher than that of the man. Adoptions occurred, but these were mainly of children already related to the group such as grandchildren, nephews and nieces. ¹

The whanau was the household unit in the village, each household unit consisting of separate buildings, for sleeping, cooking, storing, and assembling. The sleeping house was the wharepuni, a small rectangular wooden construction with a gabled roof, provided with a small door, and window also used as a chimney, its architecture depending on the rank of the occupying family. ² However, these served their single purpose well, namely to sleep in at night and to keep out the cold during that time. Social gatherings and ceremonials either took place in the whare runanga or on the marae. ³ Another building in the whanau unit was the kauta or whareumu where stones and cover for the hangi, vegetables and other foods were kept for cooking. ⁴ The two main meals during the day were eaten in the open, from the kono flax basket containers. ⁵ No food was taken in the wharepuni, for it was tapu. Then there was the pataka, a storehouse set on posts, and elaborately carved. ⁶ Here were kept the preserved birds, huahua, and other delicacies for distinguished visitors.

¹. Best, op.cit., p.343, illustrates the whanau with an instance of two brothers, a sister, their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, including 92 persons in all. Parents of first named generation dead, their living children now from 70 to 80 years of age, for adoptions see Firth, Economics, pp.111, 112, 113.
². Buck, Eoming, pp.121-130.
³. Firth, Economics, pp.80-81.
⁵. Best, Vol.2, pp. 413 and 419.
⁶. Firth, Economics, p.84.
Other store houses were the whata and rua. The whata was also a raised platform for drying fish, eels, and the kumara kao (dried Kumara). The rua (pit) was dug in the ground for storing root crops like the kumara.\(^1\)

The whanau owned all its own household units, fishing nets and fowling gear also circulated within the group. Canoes for river fishing were the property of the whanau. There were, however, individually owned weapons, fish hooks, cloaks, etc. The whanau shared many of their things though some personal articles were more attached to some individuals than to others.\(^2\)

The whanau was the most convenient work unit. The fishing, fowling and hunting for everyday needs was the special occupation of men who were equipped with skill, knowledge and the inevitable magic. Both men and women worked in the cultivations with the men attending to the heavier types of jobs, and the women, assisted by the slaves, looked after the cooking and preparation of food. The drying of kumara and fish was done by both men and women, although it was left to the women to gather shell fish. The making of mats for common use and the weaving of garments, of the finer sort, were all in the province of women.

The males were respected by the females, as shown by deference to male opinion, non-interference in decisions, consultation for advice, and the acknowledged differentiation of roles in rituals. Only in certain areas were the women allowed to enter into discussions with men.\(^3\) Ordinarily the female was without tapu, in contrast to the tapu male. The female carried food and fed highly tapu persons, while the male refrained from doing much of this.

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1. Buck, Coming, pp.112, 119, 121, 130, 132, 133; Best, Vol.2, pp. 569, 585, 567, 588; Firth, op.cit., pp. 77, 78, 84, 90, 91. The rua was extensively used in the Tauranga district, even to the present.

2. Firth, Economics, pp. 331-343.

Grandparents were particularly close to their grandchildren, the older folks having more time and patience to spend in the education of the young. Mokopuna (grandchildren) learned the legends, observed etiquette, and assimilated manners through association with their tupuna (grandparents). When disciplined they always had their tupuna to comfort them and mokopunas would crawl into the coverings of their tupuna at night. At feasts grandparents would be seen stowing away tasty morsels of food for their mokopuna.

The tendency in marriage was to unite with other family groups in the same village. The word used for marriage was moe (sleep) giving a physiological emphasis to the union. Marriage was permissible with the second, but not the first cross – parallel, cousins, these being equivalent to the prohibited marriage with one's own sister.

In the marriage arrangement certain recognised procedures were followed, whereby the mother of the son who desired marriage, informed the tupuna, (kaumatua), who would summon the whanau together. In the discussions, the parents themselves remained fairly passive listening to the grandparents, uncles, aunts and even elder brothers. The union was never between individuals as such but always between groups. Kinship connection was one of the topics discussed – have the families concerned been drifting apart? should they be brought together? were there any promises made to a tupuna long ago? was there ever any refusal of a suit from a whanau? All these factors influenced the decision for yea or nay.

If the people involved were persons of rank, there was more elaborate procedure. The tribe as a whole took part at the main marae under the ariki

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1. Buck, op.cit.p.357. The writer's own mother and father so treated their mokopuna in a manner more generous than their own children.
2. Such a custom has been observed among Ngatiranginui, Waikato, Taranaki and the East Coast.
3. Grey, op.cit.pp.112,117; Elder J.R. Letters,pp.193,447; Best, Vol.2,pp.446-447; Marriage closer than second cousin said to lead to degeneracy in offspring, expressed in apothegm, 'E moe i to tuahine, he itiiti'. Quotes Gudgeon, marriage took place between 25 and 30 years of age. The writer's late mother 'cancelled' his engagement with a young woman because of some difficulty in the past with the latter's subtribe. Te Aho chief of Whatawhata would not allow his daughter to marry a youth from Hgapuhi because of the fighting between Waikato and Ngapuhi at Matakitaki, over 100 years ago.
Gifts were offered, accepted, and if the couple were very young children, the tribes were bound by the promises given to fulfil the contract at some future date. Violation of the contract, or rejection of chiefly suit was regarded seriously and often led to war or confiscation.¹

The hierarchy of group arrangement may also be seen in the relationship between the extended families. The whanau of the ariki or rangatira was the most important one in the village, and the term whanau rangatira or kahui ariki was applied to it. Its household units were close to the marae and whare runanga.

The leadership of a whanau group was in the hands of the kaumatua, the oldest male member of the whanau, but it was not unusual for the real leadership and influence to be exercised by a kuia, his wife, who of course may be a woman of rank in her own rights. The kuia stood behind the kaumatua who exerted authority within the whanau, and his status came through age, wisdom, experience and skills.²

Sufficient has been said about the whanau to show its main outlines, as the basic social group within Maori society. Compactness was achieved through confinement in specific household units and co-operation in group activities and experiences. Leadership was focussed in the oldest member, the kaumatua, while beneath all the outward ties, were the kinship connections linking the whanau through the kaumatua with the subtribal ancestor, and through him with the more remote tribal ancestor. The close blood ties strengthened the bonds binding the members of the whanau together. Over against the whanau were other similar groups in the same village.³

2. Firth, op.cit., pp.78-79.
DESCENT FROM THE CANOE (Te Waka).

Weka-Takitimu; Iwi-Ngatiranginui; Hapu-Ngaitamarawaho; Whanau-a Te Moko.

TAKITIMU CANOE

Captain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ihuparapara = Tamateapokaiwhenua = Iwipupu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ranginui = Urutomo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutereinga = Kahukura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ngatikahungunu Tribe

Rangiwhakakahā → Te Arapihingarangi → Te Kaponga → Kuraroa

Ngatitaka subtribe also known as Ngaitamarawaho

Migrated, assimilated by marriage.

Subtribe (Huria, Tauranga) (part of Ngatiranginui tribe.)

Ngaitai tribe (Torere, Opotiki)

Ngaitearan tribe (Tauranga).

Ngatiranginui Tribe

Some Whanau Groups (extended families) in the Ngaitamarawaho Subtribe.

Te Arawa Canoe: Takitimu Canoe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Te Arawa Canoe</th>
<th>Takitimu Canoe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamarawaho</td>
<td>Te Kaponga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aotahi</td>
<td>Kahuraia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hei</td>
<td>Pata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamarakei</td>
<td>Tahupotiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paki</td>
<td>Matangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Takiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= Te Papawhakairi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tahuriwakahau = Taumata.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Te Moko → Te Kiriwhakarewa → Waikohua

Piripi

Homai = Wi Pishana

Te Reohau → Katerina → Whiata (extended family of Te Kiriwhakarewa.)

Te Hare → Tame → Mahiara (extended family of Waikohua.)

Tame → Pe → Ranginui (extended family of Te Moko.)

These extended families constitute the bulk of the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe, of Ngatiranginui tribe, Huria village, Tauranga, numbering in all approximately 300, eight generations from Te Moko, Te Kiriwhakarewa and Waikohua. (compiled from the Ngatiranginui Genealogical Records, Te Kirihipiri, held by Riki Paraone, Tauranga.)
There were defined areas of interests between one family and another, while at the same time they were all comprehended closely in the subtribe. The government of the village was carried on by the family heads, under the supervision of the rangatira.¹

Here in the whanau is found the nucleus of group development and the structure on which the kinship system is built, drawing together the various parts of the socio-political system. The pattern for all the interlocking social groups in Maori society is given by the whanau. Increase in population in the extended family led to a division. A younger son and his family together with his slaves may leave the subtribal village to establish his household units in a neighbouring part of the subtribal land. There would be constant communication with the subtribe and the old marae, especially at the beginning. However, in time a new centre would be set up and a new village would be born. The processes of fission and fusion would look after the growth of family groups till there is again another subtribe, or maybe another tribe.

The field for the operation of traditional leadership in olden times was comprised of the waka, the iwi, the hapu and the whanau. Beneath the relationships that sustained the groups was the system of kinship. Kinship had a two-fold effect, to divide and to join together. The core of the socio-political system was the descent from a common ancestor carefully recorded in the genealogies. Each group was identified with a particular area of land which became merged into the history, tradition, and poetry of the group.

¹ Best, Vol. 1, p. 353.
CHAPTER 3.

The Traditional Leaders.

1. Classes of Leaders.


The chiefship proper was held by two classes of leaders. The most important was the ariki or paramount chief. The ariki was at the head of the iwi. But the highest ranking ariki, in whom the senior lines of the genealogy from tribal descents converged, was recognised as head of the waka. There was also the rangatira or chief. The rangatira was the head of the subtribe and held a status slightly lower than that of the ariki, to whom he was related, being a descendant of the original founding family along the junior line. The ariki and rangatira were the social and political leaders in Maori society, but they also played a part in the economic affairs. The differences between the ariki and the rangatira postulated an important hierarchy in the chiefship, and this reflected a corresponding status arrangement among the social groups over which they held sway.1

b. The Elder. Kaumatua.

Another class of leader was the kaumatua or elder. He was not strictly a chief. The kaumatua has not been defined as a leader in previous studies, though his political functions within the tribal councils have been acknowledged. Three aspects define the kaumatua as a leader in the sense adopted in this study. First, he was recognised by members of the extended family or whanau as their immediate leader, because of his procreative relationship and his age, wisdom and experience.

Second, the comparative autonomy of the whanau provided the kaumatua with a system of social relations in which he held his superordinated status. Third, he took part in all subtribal and tribal discussions on behalf of the whanau. 1

c. The Ritual Leader. Tohunga.

The tohunga or ritual leader was really a specialist. 2 The term tohunga denoted an expert in the generic sense, whether of a technical, literary or religious kind. It is the religious expert that is being considered as leader here. Even among the ritual leaders there were several orders, according to the nature of the ceremonies in which they participated and the deity with whom they had special relationship.

The ritual leader held sway throughout Maori society because of the very strong religious orientation of the society.

1. Early descriptions bring adult members into tribal and subtribal administration, through general kinship, etc. These adult members, viz. males, were comprised of the kaumatua. Today, the term kaumatua is widely used as applying to heads of whanau groups. Grey, Nga Mahi, p.161, ‘Ka titiro te iwi nei ka te kai a te tangata ra ka mea, He tutua... Ka mea atu nga kaumatua, he rangatira...’ Williams, H.W. Dictionary, Wellington 1921, p.121: Kaumatua (1) Adult, (2) Old man or woman, (3) Grow up, become adult. Best, Vol.1, p.344, points out that the whanau assumes the name of the male forbear of the group, showing recognition of him as leader. Inadequacy of definition of a leader in previous studies, and concentration on the chiefs as such tended to overlook the importance of kaumatua leadership. Hongi, On Ariki, JPS, Vol.18, p.85, refers to the Council of the tribe as Elders (kaumatua).

2. Tohunga an expert. Tohunga ahurewa or Tohunga tuahu was high class priest, Tohunga kehua a shaman, Tohunga whaihanga a carpenter, etc. Best, Vol.1, pp.244-251; Buck, Coming, pp.338, 473-476; Firth, Economics, pp.92, 137, 138, 257, 291-294; Hammond, The Tohunga Maori, JPS, Vol.17, p.165.
While all classes of leaders possessed ritual features, the tohunga was the recognised ritual expert, whose functions directly and indirectly influenced the political, social and economic affairs of the society.

One of the features of the leaders we have outlined should be noted at once. There was a lot of overlapping in their positions, though in our analysis we have tried to keep the classes separate. The ariki head of the waka was the head of the iwi, but then he was the rangatira of a hapu and the kaumatua in a whanau as well. A tohunga was head of an extended family, but quite often he was a rangatira and an ariki. This tendency to telescope the positions exists because of the interlocking nature of the social groups and further, accounts for a certain confusion in the roles attached to each status.

These then are the main classes of leaders, the ariki, the rangatira, the kaumatua, and the tohunga. Each class of leader was fixed in a superior position within a system of social reactions.

2. Bases of authority.

The status of chiefship, whether of the ariki or the rangatira, was primarily determined by the order of birth and the nature of the sex established in the elementary or nuclear family. Primogeniture created aristocracy, which in turn was transmitted down through the senior lines of descent. There was no fictional attempt at arranging genealogies to suit, for these traced down each step, from the initiator of the line to the contemporary holder of the office.

1. For theoretical discussion of kinship see Radcliffe-Brown, op.cit., pp. 51-53; Buck, op.cit., pp. 338,343,344; Firth, op.cit., pp.91-92, 117, 118. 'In its essential nature the social stratification coincides with the general principle of Maori grouping, that of descent from common ancestors. For, given the value attached to primogeniture, since all members of a group trace their ancestry back to the same forbear, the main differences in rank emerge... from the order of birth.'
1. NGA FUMANAWA E WARU O TE ARAWA. All male offsprings. (URE TU.)

1. Rangitihi = Kahukore
   Rangiwhakaekau Rangiaohia
   Rotorua Tuauruao
   Family
2. Rangitihi = Manawatakoto
   Rakeao Kawatapuarangi Apumoana
   All first
   Tuhourangi

Genealogy 2.

11. ALL MALE DESCENT OF THE MAORI KING FROM TE ARAWA CANOE. (Te Uri Tane)

Δ Tamatekapua = Whakatomohuru
Δ Kahumatamomoe = Hineteputurangi
Δ Tawakemoetangah = Tuwharewhaitaitai
Δ Uenukumairaratonga = Te Aokapurangi
Δ Rangitihi = Manawatakoto
Δ Kawatapuarangi = Tikawekura
Δ Pikiao = Rereiao
Δ Hekemaru = Hekeiterangi
Δ Mahuta = Kiringaua
Δ Uerata = Puakirangi
Δ Tapae = Rawharangi
Δ Te Putu = Parenatawhiti
Δ Tawhia = Te Atairangikaahu
Δ Tuata = Te Kaahurangi
Δ Te Rauanga = Parengaope
Δ Potatau = Whakaari
Δ Tawhiao = Hera
Δ Mahuta = Te Marae
Δ Te Rata = Uranga
Δ Koroki = Te Atairangikaahu

Genealogy 3.

111. Te Kuru-o-Te Marama.

Δ Rangitihi
Δ Rangiaohia
Δ Mahi
Δ Rongomai
Δ Te Apiti
Δ Te Rangiwhakatara
Δ Rohi
Δ Te Whareiti
Δ Tionga
Δ Nakömiarangi
Δ Te Kuru-o-Te Marama.

Genealogy 4.
The lineage established through primogeniture was known as te aho ariki and the aristocratic family so formed as the kahui ariki. When primogeniture coincided with the male sex, and when, as rarely happened in practice, the line of succession were all first born males, then one had the highest status in Maori chiefship. To such a line the term ure tu or erected penis was applied.1

Three tables given here set out the genealogies from Te Arawa tribe showing the ure tu, all senior male line of descent, in various forms. In the first one the male progenitors of the subtribes of Te Arawa, all sons by a polygynous marriage of the paramount chief Rangitihi. Rangitihi married four wives and from them he had eight sons, known among Te Arawa as nga pumanawa e waru o Te Arawa, the eight pulsating hearts of Te Arawa. The metaphor describes the high prestige attributed to these famous fountain heads of the tribe. No one is ever of any real worth in the tribe unless he can trace his descent from one or other of these ancestors.2

In the second genealogy we see the all male descent line of the present Maori King, Koroki Te Rata Mahuta Tawhiao Te Wherowhero, one of the few remaining bulwarks of superior Maori aristocracy and the male descent here is given with the corresponding female spouses. Prestige again reflects back to Te Arawa because of this special connection with the King. Te Arawa, however, reverse the process and point out that the mana of the King is really only confirmed because of the male connections with the chiefs of Te Arawa.

The main genealogical lines of the Maori King himself descend from Hoturoa, the captain of the Tainui canoe.3

1. Best, Vol.1, pp.345-346; the term ure tu is used among Ngati-Ranginui and others.
2. Stated by Tapore Teia kaumatua of Tapuika, Te Arawa; also by Hirione Wikiriwhi, scholarly expert of Ngatitaoi, Te Arawa.
3. Records of the Tutuku Committee, Ngaruawahia.
TRANSFER OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TO MALES: (The Maori Royal Family.)

King Potatau Te Wherohero.

Δ King Tawhiao - Hera Rereata

O Tiahua - Te Tanu - King Mahuta - Te Marae

O Hera - Heao - Te Pues - Wanakore - Te Ngache

Δ King Te Rata - Te Marae - Taipu - Tumate - Tonga - Te Rauangaang

O Te Atairangiakaahu - King Koroki

Piki
The third genealogy brings one of the descent lines from Rangitihik through Rangiaohia to the famous Te Kuru-o-Te-Moana. This chief is a legendary figure in the traditions of Te Arawa people.¹

The female sex was regarded as inferior in status to the male,² and this concept was stated in mythology. Tane, the offspring of the Primal Parents, Rangi (sky) and Papa (earth) unable to find the female element with which to produce mortal beings, set to and formed his own image in the dust, and co-habiting with this earthly being caused the beginning of humans. The Maori say, the male came from the gods, but the female from the dust, therefore the male is superior to the female. The inferiority of the female was marked by her ritual uncleanness, utilised as a negative force in the dedication of meeting houses, the launching of new canoes and other ritual, so as to counter the tapu prohibitions imparted through the operations of the superior male.

When the first born was female, the clash between primogeniture and the female sex was resolved by a differentiation in leadership roles. The first born female retained the social status due to her birth, but active political leadership passed over to the next oldest male.³ The mechanism of transfer of political leadership to a male is well illustrated in the family history of the Maori King whose genealogy is given here.

2. Best, Vol.2, pp. 113-116. Also, for exceptions, see pp. 450-453, 477; contrast Williams, H.W., Reactions of the Maori to the impact of Civilisation, JPS, Vol. 44, 1935, pp. 227, where Williams also mentions some important exceptions to the rule; Smith, S. Percy, Wars of the Northern against the Southern New Zealand Tribes; JPS, Vol.9, 1900, p. 146, giving the descent of Te Kani-a-Takirau the ariki of the East Coast from his ancestress, Hinematioro.

   Hinematioro — Te Hoa-a-Tiki
   Ngarangikahiwa — Te Rongo-o-Pumamao
   Te Kani-a-Takirau

4. Sent by Tame Reweti, Kaumatua, Ngatimaniapoto, and chairman of the Tutuku Committee, Ngaruawahia.
King Tawhiao was second in the line; his second offspring was a son, Mahuta, who ultimately became the third Maori King. This political leadership over the tribes descended from Tainui, has been transmitted down to the present day through the next oldest males, largely because the line from Tiahuia has given only female first born children. Nevertheless, the social status of the female came out very strongly in the person of the late Te Puea Herangi, who in many ways was the power behind the male political leaders, though she acknowledged their priority. The high social status of the female first born was signified by the terms ariki tapairu, kahurangi and tuhi mareikura. 

A further departure in terms of political functions from the ideal pattern of male primogeniture occurred in cases where the natural heirs proved unequal to the demands of tribal leadership. Political leadership was then circulated within the aristocratic circles among those males who were courageous and skilful in war, competent in administration, and who showed deep concern for tribal welfare through industry and the generous use of economic resources. The person selected may be a nephew, an uncle, a parallel or cross-cousin of the chief. The ritual functions inherent in the original position were, however, retained by the chief and, in time, all the roles were reverted to a suitable successor of the rightful leader.

1. Cf. Smith, Taranaki Coast, pp. 72-73; Tamairangi was high chieftainess of Ngati-Ira, renowned for her beauty and her aristocratic birth. A cave was called after her, Te Ana-a-Tamairangi, and also a sandbank in Porirua Harbour called Te Whata-Kai-a-Tamairangi, the store food of Tamairangi. She was so tapu she had to be carried from village to village. Other outstanding women were Wairaki and Muriwai of Matatua, Ruaputahangi of Taranaki, Mahinarangi of Ngatikahungunu; Grey, op.cit., p.160.

2. Firth, op.cit., pp. 92, 93, 94, 118; see JFS, Vol.10, 1907, p. 147: 'Ngaoko desired to return to his own hapu Te Aitanga-a-Tumupuhiarangi after being installed as chief of another tribe: 'Kaati au te noho i roto i a koutou, mene koutou e noho nei, he upoko tangahangaha snake, ko te tini hite moana, ko Ngati-Ira ki uta.' 70 warriors chosen as escort to take him home.
An interesting variation was reported by Te Whatahoro from Hawkes Bay showing the flexibility in the structure of traditional leadership. Te Whatahoro stated that it was the practice in the Ngatikahungunu tribe for the entire group to gather when probable heirs to the chiefship were about 20 years of age. On these occasions discussion took place concerning the merits of the different candidates. As a result titles were bestowed. The ariki matamua was the paramount chief, for in him were combined the qualities of primogeniture, personal ability, thoughtfulness for tribal welfare, hospitality and generosity. Should the necessary qualifications however, be found in junior members of the aristocratic family, the actual leadership would be assumed by them, while the first born retained the social status which was then termed tuakana matamua. Another term, upoko ariki, was bestowed upon the elected political leader, and in the case of a chosen female junior, the title was kahurangi. The functions of these elected leaders included absolute powers to declare war or to make peace. Here even the female with the necessary qualifications seems to have been elevated to a high political position. 1

The kinship terms indicating the order of birth in the sibling group, are important in arranging status. 2 These terms were tuakana (elder) and teina (younger). The primary meaning was of course biological, referring to the chronological order of birth. But the secondary meaning with its social connotations was the more significant. In this way tuakana indicated seniority arising from birth, and teina, juniority. Further, these relationships appertained only between members of the same sex.

THE KAHUI ARIKI or WHANAU RANGATIRA.
(Aristocratic extended family).
(First and second generations only—showing primogeniture and the fixing of status positions by structural relation thereto.)

1.

\[ \Delta = 0 \]

| EGO.  | TUAKANA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARIKI</td>
<td>(Senior Elder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Senior-Sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Paramount Chief)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| TUAHINE | TEINA
| (Sister) | (Junior) |
| RANGATIRA | RANGATIRA |
| RANGATIRA | Younger |

(See Text for the use of kinship terminology to classify social seniority and juniority—tuakana and teina.)

2.

\[ \Delta = 0 \]

| EGO.  | TUNGANE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TUAHANE</td>
<td>RANGATIRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Brother)</td>
<td>(Brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiefly terms for Senior Female</td>
<td>Political-Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariki Tapairu Kahurangi Tuhimareikura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RANGATIRA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| TUNGANE | TEINA
| (Junior) |
| RANGATIRA |

(Note the transfer of political leadership to the next oldest male sibling when primogeniture is assumed by a female.)

While the ideal pattern kept the seniority—juniority relationships in tuakana—teina within the same sex categories, forces existed in the principle of primogeniture which inclined to blur the line of rigid demarcation.)

chart 3, (pp 23-24)
A female was never tuakana to a male, only to another female, and a male was never tuakana to a female, only to another male.\(^1\) Other terms were used to show the relationship across the sex boundaries, such as tuahine, sister of a male, and tungane, brother of a female.

The factors of superordination and subordination in status denoted in the terms tuakana and teina were passed down the senior or junior lines throughout all subsequent generations. Actual chronological age did not matter; what was of importance in the relationship between people was whether a person descended in the senior or junior line. Thus the transmission of the status of male primogeniture, ure tu, and the social superiority of an agnatic descent, ure pukaka, as compared with matrilineal descent, are wahine, preserved the chiefly classifications.\(^2\)

Though not a chief in the usual sense, the kaumatua nevertheless assumed status in his group because of the procreative relationship to the eldest members. However, in addition, his age, wisdom and experience gave him authority. The Maori was ever respectful to those of a previous generation. Hina, (grey hair) was a symbol of great knowledge and wisdom to be revered.

The kaumatua was the repository of the genealogies, the tribal history and tradition for the family members; he knew the boundaries of the tribal land, and kept the account of both the victories and the defeats in the wars. He was full of the oral literature, the poetry and the mythology, and he also possessed knowledge concerning etiquette and procedure in the ceremonies; concerning too, the times of planting and harvesting, the seasons for fishing, fowling and hunting.

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1. Kinship terms are used in a classificatory way. Today the term tuakana and teina are used across the sex line, even a sister to a brother, and viceversa among Ngatiranginui of Tauranga. It is possible that this is due to modern conditions.
2. See Chart 3.
3. The writer has noted this attitude among Waikato, Te Arawa, Ngapuhi, Ngatimaniapoto and Ngaiterangi and Ngatiranginui.
Added to these are the linkage through genealogy with the leading families, close association with them in tribal administration, possession of technical skill, prowess in war, and oratorical gifts and thus we have a leader with a defined status in the family group, and an influence that reached outwards into the wider sphere of the subtribe and tribe.¹

The tohunga secured his status from the fact that Maori society was deeply embedded with ritual practices and religious ideals. Best has described Maori social organisation as a theocratic state. By this term Best partly means that the values and sanctions of the society were derived from a spiritual conception of the universe. All human activities whether agriculture, military, hunting, fishing, fowling, building, travelling or human relationships were governed by elaborate ceremonials. The total function of magic was the continuation and preservation of the sociopolitical system and as a ritual leader the tohunga played a very important part toward that end.²

The basis of leadership then were primogeniture, the male sex, and the acquired qualities of skill, ability and prowess. But for the very reason that Maori society was so heavily impregnated with religious ideas, practices and ceremonies, the magical factor in leadership was important. This feature was intimately intertwined with primogeniture and with the position of the tohunga. The nearest concept that summarises the sacred aspect of traditional leadership is Max Weber's charisma.³

1. A kaumatua may be renowned for some specialised skill or knowledge; he is freely open for consultation by others in the village.
2. Best, Vol.1. p.357, etc. Like most pre-literate society traditional Maori society made no special separation between the secular and the sacred.
The quality belonged as much to the social structure constructed in accord with magical patterns, as to the personality which found a niche within the system. In Maori thought the charisma has been expressed by the term mana, and its correlative tapu. Mana and tapu were qualities inherent in the senior line. To the Maori of old these inherent charismatic bases of status constituted an essential aspect of leadership, which could be added to and subtracted from, during the life of the leader, through success or failure in war and administration. The tapu of a chief enabled him to carry out certain functions of a ritual nature, and his mana gave validity and power to all his utterances, the contracts he made, and the roles he performed.

While the Maori chief was never received in the semi-worshipful fashion of the Samoan or Tongan social systems, nevertheless his authority was strong, confidence in his leadership was secure, and loyalty was focussed in his direction because of the mana which he inherited from the revered ancestors.

1. For discussion of tapu and mana of chiefs, see Buck op. cit. pp. 345-346; Firth op. cit. p. 237, etc., gives a sound sociological interpretation of tapu. He says the tapu of a person increased pari passu with his rank, so that the dignity of a chief was greatly intensified thereby.

Commoners dared not touch nor meddle with his belongings. This institution integrated into chiefship, performed valuable function in helping to sustain the whole fabric of social organisation; (See Firth ibid. for further references).

3. The Social Classes.

Just as the factors of birth and sex in the elementary family created Maori chiefship, so these same principles established the social grades in Maori society.¹ The line of demarcation between the classes was determined structurally by the proximity of the position to the senior line of descent according to rules of succession. The aim in Maori society was to preserve chiefship through intermarriage with people of similar class. Continued intermarriage, on the other hand, between descendants of the junior members of the original families tended to increase the distance of the junior from the senior lines, and so place the persons concerned in the tutua or ware class as distinct from the rangatira class. There were, therefore, two main classes in Maori society, the rangatira or aristocrat, and the tutua and ware or commoners.

The ware and tutua designation carried far more derogatory connotations than the equivalent commoner. However, the genealogical connection of each member of the tribe, with the aristocrats, prevented the development of any serious subservient relationship between the classes. The relationship of chiefs and commoners was one of filial reciprocal respect involving specific rights and obligations because of the kinship ties between them.²

For the same reason, the ware and tutua class was contractive, while the rangatira class was expensive. Most Maori persons, through recital of their genealogical relationship with the eponymous ancestor and the chiefly lines, proved not only to their own satisfaction, but also to that of their kindred, that they were really in the rangatira class.

¹ For discussion of social classes, see Best, Vol. 1, p. 345; Buck, op.cit., pp. 337-338; Firth, op.cit., pp. 91-92; The Cambridge History, p.11; Gudgeon, JPS, Vol. 16, 1907, pp. 13-42; for the general concept of social classes consult MacIver and Page, Society, p. 348.

² Many indirect references throughout the literature. See Grey, Nga Mahi, pp. 194-195. Grey, in the Maori text, received from the tohunga of Te Arawa, uses the special terms, Kanoi, for an aristocrat, and Mahimahi for the commoner or plebian, indicative of a relationship of superordination and subordination.
The ware was always the other person'.

The lowest grade in the society was made up of slaves, captured in war, and thereby possessed quite absolutely by the chiefs. The slaves really held no status in the tribe so that strictly, they were not members of the society; however, they formed a not too insignificant portion of the labourer force that supported chiefship. Their lack of sanctity and tapu also gave them a further special use as carrying cooked food, doing menial tasks, and providing sacrifice for ritual purposes, which of course, was unthought of with the credited members of the tribe. The slaves were the taurekareka, as distinct from the pononga or servants of the chiefs, often selected from their own relatives.

4. Roles of the Leaders.

Problem of Analysis: One of the defects in the written sources on traditional society, is the lack of detailed material giving the duties of the chiefs. There are many references here and there, but these are inadequate from the point of view of modern social anthropology. In order to extract as much as possible from the data available, a scheme of analysis is devised to subdivide leadership functions under the concepts political, administrative, ritual, economic and social. While it would not be correct to section off the functions of Maori leadership into such a clear-cut framework, nevertheless for heuristic purposes the use of this scheme is quite justifiable. The fact is Maori leadership functions were not performed by specialists in charge of particular departments as in modern society. Rather was there a close interlocking of roles in the same status.

1. Brown, New Zealand and its Aborigines, London, 1845, p.78, at the death of a chief in battle his mother took her little slave girl and killed her, as an outward expression of her sorrow.
A controversy raged among ethnologists at the beginning of the present century, about a suggestion made by Hammond, that there were distinct subdivisions within the category of chiefs, which showed an extensive hierarchical arrangement of roles and statuses. Hammond secured his information from Ngat-Ruanui in North Auckland. In essence, Hammond outlined four main offices of chiefs, each with its own particular functions. In an ascending order these were: Rangatira, Poumatua, Ariki, Tumuwhakarae and Tumuwhakatake, etc.

Hare Hongi and Te Whatwhoro criticised Hammond's scheme about the same time, and later, Best, Buck and Firth dismissed it altogether. Best made this concession however, that while perhaps Hammond's information did obtain among some tribes, nevertheless, such a phenomenon was not general. Best and the others were definite in stating that all the titles unearthed by Hammond, and purporting to describe separate functions within the chiefly category, were really honorific terms applied to the same office holder.  

The diversion into this controversy brings out two matters of methodological importance in the study of traditional Maori leadership. First, while there was an ideal pattern found throughout Maori society, there were also some significant variations among tribes, known to the men of standing themselves. It is neither necessary nor possible to state whether the variations represented a former condition or some emerging development.


2. Best ibid pp.345,351-352; Buck op.cit.p.344; Firth op.cit.p.91.
Suffice to say that such important variations did exist with certain tribes, in leadership as in other aspects of the society. Second, Hammond's scheme is important as showing the possible allocation of duties among members of the aristocratic families not only on account of birth, but also because of personal qualities of leadership. Given the proper circumstances, such as a great number of leading men, diversity of ability, as well as the demands of contemporary affairs, it is theoretically possible for a division of functions to emerge within the flexible structure of Maori leadership. But to build a case for the variation, found in Hammond, as in reality being the more general usage is hardly justifiable from the data. Hammond's scheme given below may be used in conjunction with that suggested earlier, in order to gain the maximum information from the data, and to clear the way for an understanding of what actually happened in traditional society.

I. The Tumuwhakarae, also called Tumuwhakatake, Tumuwhatiangia, Tangaingai, Foutangata, Foukai, Pouwhenau, Pouwhe... was the supreme head of the tribe. He never moved from the fortress, and dwelt in the most strongly guarded part. He was protected against illicit unions lest his 'blood' thus transmitted to an unwanted offspring should cause the tribe embarrassment. He assigned duties to officers. He was the administrator par excellence. In greetings he was closely identified with the tribe as when people used the dual pronoun in addressing him - 'Tena Korua'. The office was hereditary.

II. The Ariki was of the same reigning family as the Tumuwhakarae, etc., often the second son. He was the repository of the sacred lore of the tribe, was the main instructor at the Wharekura (school of higher learning). Also possessed sacrificial and ritual functions. Office hereditary, sometimes the eldest son in the aristocratic family assumed this position, but also did the youngest or Potiki.

III. The Poumatua was a son of the Tumuwhakarae by an inferior wife. He was the court official, well versed in genealogies, songs, and general Maori etiquette. Welcomed important visitors in a becoming manner. Director of entertainment, representative of ruling family at important gatherings.

IV. The Rangatira possessed considerable powers with due regards to Tumuwhakarae and Ariki. Rangatira responsible for behaviour and welfare of those under him. Provided companies of men
during war, independent, influential in councils of the people. However, they did not fail in their loyalty to one another when occasion demanded.¹

(a) The Ariki.

The political functions of the Ariki were variously expressed. The raising of a war expedition was brought to his notice early by a kaumatua or a rangatira. The ariki summoned the leaders of the tribe to the main marae. The decision to go to war was carefully arrived at, the determining factors being the deep involvement of the good name of the tribe, or the threat to its physical and social welfare.²

Once war was decided upon the notice was sent in the name of the ariki to the enemy forces. He also despatched an announcement to secure the alliance of other tribes and subtribes by means of the tiwha ceremony and the appeal for assistance was based on a point of obligation arising from kinship claims. However, the call for allies went out in the name of the ariki and that, in itself, was often sufficient.³

3. Best, Vol. 2, pp. 287,288,292; Tregear, op.cit., p. 328; Buck, op.cit., pp. 390, 39. Also, see JPS, Vol.1, 1909, p. 86. Te Rauparaha, on the request of Potatau leader of opposing side, allowed Waikato to retreat unmolested from their fight because of kinship obligation and similar treatment in the past: Potatau, 'E Raha he aha to koha ki a? Te Rauparaha, 'E tika ana. E ahu koe ki runga ka ora koe, e ahu koe ki raro, ka kati Te Kauaerunga ki Te Kauaeraro.' Potatau, 'O Raha what is your gift to me? Te Rauparaha, it is correct, return by yon upper ways - you will be safe, by the lower paths, the upper jaws will close upon the lower jaws.'
Plate 3. The Sentry - Whakaraara Pa.
During the actual fighting the ariki had the overhead control only. Although he was in charge of the tribal fighting forces, his power was limited by the absolute authority of the rangatira leaders over their respective subtribal companies. However, there were occasions of crises in the fighting when the ariki asserted his overall command. The ariki leading his subtribe may bring up the rear in an attack. The idea was for him to stem any probable break back in the face of enemy pressure by the performance of symbolic acts such as fixing his spear in the ground or making a mark to end further retreat.1

As a result of war a tribe may be taken as vassals of an important ariki.2 The vassal tribe would be settled on land, and given a proportion of the food resources for its sustenance. In return for the protection and care, the vassals brought tributes to the ariki in the form of choice morsels of preserved birds, eels or root crops. The ariki had direct responsibility for the destiny of vassals. It was he who decided their fate whether to free them, to enslave them or to incorporate them in the group. The vassals and the tribal members regarded the ariki as the principal master.

1. Buck, op.cit., pp.338,346,400; Smith, The Peopling, JPS, Vol.5, p.87. The Ngatiwhatua Chief, Waihakaakiaki, led his fighting force in retreat into a cave, in his hand he carried a calabash of oil, called a Tohu Riri. At a certain time he set it down in front of his men, who seeing this act turned back on the pursuing Waiohua and slew them; - Smith, Taranaki Coast, JPS, Vol.17, pp.137-138. Tuwhakairikawa a famous fighting chief received a call for assistance from Keroa widow of the Ngatimahanga chief Tameka, by means of a song she composed. Tuwhakairikawa obliged and in the subsequent fighting routed Te Ataiva forces, but to save them he thrust his spear into the ground and his men turned back from the pursuit; Te Kani-a-Takirau formed an alliance with the tribal enemy Ngapuhi, against some of the subtribes in his own group; Best, Vol.2, p.275.

Another matter of importance in external relations was the power of the ariki in respect to land. The land was owned by the tribe, and the chief, in common with members, was allocated his own areas for cultivations. He may do what he liked with his own land, providing this did not detrimentally affect the group and there his absolute control ended. However, because of the general attitude of respect toward his status and person, and because he was the symbol of tribal welfare and prestige, there did in fact accumulate about his position some extra powers affecting the land. On matters of land disposal the people looked to the chief for guidance. The ariki may veto alienation of land, he may propose its offer as gift, and he certainly led all the movements in arms for its defence. ¹

In the internal administration of the tribe, the ariki functioned as an arbitrator, persuader, adviser and supervisor of the assembly. All matters touching the welfare of the tribe were publicly discussed by the adults at the main village where the ariki lived. In a dispute between subtribes, the ariki called the tribe together. The disputants may get out of control, shouting at each other across the marae, and casting doubts on each other's ancestry or in some way belittling the other. The ariki would not use force even on such occasions, for he had none to use, but he would appeal to the disputants as the father of the group and this paternal attitude frequently brought order and peace. The tribe knew that the ariki was interested in them as his children and it was in these terms that he spoke to them in reproof, admonition or advice. ²

1. Firth, op.cit., pp. 367,370. In all matters affecting the handling or disposal of tribal land, the head chief (ariki) exercised great authority, a position of control due to his normal social status, rather than to his direct claims to ownership. If it were the occasion of transfer... it was he who took the lead. P.388, Cf. Wakefield, E.J., Adventure in New Zealand, Vol.1, London 1845, p.286. Turoa, Wanganui ariki, in persuading other rangatira to sell their land, said, "The land is yours, but I am your ariki, you must sell." A rangatira Maketu, replied, "It is enough, the old man has beaten my head with his mere and I am ashamed." In this case the strong persuasion of the ariki was successful in the alienation of the land.

2. Elder, Letters, pp. 184-186. There is here an interesting eye-witness account of a dispute among several rangatira leaders in North Auckland which finally ended in amicable reconciliation.
The ariki, the rangatira and the kaumatua all possessed some ritual duties varying in importance with the respective positions. The range of the ritual functions ran through from the practical everyday needs of the people to the larger tribal requirements with the more important ritual confined to the ariki and tohunga.

The charismatic qualities of tapu and mana inherent in the status of ariki provided the background for ritual functions. An important rite which only the ariki could carry out correctly was that of exhumation. The ceremony involved cooking kumara tubers in three separate umu, or ovens, one of which was set apart for the special use of the ariki.

Another ceremony which the ariki was called upon to perform was proclaiming the rahui, or sanctuary, over a territory, either because of some death on that spot, or because special food resources there needed to be conserved. The area and occasion were marked by a material object which the tribe recognised. The placing and lifting of the rahui were the functions of the ariki, though in this case he may delegate such duties to a rangatira.

Of the variety of rites connected with war, one in particular was performed by the ariki. On the eve of departure for battle, the warriors assembled at the wai tapu, and at a certain stage in the proceedings they passed through the outspread legs of the ariki. The symbolism of the act had special reference to the courage giving properties in the chief's genital organs, and the all-encompassing protective care of the ariki, the father of the tribe.

2. Best, E. Notes on the custom of the Rahui, JPS. Vol.13,1904, pp.82-88
   Firth op.cit. pp.247-242
3. Information from Te Rohu, kaumatua of Ngaitamarawaho, who was an expert exponent of the haka war dances, etc.
The economic activities of Maori society were fairly well defined by the nature of the pursuit, whether in agriculture, hunting, fowling, fishing or building. The general pattern in the tribe was for the ariki to initiate communal economic projects, provide gifts for payment of services for experts, as well as accommodation and food for the workers. In the great task of constructing the elaborately decorated tribal assembly halls, the ariki excelled as initiator and co-ordinator of efforts. He laid the proposal before the tribe at the inevitable public discussion. The 'take' or reason for the building was examined. An important occasion needed this kind of commemoration, or perhaps the ancestral assembly hall required renovation.

The resources of the tribe were investigated. A subtribe may own the totara (Podocarpus totara) timber for the carved facings, or the rimu for the body of the construction. Another subtribe may be able to secure the kakaho (Arundo Conspicua) for the decorative panelling, while carvers and other experts may come from another subtribe. The ariki however, was the organiser of the project, promoting, stimulating, encouraging, attending to ritual ceremonies with the aid of the tohunga, and arranging for the symbolisms from tribal history and tradition for incorporation in the carvings of the building.

1. Firth, op.cit. pp.204, 224, 225-227, 294-296; Firth summarizes the factors in the economic leadership of the ariki (and also rangatira), p.227. (a) Command of technical skill, knowledge of economic law and industry, (d) derivative power from his position as leader in social matters and head of kinship group.
   (c) His wealth as owner of valuable property and custodian of the most important tribal treasures. (d) His Sacerdotal and tapu position as a chief.
2. Firth, op.cit. pp.345-346; The writer helped in organising a subtribe, Ngaitamarawaho at Tauranga, in the erection of a carved meetinghouse in which the traditional procedure was followed. Similar procedure was also observed at Ngaruawahia under the direction of the late Te Puea Herangi.
3. Firth, Economics, p.286; Also seen in the work at Tauranga.
4. From H.P. Toka, Ngatiwhata, one of New Zealand’s leading carvers today. He was associated with the writer in the building at Tauranga where he compiled the legendary and factual history of the subtribe, from the leading kaumatua, these he worked into the carving design.
Assistance from other tribes came through the ariki, for he knew what to touch in the interests of his neighbours. Again reciprocal relationships based on kinship and mutual obligation attracted outside help. Gifts for services on the project were given, but the best rewards to an assisting tribe were association with an ariki of renown, work on an important building crowned by the laudatory remarks of the assembled people at the kawanga where, dedication ceremonies, after the house was completed. 1.

Actual participation of the ariki in work was not unknown. Tamateapokaiwhenua worked in his kumara cultivations at Owharo, and netted fish at the Otira Beach, below his pa tuwatawata, at Papenoa, Tauranga. His elder son, Ranginui, was famed for his skill, speed and accuracy in adzing timber for assembly houses while his younger son, Kahungunu, was renowned for his industry in securing Paua, (Haliotis), and thus winning the favours of aristocratic women of the East Coast. Whatihua, was successful over his brother in the suit for the hand of Ruaputahanga at Kawhia by supplying large quantities of food and outsize meetinghouses during her visit. 2

The social functions of the ariki arose out of his possession of the highest status in the society, his residence in the main tribal village, and his duties as caretaker and trustee of the tribal marae. The communal centre and the assembly hall were the rightful place for all gatherings of the tribe, and the principal personage of these institutions was the ariki, who arranged and supervised the mortuary rites at the death of distinguished members of the tribe at the central marae, and also led the welcome to guests. It was usual for the ariki to begin the speeches of welcome to strangers - hei wahi i nga korero (to break the speeches). 3

1. Firth, op.cit.p.296. Today one may observe the pride felt by all participants in the work of construction during the dedication ceremonies, as at the opening of Mahinarangi, Turangawaewae marae, Ngaruawahia.
2. Information from Te Hare Piaha, Tauranga, and from Roi Moke, Kawhia; Also see Elder, Letters, p.191; Firth op.cit.p.204.
Among some tribes the ariki spoke last, particularly in the Tuhoe tribe. Though these variations existed, the pattern in general was for the ariki to lead all the speeches so as to offer the main theme, to set the standard of oratory, and to suggest the approach toward the visitors. On the other hand, a recognised orator rangatira may be deputised by the ariki to take the honoured place of opening the speeches. The oratory on these occasions was highly formalised, liberally interspersed with poetry and delivered with a great amount of energy and force. The fame of an ariki orator spread far and wide for the great knowledge of mythology, poetry and literary allusions which he displayed.

Tribal feasts held at the main marae, were also promoted by the ariki after discussion with the tribe. The necessary preparation would begin many months beforehand, co-operative effort of the tribe being directed at increased cultivation, securing quantities of preserved birds, fish, aruhe (Pteris aquilina var. Esculenta), and the Kumaro kaa.

A feast, like all Maori occasions, was held for some recognised reason or 'take', and this would be well known to hosts and guests. In all the arrangements and organisation, the ariki was supreme, though the actual manual work was done by the people, the co-ordination of effort being the responsibility of the ariki. On the feast day itself the allocation of gifts of food to the visitors, the order of precedence in the giving of gifts, would all be a matter for the ariki to finalise. Precedence on such occasions was decided according to what the genealogies declared concerning the status position of the visitors.

1. Te Karehana, Ngaiterangi; Te Hare Piahana, Ngatiranginui; Heemi Himiona, Waikato; recognised orators, follow this custom today.
3. Firth, op.cit. chap.9. Full discussion of the feast, its sociological meaning and the relation of the chief thereto.
4. Firth, ibid.,pp.276,277,280,319,321. An account of the immense preparation etc. involved in a feast given by King Potatau in 1844. The feast was a mark of his ariki prestige. In 1950 a whole year was given to the organisation and preparation for the centennial celebration commemorating the landing of the canoes at Ngaruawahia under the supervision of Te Puea Herangi.
5. Firth, Economics, p.93, summarizes the following among the more important functions of the ariki. (a) Mauri-caretaker (talisman) of fisheries and forests...
(b) **Rangatira.**

In the external relations of the tribe as a whole the rangatira deferred to the ariki. However, in the negotiations between his subtribe and other subtribes in the same tribe or with groups outside the tribe, the rangatira was supreme. The rangatira was undisputed head of his own subtribe, in matters immediately concerning it, and there was little interference from the ariki.¹

If at a tribal council the rangatira considered the decision to be detrimental to the best interests of his subtribe, he did not hesitate to dissent, and publicly disassociate himself and his subtribe from it. On that occasion he would say, 'E unu ana ahau ki waho i tenei kupu.' 'I withdraw myself from this word.' Thus identifying himself with the subtribe. The subtribe acquiesced without more ado.

In the event of war, should a rangatira find his forces sufficient, and the 'take' for fighting intimately connected with his subtribe, he had power to embark on a fighting expedition. Such subtribal fighting expeditions may be launched against another subtribe in the same tribe.²

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5. (continued from page 37). (b) guardianship of tribal taonga (heirlooms); (c) asking for female children of other tribes as betrothed wives for young men of his own people; (d) bestowing names on children; (e) giving and receiving presents; (f) recital of genealogies; (g) reception of visitors, speech making on state occasions for tribe as whole; (h) recital of curative magic; (i) defining tribal territory; (j) fixing boundary marks; (k) haircutting; (l) recital of observances at birth of children; (m) imposing and lifting of tapu. See also pp. 276, 277, 314, 316-317, for giving of gifts.

1. Smith, Taranaki Coast, JPS, Vol. 17, 1908, pp. 185-188; Firth, op.cit., pp. 344-345: dispute between Ngatipou and Ngatimahuta over the Kororipo eel weir on lake Whangape. Kepa, young brother of ariki, Te Wherowhero, took up a kaumatua's claim to the weir as a rangatira of Ngatimahuta; Best, Vol.1, p.341.

Rangatira control of land was similar to that exercised by the ariki over tribal territory. The rangatira and his family occupied a specific portion of the subtribal land, and his share of it was neither more, nor less than that of any other member, except when he received gifts of land out of respect to his position and to his personal qualities, but his power of control was limited to the boundaries of his own cultivations. Like the ariki his apparently greater control of land emerged from his closer association with the general welfare of the subtribe, and the fact that he symbolised the unity of the group. Alienation of land either through offering it as a gift, or as a result of war, was always the deepest concern of the rangatira, the head of the subtribe. When necessary, he too led the fighting in defence of subtribal lands.

In a society where the courage of a warrior was all important, and death in battle glorified, the rangatira skilled in warfare, received many opportunities for increasing his social status. Each rangatira warrior had his own style of fighting which became fairly well known, and leading men were recognisable in the heat of battle from their dress, their weapons, and their skill in the use of the taiaha or the patu. Fighting men too welcomed the chance to go into battle under the colours of a famous rangatira.

The subtribal fighting force was a tightly compacted kinship unit of 140 men, called Te Hokoko-whitu-a-Tu, thus absolute loyalty to the rangatira leader in the stress of battle was assured.

A rangatira too was always much sought after as a victim in war, especially as the mataika, or first fish, part of whose body was used in war ritual on the battlefield. Hikarohia nga mara, gouge out the moons or, seek out the chiefs, was the cry heard in the din of the clash of arms. The man of a fighting man rose when he could claim to have slain the rangatira leader, just as defeat in war detracted from his status.

The political functions of the rangatira in external affairs, land control and war leadership were linked with the internal administration of the subtribe. Achievement abroad reflected respect and pride at home. The rangatira performed the same administrative roles in the subtribe as the ariki in the tribe. The village marae and whare runanga were the administrative centres of the subtribe. Here the kaumatua heads of families were summoned by the rangatira, here they discussed matters pertaining to war and peace, concerning internal disputes, alienation of land, visits abroad, marriage arrangements, etc. Oratory and debating skill were the techniques used by all the members of the subtribal council. The procedure in dealing with such matters followed the tribal pattern. The rangatira supervised the discussions, though a kaumatua may introduce topics. He was usually more forceful than the ariki was in the tribal assemblies, being less hindered by extreme tapu and by the high status. However, like the ariki, the rangatira was not a dictator, his views being countered by the debating ability of the kaumatua leaders.

2. Gudgeon, Te Mana Tangata, JPS. Vol.14, pp.49-66, Ngatiraukawa lost their mana when Te Rauparaha defeated them and claimed the burial place of their chief Hape as well as their land: Best, Notes on the Art of War, JPS. Vol.11. pp.219-220.
Plate 4. Interior decoration - Wharerunanga
Backwall and Ceiling.
The ritual functions of the rangatira were not so well defined. He inherited the same qualities of mana and tapu as did the ariki, but in somewhat less intense forms. Here, with the rangatira as with the ariki, status was backed by the charisma which was handed down in the aristocratic family. The ariki retained the right to perform the exhumation ceremonies, but the rangatira seemed to be able to carry out all other ritual roles. These included the placing and lifting of the rahui sanctuary, the varieties of war magic, the rites in economic undertakings and those in construction, in the fixing of land boundaries, the curing of sickness, the cutting of hair and the observances at the birth of children.\(^1\)

Two conditions secured the interchange of ritual roles between the ariki and the rangatira. One was the close connection of the matter with the subtribe rather than the tribe, the other was the non-availability of the ariki on such occasions. In ritual matters the ariki stood high above the rangatira because of the greater intensity of his tapu and mana, arising from his senior birth. His participation therefore in ritual functions in the subtribal areas, other than those of his own group, was greatly sought after, because of the mana and effectiveness attached to his ministrations.\(^2\)

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1. Firth, Economics, pp. 249, 250, 261; Best, Maori Eschatology, TNZI, Vol. 38, p.221; - Notes on the custom of the Rahui, JPS, Vol.13, pp.83-88; Brown, New Zealand and its Aborigines, p.11. Also GFF. Grey, Nga Mahi, p.107. The Chief Whakaue performed the necessary rites when his wife Rangiuru was in difficulty over the birth of her son; also see p.172, concerning Paoa performing kumara ritual.

2. Smith, The Peopling, JPS, Vol.6, p.80. Kiwi, The Ariki of Waiohua, at the harvesting of the kumara, returned to his pa at Maungakiekie to direct operations with the appropriate karakia and ceremony, which he alone could effectively carry out.
The rangatira also operated as a leader in economic enterprise. The rangatira, together with his kuia and their family, worked in the cultivations, went out fishing, and snared birds and other animal life in the forest. In the breaking in of land he took a lead at the head of the ohu working bee. In the building of canoes, the construction of meeting-houses for the subtribe, the rangatira was the initiator, the director of work, and main organiser. Neither the ariki, nor the rangatira were men of entire leisure, they gave a hand in communal work and they helped themselves and their families.

The social functions of the rangatira arose from his status as the leader of the subtribe associated with the marae and whare runganga. He welcomed visitors to the village, he supervised the mortuary rites there, he negotiated in marriage arrangements, and he promoted and supervised the feasts. But he also took part in the wider affairs of the tribe in conjunction with the ariki.

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The political functions of the kaumatua may be seen at two levels. He represented the family group at the subtribal gatherings, in the administration of village affairs. The family heads together with the rangatira formed the subtribal council or the runanga, which, though not a formalised organisation in the modern sense, was nevertheless governed by a recognised code. The public discussion of all matters ensured the free expression of the views of the kaumatua, while training by experience in oratory gave him a high standard of effectiveness in administration. The leadership of the kaumatua was recognised by the family group as its representative in the subtribal council. No other member of the family would dare speak in the village gatherings when the kaumatua was present. This would be regarded as takahi or trampling upon. Some precocious youth may attempt to do this with the mitigating preamble to his speech, that he is a wawahi taha, but he would be severely dealt with by the other kaumatua leaders, though if he persisted with ability, he may be permitted to continue. Fortunately these wawahi taha, or breakers of calabashes, were in the minority.¹

The internal administration of the family further featured the leadership of the kaumatua. His age bespoke wisdom, he knew the genealogies, and the history of the subtribe. Thus the members of the family brought their problems to him, he advised in their disputes, and he disciplined them when needed.

¹. The phrase used was 'Ehara he wawahi taha tenei' - 'Excuse me, Sirs, I am a breaker of calabashes'. cf. Brown, New Zealand and its Aborigines, pp. 38-40. Young chiefs, however powerful and influential, generally remained silent in the presence of their seniors, by whose opinion they willingly permit themselves to be guided.
He was also the educator in the everyday skills and etiquette, as well as being the source of information. He trained the young in the games that introduced them to the art of war.\footnote{Buck, op.cit. pp. 356-359}

The kaumatua was repository of rites for the use of the family members. There was a certain amount of tapu and mana in his person as the eldest male, that gave force to his ritual. He may also be the medium of the family gods. He practiced the curative magic in his immediate circle, and he certainly advised concerning the rites and ceremonies in agriculture, in hunting and fishing. Safety in war, and in travels abroad, security against accident and sickness, were all within the ritual ken of the kaumatua leader.

As the work unit in Maori society was really the family, the kaumatua was therefore its proper leader. He worked in his cultivations for he knew when to set the taro and \textit{kumara} tubers. He took the men fishing for he knew the habits of the fish, and the places where they were to be found. He set the traps in the bush for the rats and birds, he knew where they fed, and when they would be plentiful. He participated, directed and supervised in the work life of the family, and his status based on age and experience was validated by skill and knowledge.

The social functions of the kaumatua on the marae have already been implied. He was associated with the ariki and rangatira in welcoming visitors, promoting feasts, helping in the mortuary rites, etc. His position on social occasions was clear from the precedence given the leaders of higher rank.
(d) The Tohunga.

The tohunga was the ritual leader with important political functions. He was usually recruited from the ranks of the aristocracy. While the superordinate status of the kaumatua was primarily derived from his age, that of the tohunga stemmed from the concentration in his hands of all the religious rites in the society.

The political aspects of ritual functions may be seen in various ways. For instance in the planning of war campaigns, the laying down of military strategy, the performance of preparatory war magic, and the interpretation of signs touching the outcome of war. Rituals too were continued throughout the fighting until the warriors returned to their village and were welcomed there by the tribe. The chiefs and their fighting men were entirely dependent upon the ministrations of the tohunga from beginning to end of war.

By the practice of sorcery closely allied to intertribal conflicts, the tohunga not only weakened the enemy forces, but he also strengthened the chiefs and the men of his own side. The dreaded wai mate, in which men became listless, cowardly and altogether unfitted for combat, was imposed or averted by the tohunga's use of sorcery.

The political influence of the tohunga appeared too in the multitudinous rites and ceremonies surrounding chiefship. The rank and file may be born, marry and die, without much fuss being made. On the other hand the chief was different.

1. Firth, op.cit., pp.92,137,138,224,226,256,261,263; Smith, On the Tohunga Maori TNZI, Vol.32, pp.253-270. He contends that the higher class ritual leader was hereditary, for example Te Rakuraku family of Tuhoe; Hammond, The Tohunga Maori, JPS. Vol.16, pp.63-91; Smith, N., The Maori People and Us, pp.23,24; The Cambridge History, Vol.17, Pt.2, p.12; Buck, Coming, pp.338-476; Best, Maori Agriculture, DMB, No.9, p.172; No.6, pp.163-170.

2. Best, Vol.1, pp.327-336; Vol.2, pp.44-48, 286, 289, 292-294; Notes on the Art of War, JPS, Vol.13, 1904, p.76; Smith, Taranaki Coast, JPS, Vol.17, pp.137,138, Tuhakairikawa was chosen supreme commander of war with Kahukura as Tohunga. Tuhakairikawa dreamed that he saw a kakariki (cyanoramphus novae Zelandiae) flying towards him, while from behind came a school of kahawai (Arripis Salar) Kahukura gathered the fighting chiefs together and interpreted the dream. An attack would come before dawn from the forest, and from their own rear, Te Atiawa would send another force. The enemy numbers would be great. He cautioned against a dispersal of forces before the second attack. The strategy met with success - Wakangungu, JPS, Vol.27, p.33; Buck, op.cit. p.475, etc.
Conception of a male child to carry on the senior line was invoked by the tohunga at the tuahu, sacred place. Prenatal care of the mother of the future chief was detailed and meticulous, and this was under the direction of the tohunga. At his birth his mother was confined in the specially built tapu whare kohanga, waited on and cared for by selected female attendants and the tohunga. The infant chief's entry into the tribe was heralded by the ceremony of the oha on the marae, the offering of gifts and the making of speeches. This was followed by the tohi dedication rite, and the tua naming rite, at the wai tapu, sacred stream, all under the tohunga's supervision. His betrothal as a child sent the toro messenger with gifts and a request to a neighbouring tribe who received them with due ceremony. The tribes involved discussed the matter according to proper etiquette. At the marriage ceremony too, the tohunga took charge and elaborate rituals were performed. The education of the chief was surrounded, as ever, with the power of the tohunga. As a child, the chief took part in the gatherings of the tribe as a passive participant. In his games he was watched and guided by the tohunga. Training for war commenced early, and all these included rituals of one kind or another. At adolescence he was admitted into the whare wananga where philosophy, the religion, the genealogies, and the mythologies of the people were deposited. Here the chief came under the influence of the tohunga instructors, in an institution wrapped in tapu and handling a curriculum which, in both content and method of transmission, was essentially religious.

But the tohunga's power over the chief did not end there. It continued on in the mortuary rites, which enshrined the death of the chief's, the farewell to his body and spirit, and later also the exhumation of his sacred bones.¹

Thus the political thinking and policy of the chiefs were in no small measure moulded by the relationship with the tohunga. The tohunga as the philosopher, the guide and friend of the chief, exerted his power in an indirect but effective manner upon the political organisation of Maori society.²

The tohunga's influence upon the internal administration of the tribe may be seen in a more direct way. The tohunga may himself be an ariki, a rangatira, and a kaumatua.³ As such he would take part in the assemblies of the people and supervise the various activities. As an expert in the rituals of the society, in the ceremonial and etiquette, and in the genealogies his presence was required. The person of the tohunga, swathed with tapu, commanded the respect of people who had a high estimation of ritual experts. When we consider the sanctions for social control, we also see the administrative force of the ritual leader.⁴

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2. Buck, op.cit., pp. 356-363; Best, Notes on the Art of War, JPS, Vol. 13, 1904, p.81. When a man became noted for knowledge, bravery, or cleverness, the Tohunga would render him tapu, by performing the rite known as Te Hau-o-tu. He will then possess great mana or prestige. The Tohunga plucks a hair from his own head, places it with a leaf or twig of the karamu shrub (Coprosma-Robusta) on the head of the chief; Firth, Economics, p.92.
The sanctions and customs were rooted in religious sources with which the tohunga was closely allied. Best\(^1\) stated this in another way, when he referred to the fear of punishment by the gods meted out in this world rather than the next, as the final arbiter of right and wrong conduct. The tohunga was able to confirm or to eliminate the effects of wrong doing, as he not only represented the power of the gods, but he also helped to divert it. His influence working through the religious sanctions, controlled behaviour and conduct, and gave a certain slant to the administrative processes in the group.

The place of the tohunga in economic enterprise was assured.\(^2\) He was the repository of the most important magic required in agriculture, fishing, hunting, fowling and building. The construction of an important canoe or assembly hall in all their different phases needed the tohunga, equipped with the necessary rites. No stage, from the selection of the tree in the forest to the dedication of the assembly hall, was done without the tohunga. Thus as the size of cultivations, the quantities and quality of food, the numbers of canoes, the elaborate architecture of the assembly halls all reflected the mana of a chief and his tribe, the fact that the tohunga was an essential factor in their production gives him a significant though often indirect role in the social and political functioning of Maori society.

An attempt has been made in this section to sketch the roles performed by the different classes of leaders in Maori society. The analysis has been taken cognisance of some convenient divisions, political, administrative, ritual, economic and social. However, it must be borne in mind that these divisions were used only for analysis.

2. Firth, Economics, p. 226. The division of functions between the Ariki and the Tohunga. Firth, in his writings, stresses the priority of the Tohunga in Economic enterprise in the tribe, while in this study that position is given rather to the chiefs. The difference is one of emphasis, the Ariki was undoubtedly the overall coordinator of effort.
The tendency in practice for roles and statuses to telescope, and for the socio-political system to interlock has presented a real methodological problem. This has blurred the statuses and roles attached to each leadership position. Another aspect of this, is the similarity in kinds of jobs attributed to each position at all levels. Maori society seemed to have patterned its operations on the basic master plan provided by the extended family group.

5. **Symbols of Chiefship.**

The symbols and accompaniments of chiefship aimed at its maintenance and the reinforcement of the respect and loyalty given by the people. The pattern of residential arrangement in the village was symbolic of the status hierarchy. The household units of the chief were located close to the assembly hall, near the marae communal centre. His status was intimately integrated with the two institutions, the marae and whare runanga, that constituted the social core of the village. We have seen how this fact determined the social and administrative roles of the chief. Generally the ariki and the tribe saw to it that the finest carved and the largest, whare runanga, was in the tribal village where the ariki lived. The rangatira too, assisted by the subtribe, constructed a well-built and highly decorative house for his subtribe in his own village, second only to the tribal one. The whare runanga and the marae demonstrated the high rank of the chief of the tribe or subtribe, and the existence of these facilities helped to maintain his position.¹ The chiefs' own household units were also built of better

material, and with more elaborate architecture than those of ordinary folk. But it was the pataka or the store house which drew attention to the presence of a chief. Some of the finest carvings were attached to the front of the pataka, where passers-by were able to see and admire. Two points may be made about the carved pataka. First, the social value ascribed to particular types of food such as preserved birds, kept for safe-keeping in it, and the second, the close integration of choice foods and other delicacies with the position of the chief.

Clothing made the man in olden times. Whether in peace or war the chief could always be distinguished from the commoner by his garments. On dress occasions, over his shoulders he wore cloaks such as the kahu kuri, to which long narrow strips of dogskin were attached, or the korowai, ornamented by tage or thrums of black undyed cords dotted over the surface of the garment. There was also the kahu huruhuru worn mostly by women, to which were tied tufts of feathers arranged in squares so as to cover the entire surface.

1. Buck, Coming, pp. 121-130.
2. Firth, op.cit., p. 84.
The most highly valued cloaks worn by chiefs were the plain woven fabric edged by a coloured border at the bottom and sides. These were called the kai taka or parawai cloaks.

The personal appearance of the chief was rendered more impressive and dignified by a variety of striking adornments. After washing the hair, and rubbing shark oil into it, it was tied in a knot on the crown on the head. In the knot were arranged the tail feathers of the huia (Heteralocha Acutirostris) and kotuku (Herodias Timoriensis). The face and most of the body were massaged with a mixture of red ochre and shark oil. The shark tooth pendants or mako were suspended from the ears, and the heitiki greenstone from the neck. Among Ngatikahungunu, women of rank wore the tuhi mareikura, facial adornment consisting of a cross on each cheek and one on the forehead, marked with a blue paint called pukepoto. Tattooing, though not a special mark of rank yet assumed that function because only the chiefs were economically best able to attract the artists to do it. Thus the men of rank with shining black hair set with the whale bone comb and adorned with the huia feathers, face glistening with the rouge of shark oil and red ochre, throwing into relief the heavy scroll lines of the moko tattoo, presented what to Maori standards of beauty and aesthetics, was a combination of aristocratic dignity and outstanding personality.¹

¹. Firth, op.cit., pp. 290, 300; Turei, Taharaku, JPS, Vol.22, p.65; Elder, Letters, p.105, for a description of the wearing of European clothes and uniform later by a chief as a symbol of his rank; Grey, Nga Mahi, p.197, for an account of Te Aohuruuru renowned for physical beauty, and also pp.115-116 for a description of Marutauhu and his dress, etc. "Ka haere a marutauhu ki tia ana, ka herea te kotaha, e rima te kaun nga kaka maka iho te kotuku, te huia, hei whakapai mai mona." Best, Vol.2, Chap.20; JPS, Vol.22, 1913, p.65; Buck, op.cit., Chap.12.
The charismatic qualities inherent in the line of senior descent, which provided a basis for the status of the chiefs may also be regarded as symbols of the position. The tapu in the person of the chief was transmitted to anything that he touched, to his clothes, eating utensils, and his house. Land may be made tapu after a chief had walked over it. Hinematiroro of Ngatiporou, it is said, was carried about to avoid this danger. Chiefs, after being seated on the ground, swooped the hand over the spot where they sat to gather up the tapu, and inhale it back into the system through the nose. No person was allowed to step over a chief, least of all a woman. So great was the tapu of a chief that he often climbed over the entry of a village for fear lest his tapu would be violated by the pathway used by ordinary mortals.

There were qualities of mind and spirit that marked out the chiefs. The general term rangatira summed up all these qualities. 'Ta te rangatira tana mahi' was a popular saying. 'A chief is as a chief does'; the meaning being that one can always tell a chief by the qualities he displayed. In war, according to some informants, the chiefs were the finest fighters, while the commoner had neither courage nor skill. The chief was expected to react sensitively to the curse which frequently led to war, the commoner was less liable to see in this any real cause for trouble.

Chivalry too distinguished the men of rank. A fleeing warrior was saved by a chief throwing his cloak over the fugitive and calling out his name.

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1. Best, Notes on the Art of War, JPS, Vol.13, 1904, pp. 10, 24 and 79. When Te Ahuru died at Tawhoro Pa at Ruatoki, the fort was abandoned. Tawhaki ariki of Kawerau visiting Te Rangirirua at Karoki Pa was so tapu he had to be taken to the sacred stream of the village for the tohi rite before he was able to join the other people - Te Wanganui-a-Tara, JPS, Vol.10, 1901, pp. 107, 138; Firth, Economics, pp. 237, 336; Buck, Coming, pp. 345-347; Brown, N.Z. and its Aborigines, p.12; Manning, op.cit., pp. 206-208.
The well known story of Te Kani-a-Takirau illustrates the chivalrous conduct of the leading men of war. A chief saw a group of warriors hurriedly away from the battlefield all clustered together. On investigation he found the little baby boy Te Kani-a-Takirau, the ariki of Ngati- Porou. The leader of the group realising that the end had come, offered the handle of a famed club, that he had in his belt, implying that no other weapon would be worthy to dispose of the infant chief. The older man, in his turn, handed his own personal mere pounamu, a chiefly greenstone club, over to the party and told them to pass on quickly. The prestige of the chivalrous chief rose far more by that act than if he had killed Te Kani.

Hospitality and generosity were symbols of chiefship. These were at the back of the social functions like feasts, the entertainment of visitors, and the chief's paternal attitude toward the tribe. There was no action that more quickly lost for a chief his mana in the tribe than meanness, either in the niggardliness of food provision for guests or the refusal to grant them accommodation. The giving of suitable gifts belong to this category.

The significance of wealth as a mark of rank is involved in the fulfilment of the qualities of hospitality and generosity.


1. Smith, Wars of the Northern against the Southern, JPS, Vol.9, p.147; Wilson, The Story of Te Waharoa, p.17. Takahi a chief and ten of his men escaped from Te Rohu's slaughter at Tauranga. Te Rohu saw them try to make a getaway, and he called Takahi's name, and so Takahi gave himself up, and because his name was called he retained his rank in Te Rohu's tribe.


The facilities in the *marae* comprised the capital goods of the tribe useful for providing visitors with amenities. The tribal store houses of food, the heirlooms that were handed from one generation to another, all these showed how wealthy a chief was; but then such articles were used in giving hospitality to guests or in the making of gifts to them. Polygamy and slavery too played their part in building and holding prestige. Polygamy was practised mostly by the chiefs. An addition of a wife to the bevy of wives may be made through natural attraction or in order that the coveted male child might be secured. But the demand for increased economic resources for leading men, as Firth has shown, was a necessary function of this practice. The bigger cultivations, the quantities of finely woven mats, the entertainment of visitors, and the giving of hospitality were the obligations encumbent upon the position of the chiefs. Numerous wives helped, and they therefore became a mark of high status.

Of the same order is the function of slavery in Maori society. The economic demands on the chief necessitated a ready supply of easily disposable labour force, thus making slavery quite inseparable from the prestige of the position.

What might be termed education, culture and manners in modern times were the possession of aristocracy. Trained in the schools, the chiefs acquired the knowledge of the genealogies, mythology, religion and philosophy.

2. Firth, op.cit., pp.95, 115-117, 120.
Oratory, too, was an accomplishment that set out the well bred man. Called upon to constant exercise in the assemblies, the chief not only heard, but practised, the art of oratory. He was the repository and the master of the arts and letters in the society as contrasted to a person of lowly birth.  

The name of the chief had also a special ring about it. The naming of the infant aristocrat was enshrined in ritual and the name may come from an incident in tribal history, or it may come from an attempt to crystallize some desirable quality. Some reports state the use of alternative terms for application to a chief in order to avoid common use of the high tapu of his real name. Other references to a chief may be Te Taniwha, the Monster, or Te Totara-o-te-wao-mui-a-Tane, the Totara of the great forest of Tane, particularly in poetry. This too was a device to place the chief on a high pedestal and thereby retain the respect and loyalty of the people. In this and in the other ways mentioned in this section, the institution of chiefship was announced and maintained for its continuation assured the preservation of Maori society.

6. The checks on chiefly power.

It would be wrong to conceive of checks on the power of the chiefs as being formulated in a code of law, or embodied in an institution. The concept is rather one in which authority was dispersed at various cardinal points interacted one with the other.

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2. Taylor, Te Ika, pp. 157-158, Tinirau, name of a chief, signifies the warrior who slew many hundreds with his own hands. Rangiirihau, the heaven lifted up above showing he was too great to be moved by the outbreaks of his enemy. When Te Heuheu was overwhelmed by a landslip, his son assumed the name Horomuku, the Sliding Landslip; Williams, H.W., Dictionary, p. XXI; Ngata, Nga Moteatea, pt. 1, pp. 10-13, 104.
It is in this process of interaction among specific sources of authority, that we see the strains and stresses that constitute a limiting factor upon the power of the chiefs in Maori society.

All members of the society were bound together in the web of kinship, thus the chief and the commoner were closely related to each other. The chief looked on tribal members as younger brothers and sisters, and they in their turn, took up the same attitude toward him. This feeling toward each other was made possible by the small scale size of the society, where genealogies showing the connections between the members of the tribe were accessible to all adults. The paternal and filial relationships meant that, in practice, there were certain actions even in his more distant position as leader, the chief would not want to do toward his kinsmen. Then too the economic, military and social projects under the supervision of the chiefs depended for their fulfilment upon the soundness of this reciprocal relationship.

Of importance, too, was the separation among the different classes of leaders and the degree of separate autonomy among the social groups which they each headed. This dispersed the location of power in the socio-political system. The classes of leaders, as we have seen, were arranged in fairly distinct hierarchical formation descending from the ariki, rangatira and kaumatua with the tohunga holding a strong pervasive influence.


2. Elder, Letters, p. 334. Valuable observations given by Maraesia from first hand evidence witnessed a little after 1820, concerning limits of the authority of the ariki.
Each position checked the other. Then there was the corporate mass of the people upon whom the chiefs depended for the execution of all their combined decisions.\(^1\)

The people were further distributed among the social groups, which themselves possessed varying degrees of autonomy and independence, though they were all brought together and retained in unity by kinship bonds and by those links that sprang from their constant association within the same territory of land.\(^2\)

The picture was one of status hierarchy in acknowledged arrangement, but at the same time, one where the power of control was distributed among the leaders and also vested in the body of the people and the social groups. Socially, the status of the chief was strong owing to his superior birth, but politically he shared his power with other leaders and institutions in the society, and it is this fact, made dynamic through the process of interaction between the sources of authority, that prevented the rise of an autocratic ruler on the one hand, and promoted satisfactory government on the other.\(^3\)

The institution of the marae, involving open discussion, the practice of oratory, and almost unlimited participation by adult members in the assemblies of the tribe, brought to the surface the inherent strains and stresses of the power structure in Maori society.

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2. Elder, Letters, p. 334. Valuable observations given by Marsden from first hand evidence witnessed a little after 1820, concerning limits of the authority of the ariki.
The marae was always open to any member of the tribe, for it was kinship, acquired through descent from the eponymous ancestor, that gave this right. All other area of land may become allocated to sections of the tribe, sub-tribe or the family, but the marae was the property of all, and no chief or tohunga would think of denying right of access to any member of the group who wished to participate in the discussions.

There was a certain sense of tapu attached to the marae and the arrangements made there had a special binding force, that could not be easily set aside. The Maori said, Korerotia i te ra e whiti ana, discuss things while the sun is shining, referring to the open nature of the marae, and the public conduct of its business. Kaua i te kokonga o te whare, let not our affairs be done in the corner of the house, where the people cannot see. Once a person spoke on the marae he committed himself and there was no withdrawal, because of the tapu nature of the marae which affected the things he said. The chief therefore was careful about what he said and did on the marae. 

Public opinion was also an effective limiting factor upon autocracy.

1. Firth, op.cit., pp. 80, 122; Buck, op.cit., pp. 374, 381, 390, 418, 478-480.
2. Beaglehole, E., Polynesian Maori, in the Maori People Today, p. 73; Firth, op.cit., p. 279; Public opinion is always ready to act as a check... Freedom of speech and a conscious firm belief that individual advantage should be subordinated to the common welfare combined to provide efficient regulation of conduct in the Maori village. Delegated executive authority of persons of rank held in check by public opinion (p.280); Best, Vol. 1, pp. 356-358.
The chief was particularly susceptible to its force. The Maori gave the
warning, Kei ekengia e te kupu, be cautious in what you do lest you be
burdened down by a word (of criticism). The word as such symbolised an
inherent effective force. Adverse criticism of the chief often indirectly
affected the ancestral line embodied in his person. The kanga or curse
left a stigma on the chiefly escutcheon which had to be answered in both
word and deed. Criticism detracted from the mana of the chief. On the
positive side the chief was compelled to follow a course that would gain
for him the approval of the people. In this way he was encouraged to
conform to the expected codes of behaviour.

The position of the chief was surrounded with other norms of conduct
that hedged him in. The chief was father of the tribe, te matua o te iwi.
He was expected to be the most hospitable person in the tribe, and the
most generous. These were the symbols of his position, te tohu o te
rangatira. Toward the tribe he behaved with kindliness and courtesy
befitting his station. The commoner may transgress, but the chief was
not supposed to do so. Some chiefs failed to live up to the code, and
they were either relegated to a lower position, or were banished.1

1. Ritini, Te Horonga-o-Pukehina, JPS, Vol. 2, 1909, pp. 45-46 - The
Chief, Maruahaira, was cursed by his son-in-law; Gudgeon, Maori

2. Firth, op. cit., p. 119; Best, Notes on the Art of War, JPS, Vol.11,
1902, p. 14; Grey, Nga Mahi, p. 114 - Hotumai left his people
because he had been found taking kumara from a rua (pit for storing
root crops).
Backing the chiefly behaviour in the society were social sanctions that did not allow license even among leading men. One of these sanctions was the custom known as *muru or utu*. Violation of a norm of expected behaviour would lead to confiscation of property. There were also the more religious conventions associated with the functions of the *tohunga* that called for constant compromise between the chief and the *tohunga*, thus giving further redirections to chiefly authority.

To summarise this section, one must stress again the principle, fundamental in the Maori socio-political system, the distribution of authority at cardinal points, both of a personal and institutional kind. The personal embodiments of authority stood, from the point of view of status, in a hierarchical formation of subordination and superordination. However, this did not exactly correspond to the organisation of the power structure itself.

Rather was the power structure characterised by a fairly well distributed spread and division of authority. The various personal embodiments of this authority were linked together by kinship connections, and by the need to work in harmony.

The marae, and its open discussion, the use there of the techniques of oratory and free debate by all the leaders kept interaction within a defined area, and in strict accord with regulated conditions.

There were too, various forces of social and religious controls, surrounding chiefship, that hemmed him in.

The effect of all this was to direct the use of chiefly powers in ways most conducive to the maintenance of Maori society, and thus, for the many reasons hinted at, the chief retained his social status at the head of the tribe and subtribe, while at the same time exercising his powers as the father of his people.

1. Firth, Economics, p. 80.
7. Social Mobility.

That a chief was born not made, was true of the Maori tribe. Chiefship was based as we have seen primarily on primogeniture, though the practice of election was always a possibility. However, even when the choice was made by the people, or when the chief named his successor, the elected person came from somewhere within the circle of the aristocratic extended family.

Commoners as such undoubtedly achieved leadership through the possession of skills and other personal qualities. But it is significant that these persons generally stressed the part of their genealogies which showed their connections with the senior lines.

There are some references in the records about slaves, who broke through the barrier to attain high status. It is difficult to ascertain, because of the paucity of the material, whether such persons were actually slaves or whether they were chiefs who had lost their positions. Earle observed a slave in North Auckland, an expert in the art of tattooing who had risen to a very high position, mostly because of the patronage of the chiefs.

2. Firth, op.cit., p. 95; Brown, New Zealand and its Aborigines, p. 30; Best, E., Te Whanganui-a-Tara, JPS, Vol. 10, 1901, p. 147; Ngaokoiterangi, Chief of Ngatikahungunu, was appointed chief of Ngatirongopotiki, at the request of the tribal ariki; see also Gudgeon, Mana Tangata, JPS, Vol. 14, pp. 62-63 - A slave raised himself to be a fighting chief of the Ngapuhi Confederation - Te Toa, JPS, Vol. 13, 1904, pp. 262-263; Tuwhakairiora rose from a lower rank to become ariki of Ngatiporou; Buck, op.cit., p. 345. See Firth above; he gives a balanced interpretation of the evidence to disclaim some of the exaggerated statements concerning slave upward mobility; Downes, History of Ngatikahungunu, JPS, Vol. 22, p. 219; Kakeihikaroa, grandson of Kahungunu, was a chief of high mana. He had five sons, the last of whom was Tupurupuru. Though the youngest he was the most successful in all the games and feats of strength and skill. He was selected head chief, the people said, 'Let Tupurupuru be the only star in the heavens.' Tupurupuru married Hinemoa and begat Mahinarangi who married Turango to produce the ariki line of Koroki Te Rata Mahuta of Waikato.
3. Earle, Narrative, pp. 136-140.
Brown, New Zealand and its Aborigines, p. 62.
It may be assumed in this case that the slave was lionised because of his special skill, but that in reality there was not a permanent establishment of any high status leadership position.

The thinness of the line separating the commoner from the chiefly class, both of whom traced descent from a common ancestor, would give the commoner some powers of mobility which would be denied to the slave. The structure of leadership was sufficiently flexible to enable the commoner to climb upwards and the chief to ascend yet higher.

The devices for levering one's position upwards were skill, prowess, personal qualities on the one hand, and marriage on the other. The role of marriage in this respect is important. The marriage of a chief outside the aristocratic circles was a certain way of lowering social status, and was known as whakaheke tupu (degeneration). Continuous marriage among junior members produced the commoners, because of the increase in the structural distance from aristocratic line - the aho ariki. The object of a chief was to contract a desirable marriage with persons at the same social level or even higher, and thus keep the inherited mana intact.

Buck has recorded an account of this kind in his story of a high chieftainness among the Nehenehenui, in the forest-clad country of the middle North Island.

1. Grey, Nga Mahi, p. 157, Paea marries a slave, and is compelled to leave his senior wife and children; Buck, op. cit., pp. 337-338.

The lady carried on a courtship with an equally high chief of a neighbouring village in the same tribe, meeting at a rendezvous between the villages. On the return of the chieftainness to her home, her father noticed that her face was smudged with the red ochre of her lover. Her father knew that there was only one person who used that particular kind of red ochre rouge. He immediately visited the young chief and said to him, 'Ta tauta tamahine, kaua e puritia, engari tukua kia haere kia rangona ai tauta.' Our daughter, do not hold her but let her go abroad, so that you and I may be known. The young man withdrew his suit and the chieftainness was given in marriage to the powerful chief of an outside tribe.

A move downwards was possible for the chief, through a bad marriage, and through a violation of those qualities which society deemed to symbolise chiefship. Marriage was slow in working its effects upon the senior line, whereas the failure to exercise hospitality and generosity had immediate results upon status. We have seen how the lack of ability and administrative skill was remedied by a transfer of political leadership to another member of the family, and how the female first born was bereft of certain aspects of leadership. Firth has suggested that there was a tendency for rights to be returned later to the senior line. The data on this point is a little uncertain, but this usage seems to be the most logical one to expect in a society that valued male primogeniture. The natural differentiations within the immediate circle of chiefship therefore may become restored to normal on the appearance of a male first born, and cannot be said to affect the status of the chief in any fundamental fashion so as to demote permanently the senior line of descent.

1. From Winiata Piahana, Ngatirangimui, pp. 21-22.
2. Economics, p. 54; Buck, Coming, p. 345; White, Lectures, pp. 223, etc. Loss of Influence of chief because of theft; Smith, Taranaki Coast, JPS, Vol. 18, p. 180.
The danger spot for chiefship was captivity in war. There was nothing a Maori Chief feared more during battle than to be taken prisoner, death itself being more preferable. Many a warrior chief solicited either a colleague or an enemy to slay him, rather than allow his person to be taken alive as a prisoner. In extreme cases a captive chief may on his escape, slay his children with his own hands so as to avoid the continuation of the unfortunate line. An informant gave Best some ways whereby a chief became demoted. Among these were deliberate violation of generosity and hospitality, captivity in war, and the fact of being redeemed by another person from captivity. This last was always regarded as a slur, which the chief and his descendants were never allowed to forget in after generations.

The whole prestige structure of the tribe was affected when a chief was thus taken prisoner. The rationale for the extreme sensitiveness on this score is patent. The leadership of the chief was important, and the ending of this was a tragedy to the tribe; but the tragedy was multiplied three-fold because of the humiliation suffered by the chief, and with him his people, through being treated with characteristic contempt by the enemy.


for the peculiar feature of the descent principle in Maori Society, transmitted the acquired stigma from one generation to another, just as success and increased prestige were also passed on. Some important aspects of this principle are demonstrated in the well known account of Ngatokowaru, the fighting chief of Ngati-Raukawa.

In the fighting against Waikato, Ngatokowaru had been taken prisoner, as a preliminary to adorning the cooking umu of the victorious Waikato, at a later date. Ngatokowaru knew full well what his fate would be. At least he could not now eliminate his captivity, but he thought there might be some way out of the total impasse yet. He therefore asked to be introduced to the leading chief of Waikato; he was taken to the ariki Te Putu himself, the concession being made because of the fame and renown of Ngatokowaru. Even at this stage, etiquette and courtesy ruled, for Ngatokowaru moved forward to touch noses in the hongi with Te Putu. The other was sitting on the ground and turned upwards to meet his prisoner's face; as he did so, Ngatokowaru quickly unloosed a tete dagger from beneath his cloak, and drove it into the upturned neck of his enemy and soon the blood gushed out. Ngatokowaru clung to the old chief and allowed his blood to flow over his head and face. Needless to say Waikato rose as one man, and in a very short time Ngatokowaru was lying dead beside his erstwhile master. But because Te Putu's blood was smeared over Ngatokowaru, the latter was not confined to the oven and eaten, as was the full intent of the Waikato forces, for the reason that Ngatokowaru had about him the tapu blood of their chief. In a very real sense there was a turning of the tables in this case.

1. Gudgeon, The Toa, JPS. Vol. 13, pp. 251, 252; Kelly, Leslie, G. Tainui, Wellington, p. 249; In 1950, at a large gathering at Ngaruawahia the writer was present when there were sharp exchanges between the leading kaumatua from Waikato and Ngatiraukawa concerning the detail of this story.
Ngatokowaru redeemed himself by what he did, though many an opponent of his descendants still threw back in argument on the marae, the incident when Ngatokowaru was captured, and likewise the reply would stress the redemptive nature of the deed of his ancestor in slaying the high chief of Waikato.

One of the main problems that confront the student of Maori society in the study of leadership is posed in the question - to what extent does a chief become stripped of his status? The answer to the question may be given from two points of view, firstly from a consideration of the principles which constitute Maori chiefship. Here it is quite clear that there is nothing in the society to eliminate altogether the status derived from birth.1

It is obvious that the society provides mechanisms whereby satisfactory leadership is maintained, when nature is not so co-operative as to offer a male first born, or even a capable male in the line. Some shifts are made and the social structure continues on its way. But even here the senior line of descent maintains certain social and ritual functions that belong to it by virtue of birth.2 Further, the whole basis of the society is the common line of descent. Everything hinges on this and the society does all in its power to safeguard and nourish this line.

The second angle from which an answer may be given to the question is in the consideration of the empirical evidence. One instance must suffice but this can be duplicated with others, although here there is a great deal of unevenness in the material almost suggesting a further variation in tribal usage and practice in different parts of the country.

1. Gudgeon, JPS, Vol. 13-15, p.183. Pirongia later called Rata, was born in captivity after his father was killed. Rata avenged the death of his father at Te Unu, and once more made his family name great; Buck, Coming, p. 345.
2. Buck, ibid, pp. 344-345; Firth, op.cit., p. 93; Best, Vol.1, pp.349-351.
The main fault is probably in the lack of detail in the ethnographic data on this point. Judge Wilson¹ in his life of Te Waharoa tells of that great fighting chief of Ngatihaua tribe, whose fame in the Hauraki and Tauranga areas was equal to that of Te Rauparaha in the South. Te Waharoa was taken prisoner as a young child together with his mother, after the slaughter of his tribe, and his father. In his early teens he returned to his own home from Rotorua, where he had been taken, and where the local chief apparently took kindly to him. However, Te Waharoa never forgot how his father was slain and how he, his mother and their people were carried off as slaves. Even as a youth he prepared to seek satisfaction for the stigma that was cast upon him by Te Arawa. Subsequent history is full of the accounts of his wars with the tribe who once claimed him as a slave, until at last through his series of victories he was able to wipe out the shame of his past. His fame was acknowledged far and near, not only among Ngatihaua his own tribe, but also among Ngatiranginui, Ngaiterangi on the coast at Tauranga, Waikato inland, and among Te Arawa who had special reason to fear his name. Te Waharoa had a son who later became Wiremu Tamahéne, an influential chief, who received the name of the King Maker because of his work among the leading chiefs of the North Island of New Zealand, in the organisation of the King movement.

From both angles therefore one may state that though there were many tragedies that befell chiefship, which for the moment held it in abeyance, the kernal of it was not entirely destroyed. Chiefship remained dormant till circumstances favoured its emergence, once more to take over the leadership of the tribe.

¹. Wilson, Te Waharoa, p.2-5.
Conclusion.

The foregoing survey of leadership and the traditional Maori social structure prior to the coming of the European to New Zealand, is sufficient to provide a background against which consideration might be given to the changes that occurred during the subsequent periods. The main themes relevant to the study have now been laid bare.

In the first place, four classes of leaders emerged in the Maori social structure; two, the ariki and the rangatira, had definite roles and statuses fixed primarily by high birth within the tribe and subtribe respectively. Then there was the kaumatua at the head of the extended family group, who derived status from his age and experience; and the tohunga ritual leader, whose role and status arose because of the religious orientation of traditional society. The inter-penetration of religion in society, combined the secular and the sacred in all the leadership roles and statuses, thus giving to all of them certain inseparable charismatic qualities. Theoretically the lines of demarcation between leadership classes were clear enough, but in actual practice there was a great deal of telescoping and overlapping in the roles and statuses attributed to them.

In the second place, the Maori social structure considered as a socio-political system, was based on three interlocking and incorporated kin groups, which pivoted about a common line of blood descent, from which all members of the society traced their genealogical connections. The kin groups varied in scale of intensity of social relations in inverse proportions to their magnitude; they were established in specific territories of land, owed allegiance to common leaders, shared co-operative experiences that focussed upon the communal centre and the assembly hall.
Structural relations and integration within the socio-political system were further maintained by constant tension and conflict between one tribe and another tribe, and also between subtribal units constituting the same tribe.

Finally, authority in Maori socio-political system was distributed among the various leadership classes in a manner far more generous than the hierarchical arrangement of their statuses would have suggested. There were peculiar features in the society which tended to bring all these cardinal centres of authority into a relationship of close interaction, to promote the political functioning of the groups. There were the techniques of oratory and public discussion, in which all members of mature age and experience freely participated; the web of kinship that drew chief and commoner together in a paternal and filial fellowship; and the various forces of social control which regulated the network of social relations within the entire socio-political system.

1. Best, Notes on the Art of War, JPS, Vol. 12, p. 40, Extra-tribal war was one thing which could bind the various divisions of the tribe together into a more or less harmonious whole. Cf. Firth, op. cit. p. 343, Political and social control represented a delegated authority through successive kinship divisions.


With characteristic insight Best (Supra) sums up the main ideas in this section, in the following words, (p. 356), 'We will now discuss what is perhaps the most interesting aspect of social life of the Maori, and that is the absence of civil law. This corrective power, as we know it, was lacking in the Maori social system, and yet social life was well ordered and the family lived in amity as a rule. Certain scenes of turbulence witnessed occasionally were often really part of the forces that replaced civil law. The forces that controlled the social system were the institution of tapu, public opinion, the influence of the chief, and to some extent, the custom of muru.'
CHAPTER 3.

The Leaders and their people in the ancient village of Poike.

Introduction.

The following account is a reconstruction of some of the institutions and customs in a traditional Maori village of the long ago. It is possible to do this because of the wide range of descriptions by early writers. The aim here is to add a sense of livingness to the foregoing analysis of the social structure and Maori leadership by observing a section of an ancient village community life in action. The central features of the description include the main institutions of Maori society, ordinarily attached to the village. The physical characteristics have a social meaning and this is brought to the fore.

Another part of the account that should prove interesting is the outline of the mortuary rites. The various stages, with the examples of oratory used by the chiefs on such occasions, will give an insight into the social meanings which are most important in this study.

Augmenting the written works, the writer has relied upon his knowledge of the village site, the surrounding district, the village communities in the neighbourhood and the subtribe Ngatiruahine of which he is a member. The mortuary rites and the associated oratory, the etiquette among the leading men and the procedure pursued are described from traditional accounts and also from personal experience of what is found today.

1. The works of Cook, Marsden, Best, Buck, Firth, Tregear, Earle, Thompson, Taylor, Yates, Colenso, Ngata, Gudgeon, Hammond, Smith, Cowan and others, and articles in the pages of the Journal of the Polynesian Society, offer abundant material for reconstructing the general outline of life in the ancient Maori village. These have been drawn upon freely, though no specific mention can be made of any single work, with the exception perhaps of Firth's reference to the village life he witnessed in the Urewera.

2. For Poike a personal knowledge of the district augmented by the kaumatua of Ngatiruahine, the late Te Wharekauika, Winiata Piahana, Te Reohau and the senior living kaumatua of the subtribe, Te Fare Piahana, and his kuia, Pekerangi.
REFERENCES TO TRADITIONAL VILLAGE PLAN.

S.1. Store for tools and spare weapons.


S.3. Store for nets, paddles, fishing gear, cordage, etc.

S.4. Store pits for food - Rua.

Whareu Canoe shed, usually on river bank.

K. Kitchen or cooking shed, kauta or whare umu. Firewood usually stacked at the side.

U. Umu or ovens of stones.

P.I. Pataka. (carved store house for chief's food).

W.H. Whata. Elevated stages for drying and holding food, some flat stages, and others vertical poles with cross bars.

Palisades - defences enclosing the villages.

W.R. Whare runanga - meeting house.

W.P. Whare puni - sleeping house.

C.H. Chief's house.

Hidden and Sacred Places: Tuahu, the sacred Altar.

Latrine, Turuma, where certain rites were performed.

Wai Tapu, sacred water (either portion of river or beach) were rites were held.

Punanga, secret hiding place in forest used in time of danger.

High stages were built for lookouts at advantageous spots to cover the approach of friend or foe, often near the gateway.

Cultivation plots were situated near the village.
The outline is not historically exact, though the ancestors mentioned lived in the village of Poike. The present account is a reconstruction not of history, but of social relations centred in the position of chiefship in the village community of Poike, about seven generations back.

This brief description of Poike could be compared with the account of the modern village of Huria, given in a later section of this study, in order to make direct comparison and so evaluate the changes in the pattern of leadership and the organisation of the community. Reference to the genealogical tables will show that the kinship group at Huria are descendants of the Ngatiruhine hapu who lived in the Poike village community before the arrival of the Europeans.

1. Setting.

The village of Poike stands on the table land which runs from South to North, through a wide gully bounded on either side by undulating hills, covered with virgin bush, and meeting the upper reaches of the Tauranga-a-waka, now known as the Tauranga Harbour. To the East runs a range, on the nearest peak of which is a fortified village, a pa tuwatawata, where the people of Poike and other neighbouring villages resort when the alarums of war are sounded. The site of the village is conveniently placed.

1. There are references to Tauranga in Wilson, The Story of Te Waharoa, in Missionary Reports, and in Gifford & Williams, Centennial History of Tauranga. There are also circulating among Maori communities in the district a body of oral accounts, yet unrecorded, telling of the life at Te Papa (old name for Tauranga) in the very early days. The sketch map of the Tauranga district given elsewhere will show the relationship between the ancient and the modern villages of the Ngatiranginui tribe, one toward the other, and toward Tauranga township.
The site of the village is conveniently placed. To the back, and on the surrounding hills is thick forest, which in places, reach down to the water’s edge on the beach. Here the people from Poike trap the Tui (Prosthemadira Novae Zealandiae), the Kiwi (Apperys), and the Kereru (Hemiphaga Novae Zealandiae) for food, and for the feathers used in the decoration of cloaks and other garments. The Hakeka (Hirneolapolytricha), the Pikopiko (Aspidium Richardi) and the Tawhara (Freycinetia Banksii) grow in abundance, while the variety of fern root, Aruhe, grow in profusion to add another kind of food to the ancient menu. The edible rat, too, may be caught here, thriving on insects and plant life in the bush.

The Waimapu River close by is renowned for the shell fish, the Kakahi, and the eels that lurk in its every bend. The Inanga, white bait, too, move down stream in their myriads, toward the sea to spawn. In the lower parts of the river, where the salt water enters it, come the Kahawai (Arapis Salar) and the Haku (Sericola Lalandii) waiting for anything they may find to eat. Then after daybreak on calm mornings, when the tide goes out, the Pioke (dogfish), the Patiki (Rhombosolea Monopus) crowd together in the pools of water left by the receding tide. At very low tide on the dry mud flats about half a mile from the village, thousands of Titiko (Amphibola Crenata) cover the beach. Within half a day’s journey on the small coastal canoes one may come upon the Pipi and the Tuangi (Chione Stutchbury) shellfish banks, or further out still to the Kuku, (Mytilus Edulis) and the Kina (Echinus) on the rocks. At the well known fishing grounds in the shallow or deep water, one may catch the Tamure (Pagrus Enicolar) and the Hapuku (Oligorus Gigas).

GENEALOGY: TAHURIWAKANUI, ARIKI OF NGATIRANGINUI, RANGATIRA OF NGATIHUAHINE.

Takitimu Canoe
C Ihuparapara = Tamateapokaiwhenua (Capt.)

Urutomo = Ranginui △ Kihonui △ Kinotaraia
△ Tutereinga = Kahukura △ Kinokokoti △ Taiwhakake △

Rangiwhakakaha △ Te Arapihingarangi △ Te Kaponga △ Turengomate - Kuraroa
△ Kahuwhaia = Ruahihe △ (Ngaiterangi)

Te Arawa Canoe.
Pata

Pata Tahiwhakahere Te Arapihingarangi (Ngaiterangi)

Te Mapiki C
Kihua △ Te Paki △ Te Papawhaikairi = Te Whiringa Taupua

(Tahuriwakanui = Taumate △

Te Moko △

(Mokopuna of today).

(Descendants in the Poike District today).

Genealogy <

(Descendants at the Huria Village, see infra).
The village is therefore surrounded with plentiful food supplies of bird, rat and fish.

Timber for building houses and canoes come from the bush, while the reed by the river bank is used for thatching huts, and the flax for plaiting the garments.

The cultivations for the kumara, taro and hue are scattered here and there at an easy distance from the village, mostly to the North, so as to catch the warm rays of the morning sun. Little wonder then, Poike became the headquarters of the main subtribe of Ngatirangimui long ago. It was an ideal site for the village.

Poike was confined by a fence work of wooden palisades, with a gate in the eastern wall. At the northern end was another outlet leading to a small stream below the village where the people obtain water for domestic use.

The actual area of the village at the time of our story was roughly five acres judging from the ground site which is clearly visible, and the information given by the kaumatua leaders of the present Ngatiruahine.

2. The Social structure of the village.

Ngatiruahine was the main subtribe of the Ngatirangimui tribe descended from the chief Rangimui, the eldest son of Tamateapokaiwhenua, captain of the Takitimu canoe, which according to tradition, entered the Tauranga harbour with other canoes on arrival from Hawaiki. The genealogical chart given shows the principal lines of descent of the people of Poike.

1. A feature of the Tauranga district is the number of terraced forts on the surrounding hills, showing the large population which existed and lived off the sea, the land and the bush. For instance, at Papamoa stands the old village site, on top of the hill, of the chief, Tamateapokaiwhenua of the Takitimu canoe. Below on the flat at Owharo, he had his cultivations, and the site of another village; the beach at Otira, a stone's throw away, still today supplies the local people with a variety of fish foods.

2. The writer did some research on the orally kept historical records of the Ngatiruahine subtribe.
The name of the subtribe Ngatiruahine derived from a female ancestor; but this practice was not unusual in olden times, especially if the woman concerned was of a famous family. Ruahine did come from a renowned stock, that of Taiwhanake, the fighting chief of Ngatiranginui, whose special task was to lead the tribe in all its military expeditions. He was established in the impregnable fortress at the summit of the mountain (Mauao) standing at the mouth of the Tauranga Harbour, where he was able to survey both inland and coastal trails and thus warn the people by smoke signals, of the approach of strange war parties.

The ariki of Ngatiranginui, and rangatira of Ngatiruahine, living at Poike was Tahuriwakami. His name means the great canoe that was capsized; recording the tragedy that befell the tribe when a fishing expedition met with a storm off the coast of Tuhua, Mayor Island, some ten miles to sea, and all hands were lost.

3. The marae social centre.

The main parts of the village were the marae and the whare runanga. The marae consisted of the bare piece of ground in front of the whare runanga (assembly house), also called the whare hui (meeting house) and the whare whakairo (carved house). The whare runanga was ornately carved and richly decorated with the finest workmanship of the Ngatiranginui tribe, and it was called after the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, Rangimui-a-Tamatea (Ranginui, son of Tamatea.)
The marae was called Poike, taking the tribal memory back to the occasion when some of the early pioneers arrived here late at night, Po ike. It was here on this marae that all the subtribes of Ngatirangimui, Ngatiruahine, Tutereinga, Ngatirangi, Ngatihangarau, Ngaitamarawaho, Ngatimatae, and Ngatikauaetara met together to entertain distinguished visitors; here, too, the chiefs said their last farewell, in the ohaki words of advice here they trod the path down which the procession of the myriads pass never to return. Here the fighting men of Ngatirangimui were farewelled on the eve of a battle, and welcomed in their diminished bands on return with ritual and ceremony required by the god of war, Tumatauenga. Here Ngatirangimui made alliances with Te Arawa and Ngaiterangi in the giving of gifts, and the offering of chiefly hand in marriage. Here, too, the permanent peace with Ngatihaua was made, the tatau, pounamu, green stone door, symbolised in the peak of Mauao, facing the sea. Here, too, in Ranginui-a-Tamatea and on the marae, the tribe and subtribe gathered to hold council, deciding upon war, discussing an aristocratic marriage, or adjudicating on domestic disputes. For the lighter side too the youth of both sexes met in the haka, poi, and other enjoyments of the young. The games were played here when young men vied with one another in the hand games, or in wrestling and top-spinning.1 Ngatiruahine had been host in important marriage feasts and hakari, displaying hospitality for all to enjoy and praise. In death, in life, in joy, in fun, in ritual too, the marae of the village was the focal point for the whole tribe.

Yet the marae could not be taken apart from the whare runanga - the two formed the complex that betokened the inner life of the subtribe and tribe.

The House was called Ranginui - the ancestor of the tribe, and with that initial information one quickly conjured up a host of meanings to Ngatirukihine. Here was the sign and symbol of a truly important tribe. During its construction the whole tribe concentrated the best skill, the richest resources of material and labour, and the finest of the tribal tradition and history, for Ranginui was to be the embodiment in permanent physical form of the highest sentiment, the history, the pride and prestige of the tribe. The work was under the personal supervision of the ariki himself. The whare whakairo, carved meeting house, Ranginui-a-Tamatea, was a veritable art gallery of tribal and cultural heroes, to be admired by visitors and hosts alike as they sat in its bosom in the long summer evenings.

A carved figure about a quarter of life size, with arms placed in front, flexed shortened legs, and distended torso and head, named Ranginui, stood as a finial on top of the gable roof just above the porch in front. A smile seemed to play about his wooden face, for Ranginui was a benign ancestor to stranger and friend alike.

The interior along the walls, sides, back and front, was filled with carved figures of all kinds, interspersed at regular intervals with the tukutuku lattice work of geometrical designs. Down a post on the front wall was portrayed Ranginui in the famous incident of the seven dogs, with whose help he overcame many a war party. On one of the sideposts Ranginui was shown with two axes, with which he so skilfully fashioned the guest house for a relative, Tamatea-a-moa.

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1. Firth, ibid, pp. 82-84; Buck, Coming, pp. 121-130.
2. Historical and legendary details current today among the descendants of Ngatirukihine at Poike and assimilated into the Ngaitamaramaho at the Haria village, Tauranga. This is the first time the legends have been recorded.
At the back on one of the centre slabs, was the story of the primal parents, Rangi and Papa, when their children separated them, and so life emerged.

On either corner of the back wall, Maui was depicted in many of his escapades, that have made him the most loved of all the old time heroes to this day. Here he is fishing up the North Island of New Zealand, te Ika-a-Maui, fish of Maui; there he runs from the fire thrown at him by his grandmother Murirangawhenua for teasing her. Then on the front wall in the interior of the building is told again the story of Maui's death when he tried to pass through the body of his ancestress, Hinenuitepo, and his companion the fantail laughed at the sight, and the old lady awakened before Maui completed his journey. Thus, say the Maori, death came upon all men.  

Outside on the barge boards that face the outer ends of the porch walls, is told the story of Taurikura. Taurikura was an ancestress of the tribe who lived at a village not far from Poike with her father and people. It is said that the old man wanted a drink of water one night, but Taurikura refused to go down to fetch it from the spring at the foot of the hill. The old man got up and took his calabash to get the water. When he came back, he had hardly sat down before Taurikura rose from her seat to take a drink from the calabash. Her father reproved her for her laziness. The girl became whakama - embarrassed - and decided to whakamomori - cause harm to herself - to make her father feel sorry for her. She slipped away to the cave at the bottom of the cliff, where the rituals for witchcraft (makutu) were performed. There she treated herself and waited. Morning came and the old man was worried at the absence of his daughter. He searched the homes in the village for the girl, but failed to find her. Then he began to wonder whether his reproof had

1. Grey's Nga Mahi a Nga Turuna contains the original Maori version of the mythological exploits of the Polynesian Culture Hero, Maui-tiki-tiki-a-Taranga.
2. The Story of Taurikura was first told to the writer by his late mother, a Kuia of the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe, Huria, Tauranga. It is widely known in that district.
been taken to heart more deeply than he intended it. He descended to the cave below and there he found Taurikura - one half of her body was turned into a Tuatara - a lizard - the other was still human. From that side of her face a tear dropped down and she spoke to the old man, telling him to return, for he was too late. The old man did however make Taurikura promise not to revenge herself upon humans, but to forgive. She left the cave and swam out to sea, to make her home at Karawa Island off the Tauranga Coast, as the Tuatara Lizard (Sphenodon Punctatum) which members of a stranger society allege to be relics of another age, but which Ngatiranginui say is a descendant of Taurikura. The account is embalmed in wood in the carved house, Rangimui-a-Tamatea, revealing to visitors something of the mythical elements that have gone into the making of an important tribe like Ngatiranginui.

The above random selection of carved designs from the house Rangimui, is done for a purpose. It is not the artistic side of the work as such that is of interest to us in this story, it is rather the sociological significance of the carvings, the part they play in the functioning of the social structure of the village of Poike. Firth, whose pioneering work in the social interpretation of Maori art, is outstanding, has fortunately in another context given us the point of view we need for an understanding of the inner meaning of the arts and crafts associated with the meeting house.

Firth wrote:

"The function performed by these carvings of gods and well-known Ancestors is important from the sociological point of view. The figures of weird monsters illustrated the mythological tales. The representations of deities had a practical religious significance. As material symbols by which the Maori regulated his life, they helped to form that solid objective background of myth and ritual which seems essential to the practice of any system of religious belief. The figures of ancestors performed a somewhat similar function for the social organisation... The carved slabs then, helped to keep green the memory of ancestral names and deeds, to assist in the perpetuation of that social tradition which is the heritage of every community."
They also witnessed to the reality of social organisation, and formed a nucleus for that sentiment and tribal pride which was important in binding the people together. The whare whakairo was the centre of the communal life, a place literally crammed with tribal associations, its very name redolent with tribal feeling or significant of some episode of note. In this way it tended to provide a focus for the sentiment of the people. In its material structure and type of adornment it gave a means of expression for aesthetic interests, offering a field of display for the highest branches of wood carving and of reed panel technique. It gave the village people, their relatives and guests an opportunity of appreciating the art of the carver; it provided a gallery for display and a public before whom the artist could place his work for criticism and admiration.

So much for the marae at Poike and for the whare runanga, Rangimui-a-Tamatea. But there were essential auxiliaries attached to this core of the social life of Ngatiranginui and Ngatiruahine. The store houses for food among the family housing units, the whata, raised platform for dried eels, fish and kumara kao, the pataka, uplifted carved store house for the preserved birds and other delicacies, and the rua or ground pit for the root crops.

Food possessed a social value to the Maori of old; quantity and quality reflected prestige on the tribe and subtribe, for the occasions of entertainment of visitors and show of hospitality sent people away with reports, te maru o tena hui i te kai, i te tangata, what a fine meeting, it was full of food and people. Thus the stocks of pride among the Ngatirangimui would rise, the people would feel that joyous sense of belonging to an important tribe and they would go about their daily tasks with a new zest. Failure in crops, or caution on the part of bird and fish, would bring whakama and shame to the people of the tribe, and the chief would not dare show his face.

Food, both in quantity and quality, was necessary to the marae, and the whare runanga in the total life of the community. To food then for the support of the marae, the chiefs of Ngatirangimui and Ngatiruahine attached the highest

1. Firth, Economics, pp. 87-88; see also ibid, The Maori Carver, JPS, vol. 34, pp. 277-291.
value.

Each family unit consisted of 3 and 4 generations with siblings and children, while the households were comprised of the extended family groups for all the descendants, the store houses both for food and


The disposition of the housing lots at Poike followed a rough plan.

The house of the chief Tahuriwakanui, together with that of his sister Te Mapihii, her family, and Tahuriwakanui's own children and family, and his eastern aged mother, were placed on the western side of the whare runanga, and quite close up to it. He was the man of the marae, the keeper of his ancestor Ranginui-a-Tamatea. There was quality about the construction and architecture of the chief's houses that gave an air of distinction to them and made them fit companions for the whare whakairo.

The other houses were scattered about the marae; a noticeable tendency was for the poorly built ones to be set at the far end of the village, away from the marae unit. But all the household units faced the open marae, there were none with their back turned directly to the meeting house. All had clear access to the communal centre. Between each housing unit were cleared paths, that seem to link them together. This formation symbolised the close kinship connections between the extended family groups which occupied each housing unit, and also showed the unity of all separate groups focused in the marae. The junior members of the group were situated at a remote distance from the centre, and the chief's household units, so that while there was no orderliness in the actual disposition of the extended family households, the arrangement and organisations of them were based on kinship and status.

1. Very strong feeling on the matter of sufficient food for ceremonial gatherings is a feature among the Ngatiranginui today. Families with small cultivations adequate only for their individual use are criticised, those with surplus supplies are praised.

2. Firth, Economics, pp. 78-79.
Each family unit consisted of 3 and 4 generations with spouses and children, while the households were comprised of the wharepuni sleeping house for all, the whareumu, for cooking, and the store houses both for food and gear.

Food was cooked by each family unit in the umu; this was a shallow hole in the ground, into which stones were placed and heated. Water was sprinkled on the hot stones and the food then placed on the stones and the umu covered over with flax mats and earth. The cooking was done with the steam generated by the water on the hot stones – all foods, fish, bird, and vegetables were cooked together in the umu. The meal was eaten in family lots out in the open or in the porch of the wharepuni in bad weather, but never inside the tapu buildings. For containers there were the kono flax baskets used once and thrown away.

Religious Institutions.

Religion interpenetrated Maori society, in all its aspects, ritual ceremonies being associated with agriculture, fishing, fowling and hunting, and also fighting. But there were special places where the most important rituals were carried out. Poike too was well equipped in this respect.

Not far from the village, outside in a secret part of the bush, was the tuahu – the sacred place, marked by three stones set in the ground. Apart from the stones there was no other apparatus. The spot was cleared, but anyone passing without knowing it was there would not easily have found this out. The place was highly tapu, and here rites connected with war, marriage, sickness and exhumation were conducted by the tohunga.

In the Waimapu River, at one of the bends, a special place was reserved

2. Best, Maori Religion and Mythology, DMB, Sec. 1, No.10; – Vol. 1, Chap.6; Buck, Coming, Book 4.
for the performance of sections of the war ceremonies, the baptism and naming rites and also those for the sick and for difficult parturition of chiefly families. The reserved area of water was appropriately called the Waitapu, the sacred water.

The latrine (Turuma) too was ritually significant, in addition to its use for purposes of sanitation. It was placed on the edge of a cliff, overlooking the swamp near the Waimapu River. Here at the carved beam, the whakangau paepae rites associated with tests for warriors about to go to battle or for the graduates of the whare wananga school of higher learning, were performed. The candidates were called upon to bite the bar of the latrine while the tohunga was reciting the appropriate formulae, that confirmed the knowledge, or gave strong hearts.

A mile from Poike was a patch of quicksand called a waro, and here was interned the dead from the village; the corpse was trampled by the tohunga into the mud. In this way it was difficult to recover the bodies, a safeguard against the evil intentions of warring tribes and also a convenient method of disposing of the dead.

At the back, in the hills beyond, at Te Akeake, was a cave (toma) formed in the sandstone face of a cliff where the exhumed bones of the chiefs of Ngatirangi inui were deposited. There they were hidden secure from the designs of the enemy who may desire to use them either in rites of witchcraft against Ngatirangi inui or in some other improper way to humiliate the descendants of these men. There, the cave known only to Ngatirangi inui the remains of chiefs would be accessible to the subsequent generations of Ngatirangi inui who would occasionally bring them to the marae for mourning ceremonies so dear to the Maori, and so necessary in refining those values and sentiments of sympathy upon which the smooth functioning of the society depended.

1. Firth, Economics, p. 79.
2. Best, Vol. 2, pp. 227-228; Buck, Coming, p. 481.
3. Best, Vol. 1, p. 64, for swamp burial. The word waro means a bog or a swamp and there are several of these swamp burial places known to the writer in the Tauranga district. The one referred to at Poike was pointed out to the writer by his mother a few years ago and the last interment at this particular spot occurred some 20 years ago.
4. These caves are known to the people of Ngatiruhine today - Best, Vol. 2, p. 73.
The main institutions associated with the village have now been given - the marae, the meetinghouse, the food store houses, the sacred places, the latrine, the burial place, the sepulchre and the family household units. Underneath all these physical factors lies the network of kinship rooted in the genealogical connections from the common ancestor Ranginui, and tied in a central knot in the person and status of the ariki, Tahuriwakanui.

The compactness of the village fenced in from outside groups, fixed to a specific area of land which supplied all the food and building material needed was reinforced by the feelings of tension and strain that characterised the relationships with other tribes. There was for each member of the village community, a common set of experiences at the level of everyday activities, covering a wide range of interests, and thus the degree of cohesion was further heightened.

The life of the community was comprised of diverse strands of inter-relations that bound the members, and never was this realised more fully than when during some evenings, tucked into the bosom of their beloved ancestor, Ranginui-a-Tamatea, Ngatiranginui, became conscious of their unity in thought and feeling.

Probably nothing in village life displays more clearly the solidarity of a tribal and subtribal group, than the celebration of the mortuary rites, particularly for a chief, known as the Tangihanga Mate, or the Uhunga, (the drying and mourning for the dead.) This will comprise the next part of our story concerning life in the village of Poike, many generations ago. 1.

1. Information secured from discussions with Te Hare Piahana, direct descendant of the ariki, Tahuriwakanui. The writer has observed these rites in various parts of New Zealand, and has participated in different roles in mortuary rites.
6. Mortuary rites for a chief.

It was the death of Tahuriwakanui. He had returned from a visit into Te Arawa country, to a tangihanga at Okapu, when he took ill. Though Ngatiranginui and Te Arawa were often at war, the person who had died at Okapu was a distant relative of Ngatiranginui. Many generations back Tacitekura, an ancestress of Ngatiranginui had been taken to wife by the Arawa chief, Uenukukopako, thus the connection. 2

It was therefore proper that Tahuriwakanui, the ariki of Ngatiranginui, should attend the mortuary rites accompanied by a strong contingent of his people. However, the tension had remained, and it was common knowledge that a tohunga, Tutanekai, had taken a portion from the saliva of Tahuriwakanui and had used it in the magical ceremonies of witchcraft against the Ngatiranginui ariki later at the local tuahu, and so, as soon as Tahuriwakanui reached his home at Poike he fell ill.

The attempts of the Ngatiranginui tohunga, Te Moanaroa, from the subtribe, Ngatikauaetara, were all in vain to avert the evil done and Tahuriwakanui realised that the end was near. With weakened voice, as he lay dying, Tahuriwakanui called his eldest son, Te Moko, to him, to arrange the wharau shelter to be built on the marae area for him to lie in until he died. This was to avoid death taking place within a sleeping house, for this to happen would certainly contaminate the building with tapu and render it unfit for any further human habitation. It would have to be destroyed. 3

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2. There are subtribes of Te Arawa, Rotorua, called Ngati-Uenukukopako, and Ngatitaoi. A whare runanga stands at the marae at Rotokawa, named after Uenukukopako, next to it being the modern Dining Rooms, Taoitekura. The writer, who taught at the Rotokawa Maori School about 8 years ago, was welcomed into the Ngati-Uenukukopako subtribe as a Mokopuna (grandson) of Taoitekura.

The kaumatua from all the subtribes of Ngatiranginui had already gathered; for this was an important occasion, and maybe their presence might help to ward off the ultimate results of makutu from the Arawa tohunga. At any rate, there were the final words of farewell - the ohaki, to be given by the dying chief, and all the rangatira and kaumatua of the tribe must hear them.

Tahuriwakanui had been removed to the whare mate, the house of death, the temporary shelter on the marae. Here his last dying moments, the whakahemo-hemo, were to be spent. The kuia of the tribe had set before him the o matenga, the food for his journey across the great divide back to Hawaiki, the homeland of spirits. Then in the quietness of impending death the old chief was propped up, so that he could look out on to the marae, and see his ancestor Rangimui-a-Tamatea. He spoke his words of advice and farewell: his ohaki:

"Whakarongo mai e te whanau, i muri i su kia mau ki te manaaki tangata. Puritia nga tikanga a o koutou tupuna. E Moko, me heke koutou ko o taina ki Te Akeake, waiho ko to whaea ko Te Mapihi ki Poike. E Pahi rahuitia mai te tangata. Kaua e whakatupatia te tangata. Ina te tamaiti a Te Moko hei mau i o whakaaro. E Moko tuku mate ki a i a koe."

(Hearken to me my family, after I am gone adhere to hospitality. Hold to the customs of your ancestors. O Moko, my son, let you and your sister and brother return to Te Akeake, leave your mother, Te Mapihi, here at Poike. O Mapihi, draw the people close to you. Do not divide them away from you. Here is your son, Te Moko, he will fulfill your wishes. Moko, my son, my death - let it be repaid.)

No sooner had the words been uttered than Tahuriwakanui had passed away.

The words of farewell followed the usual pattern, but they had great meaning for those assembled. The old chief had already seen the attempt of his elder sister, Te Mapihi, to stake her claim to the leadership of the tribe, and Tahuriwakamui realised that she possessed qualities that might create divisions among the people.

2. Best, Vol. 2, p. 52; Buck, Coming, pp. 415-416; (For the o matenga, see Best, Vol. 2, p. 53.)
Thus he instructed her to unite the people and draw them toward her. Yet he recognised that his sister, Te Mapihi, was the first born of the family and could not be entirely ignored, but against her claims were those of his own heir, Te Moko, a youth whose ability both in war and peace had already become evident. The solution to the clash which he thought may develop, was to advise Te Moko to leave Poike and go to Te Akeake some few miles from the village, and there build a home and village for himself. He would of course still be available for the important functions of the tribe at Poike, and his scheme was for Te Moko to work in conjunction with Te Mapihi. Therefore he said, Te Moko would fulfil the wishes of Te Mapihi. After that the tribe would work things out to its own satisfaction.

It was necessary for him to say to the assembled leaders to adhere first to hospitality and then to the customs of the ancestors. These were the twin pillars of good administration and in after years the people would remember and be encouraged to work industriously in order to carry out the last wishes of the ariki Tahuriwakanui.

The parting words to Te Moko were significant. The duty and obligation had now fallen upon Te Moko, who was already in full training as a tohunga and a warrior to seek satisfaction for the death of his father. The task of gaining satisfaction might take some years, but it was absolutely essential. Ngatirangimui would discuss the ways and means of effecting this duty, Te Arawa would be ready, but the attention of the tribe was now concentrated upon Te Moko to see how he would respond to the demand of custom and the last wish of his father. His answer would further determine his status in the tribe.

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Immediately Tahuriwakanui died, the subdued wailing of the women increased and everyone knew he had passed away. Messengers sped forth to all the villages of the tribe, 'Kua mate a Tahuriwakanui', (Tahuriwakanui is dead). The elderly women (kuia) assisted by the kaumatua, and under the supervision of the tohunga, prepared the body (tupapaku) for the lying-in-state, which lasted two weeks. The tohunga was present to lift the tapu from those who had handled, tupapaku.

Tahuriwakanui was now in readiness for the last respects. His hair was oiled his face painted with red ochre, and from his ears hung the ornaments of greenstone and albatross down. An atamira, raised platform, was built in a temporary shelter in which he had lain, and his head was slightly uplifted to survey his marae. A sad wistful smile surrounded his tattooed face, even in death. Tahuriwakanui was covered from his chin to his feet with a kiwi cloak, several of which were thrown across his feet. On his chest rested Te Kaponga, a greenstone club called after one of the ancestors of the tribe, and held by the ariki's family. On his right side lay the aiha spears used in past fights.

His widow Taumata squatted on his right side, and his mother Te Paki on his left, both slightly turned toward the body and facing the marae across the feet of the chief. Other kuia squatted nearby, but there were no men in the shelter. They stood outside, especially those who were closely related to the bereaved family. The womenfolk were bleeding from the self inflicted wounds on their faces and bodies, caused by the sharp edge of the obsidian stone, (tuhua).

1. Sad news was despatched by foot. In modern times the news of a death is telegraphed to related tribes.
2. Cf. A local Kaumatua, Minister, an apostro of the Ratana Church, tohunga of the Ringatu Church, or a Norman elder may perform this function today. (Tupapaku = corpse)
3. From Te Hare Pihana.
4. Te Kaponga Club (patu) derives its name from the subtribal ancestor, and is in the care of Te Hare Pihana, kaumatua of Ngaitamarawa, and is displayed at tangi ceremonies of distinguished persons, of the tribe and subtribe.
Their hair was cropped short with the *pipi* (chione stutchburyi) shell, and around their heads were the bands of dry seaweed and green twigs from the *kawakawa* tree (piper excelsum). These were the symbols of mourning and death, thus the reference to them as the *parekawakawa*, the bands of *kawakawa*, when speaking of death.

The group about the deceased person was known as the *whare mate*, the *whare taua*, or the *whare potae—* all terms meaning the house of mourning. It is not only the shelter where the body is lying that is referred to in this phrase, but the fact of mourning itself and the social group bowed down with sorrow.

This small group of close kin, biologically and socially associated with the dead, was tapu or separated from the rest of the tribe. Communication between them and the outside world was strictly regulated. They were heavily impregnated with the tapu of death— and therefore were highly infectious and socially dangerous. They did not partake of food, at least not in public, the widow usually carried on a fast, but the others could accept food under cover of darkness.

These were the women responsible for the impromptu creation of laments that have come down to posterity. One may detect in the loud wailing the growth of these love poems, for as the tears gushed forth, words tumbled out, perhaps picturing the dead chief at some important incident in life, or perhaps in ethereal form hovering about the affairs of the tribe. Around this nucleus of ideas, mythology, history and legend gathered, encased in the poetry and imagery of Maori speech to enhance priestly prestige at death.

The death of a chief was a momentous occurrence in the life of the society. It meant that there was a temporary disorganisation in the social structure, with the leader removed from one status position and set in another.

1. Buck, Coming, pp. 416, 417; Best, Vol. 2, pp 58-59; see Plate showing greenery worn by women at the Turangawaewae marae at welcome to Queen, symbols of mourning for late King George VI. (12)
2. From Te Hare Piahana.
3. The writer has witnessed this custom among Ngatiranginui and other tribes recently.
4. Ngata, Nga Moteatea, pp. v, 4, 5, passim; Buck, Coming, p 417.
However, the society had here taken an otherwise unpromising event and in actual fact turned it into a means of reinforcing its own strength. The position of chiefship was validated in the ceremonies of the mortuary rites we have so far described. 1 We can see this clearly in the way in which the body of the chief was laid out in state, surrounded by the symbols of his status — the ornaments, the rouge of red oche, the tribal heirloom, Te Kaponga, the richly woven garments, and his weapons of war. Tahuriwakanui may have died, but chiefship on which the society depends, continued. Then, too, in a social sense the person of the chief never really disappeared — all that happened is a change in status. Tahuriwakanui has entered the long line of ancestors that somehow attach themselves still to the life of the tribe, sanctioning conduct and behaviour, and fixing ideals. 2

The change of status in the deceased chief is matched by the temporary change in the social position of his nearest kin and relatives. The whare mate is the framework in which they all spend their mourning days. They separate from the everyday activities of the tribe, they are set apart, they are tapu. But it is their physical and kinship connection with the dead chief which draws them apart. The symbols of their new status are obvious, the head band, the hair cut, the mutilations and the refraining from food in public. The men folk related to the chief are not allowed to take part in the work on the marae. Te Moko sits all day, either just inside the House of Mourning, or immediately outside it. When spoken to in public it is an elder who replies on his behalf. He, too, is caught up in this new status. 3

1. Obvious to anyone familiar with the mortuary rites for distinguished people today, such as those for Wānekore, uncle of the Maori King, and Te Puea Herangi Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia.
2. Explanation from Rōrē Erueti, Waikato, Te Hare Pihana Taurangi.
3. Cf. At the Umunga (Mourning) for Te Puea Herangi, her husband, Tu Mokai Katipa, remained in silent vigil by the body. The Kaumatua leaders of Waikato made the speeches on his behalf.
The total effect of this change of status is to leave the position of chiefship intact and unaffected by the death of the current occupant, ready to accept the next person in charge. Already the situation is forcing Te Moko into the status, but for the nonce another one of the rangatira is in charge of the mortuary rites, and he will direct the affairs of the tribe until Te Moko takes over, perhaps toward the end of the present gathering. But at least some opportunity will be given for him to make his first public utterance in the ancestral assembly hall - Ranginui-a-Tamatea. Te Whiringa, rangatira of Ngatikauetara, was in charge of the proceedings, by virtue of his skill in oratory on the marae, and also because he was the next senior by birth among the rangatira of the subtribes of Ngatiranginui. At the moment he sat in the porch of the assembly hall and beside him were other rangatira and elders and also Te Moko, the young chief.

Two kuia stood out in the middle of the marae, green twigs in hand, and garlands of greenery wrapped around their heads. The rest of the tribe was drawn up in several rows on either side of the whare mate and the assembly hall. The women were in front, three deep, while just behind them were four rows of men. They were a band of special dancers who were to move forward at a later stage in the proceedings.

The scene was set for the welcome and arrival of representatives of the Ngaiterangi Tribe under the leadership of their ariki, Tupaea. Word had come to Poike, that these people actually reached a rendezvous point near the village the night before, but some parties had come late, and as it was not proper that they should move on to the marae under the cover of darkness, they had stayed without the village all night.

1. This is an occasion a subtribe or tribe awaits even today. Information from Pekerangi, Kuia of Ngaitamarawaho Tauranga.
2. The pattern described may be witnessed among Ngatiranginui and Waikato.
The proud Ngaiterangi would do things in strict etiquette, particularly as they had come from various localities to pay their respects to the deceased ariki of Ngatiranginui.

The two tribes were far from being friendly, and there was a feeling of tension even at this meeting. Of course the village had taken food out to the encamped visitors, but one would have noticed that all communication and contact were reduced to an absolute minimum, between hosts and visitors, though groups from each side passed one another. The reason for this was that both parties were under a special tapu, and until they had participated in the ceremonial welcome on the marae to lift the tapu, then the restricted relationship must continue.

When all was ready on the marae, and Ngaiterangi were set to move forward, the two elderly women on the marae began their call in high pitched voices, loud and drawn out. "Haere mai ra e te iwi e .... haere mai ra e te manuhiri, mauria mai ra nga mate tuatini, tenei a aitua e takoto nei i i..." - Welcome 0 peoples... welcome 0 visitors... Bring with you the many deaths...

Behold death is here too. The Ngaiterangi hosts moved forward toward the marae through the entrance in the eastern wall. Selected kuia walked in front also equipped with the branchlets and the greenery in their hands and around their heads; behind them walked the chief Tupaea, accompanied by his daughter Te Kahurangi. The men and women wore their best robes, this was a dress occasion, but prominent too was the greenery. The mass of the people followed on behind Tupaea.

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2. To cal to Waen, the proving (or chance) practiced on other occasions when distinguished visitors arrive on the marae. To ascertain the hidden thoughts of the visitors. Cf. E. X., Vol. I, p. 575; Back, Coming, pp. 380-391.
The Ngaiterangi women then began their call in similar voice and tone to the others: 'Haere ra ki te iwi i te po e Tai e... Depart O sir to the peoples in the night. Tupaea too called out, 'Takoto i te au o situa e hoa e... Lie there o friend on the swift flowing currents of death. The kaumatua and the rangatira in the group took up the same theme - farewell to the dead - and all the people joined in the wailing as they moved forward.

Suddenly, Te Komene, one of the fighting men of Ngatiranginui, dashed out from the assembly hall, a taiaha spear in one hand and a small twig in the other. As Ngaiterangi entered the gate of the marae, Te Komene turned and pranced his way back to the spot from whence he had come. Then Tupaea stopped and picked up the twig, and Ngatiranginui knew that Ngaiterangi had come with sincere intentions and goodwill.

These two tribes were related as indicated by the genealogies, through Kuraroa, sister of Te Kaponga and granddaughter of Ranginui, the tribal ancestor. But they had been enemies, rivals for control over the Tauranga territories. The wailing of the two groups - hosts and visitors, men and women - increased in tempo and it almost seemed that even here too they were vying with each other.

About 20 yards from the whare mate, Ngaiterangi stopped and as they did so, the rows of women by the assembly hall commenced their haka (dance) of welcome appropriate to such an occasion. There were three rows of women in front, backed up by four rows of men. All held in their hands branches from the trees nearby, and the movements that accompanied the chanting of the words were forward, up, and down, in perfect time and rhythm. In unison they replied to the leader who began each line of the chorus.

1. This is called te Wero, the piercing (or challenge) practised on other occasions when distinguished visitors arrive on the marae. To ascertain the hidden thoughts of the visitors. Cf. Best, Vol. 1, p. 375; Buck, Coming, pp. 390-391.
Toia mai - te waka, kumea mai - te waka,
Ki te urunga - te waka, ki te moenga - te waka,
Ko te takotoranga i takoto ai - te waka e....

(Drag hither the canoe, draw hither the canoe,
To the pillow, the canoe, to the sleeping place, the canoe,
To the place where will lie the canoe.)

Then the men, assisted by the women, jumped forward and with rousing voices, grimacing faces, poking tongues, and rolling eyes, perform the War Dance of Welcome.

Ka mate, Ka mate,
Ka ora, ka ora,
Ka mate, ka mate,
Ka ora, ka ora,
Tenei te tangata puhehuruhuru
Nana i tiki mai whakawhiti
Te Ra..... Upane, upane, upane kaupane,
Whiti te ra.

(‘Tis death, ‘tis death,
‘Tis life, ‘tis life,
‘Tis death, ‘tis death,
‘Tis life, ‘tis life,
Here is the hairy man,
He it was who caused to shine
The sun... Upward lift, upward lift,
Upward lift and downward,
Lo! the sun shines once more.)

Then the women moving up again, and the men back - all joined together in the rhythmic chant accompanied by the easy downward and upward movement of the arms:

Kimihia rangahaua,
Koi hea koe e ‘Huri e
Endaro nei
Tena ka riro
Kei runga o Mauao
Kei te huinga
O Te Kahurangi
Ka obi atu koe
E Huri........

(Seek ye, and search ye,
Where art thou 0 Huri 0,
Art thou then lost and gone?
Ah! There thou art set
High 'pon Mauao's peak
Mingling midst yon hosts
Of illustrious dead
Never to return art thou!
0 'Huri, Sir, Ah! Me!)
As they ended their vigorous display, both parties once more sank back to prolonged wailing and mourning. After a short while two women from Ngatiranginui were seen to walk across the marae with a mat of kiekie flax and place it at the feet of Te Kahurangi (daughter of Tupaea) and Tupaea, who were standing together.

The Ngaiterangi chief then unfolded a kiwi (Capteryx) cloak and gave it to his daughter, Te Kahurangi. Quietly, but with perfect dignity, the young woman took the cloak and started off to the whare mate with it; as she did so she called out the farewell in a high soprano voice, but in a single drawn out note: Haere ra e koro ki o matua i te po.... Farewell, O Sir, join thou thine ancestors in the night unknown.... When she came to where the body lay, she paused awhile and lay the cloak down with the neck piece toward the feet of the dead chief. She stood there and repeated her farewell call, and then slowly turning around she returned to the side of her father who was now seated on the mat. The way Te Kahurangi had placed the cloak with the neck piece facing the corpse indicated to Ngatiranginui that it was an absolute gift, a roimata, the tears of Ngaiterangi for the loss of Ngatiranginui. If it had been placed with the neck piece away from the deceased chief's feet then it meant this was only on loan. However, Ngatiranginui fully realised that the gift from Ngaiterangi had placed the tribe under a heavy obligation, so that the gift would have to be returned with a similar one at a later date. All this time the wailing never abated, in fact it seemed that the volume had increased.

Shortly, a slight movement was witnessed among the leading men in the porch of the whare runanga - and Te Whiringa rose and walked on to the marae. It was right of course that he should begin the speeches of welcome, for he was the

1. Procedure among Ngatiranginui and the Waikato tribes; gifts such as money may be offered today in the same way. The gift, whatever it is, must be returned. A special kaumatua in a Maori Community keeps the record of these gifts, the repayment being done in the name of the group as a whole.

senior rangatira present, and he was in charge of the proceedings. Also Te Whiringa was one of the best orators in the tribe. It was proper that he should - waahi nga korero - break the speeches - no better representative on this occasion with the critical leaders of Ngaiterangi here, and the ariki of the tribe set out in state there in the whare mate.

Then he began, and except for a few of the women, a noticeable hush came upon all the assembled peoples - the formal introductory, an ancient war alarum - that had been adapted by the orator:

Piki mai kake mai
Homai te Waiora ki au e
E tu te lua ana koa
Te moe a te kuia nei i te po
Na Wairaka i rarua ai
E papaki tu ana te tai ki te Reinga
Ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea

Tapatapa te ra nei
Whakaesaa ake ana
Hei runga te kotipu
Hei raro te kotihono

Ki kona koe mihi mai ai
Ka mau te hono ra
Whiti tu a
Whiti a roa
Ranea te Hangi e tu nei
Te Papa a takoto nei
Turuki, paneke, hara mai te toki,
Haumi e, Taiki e.¹

(Ascend, ascend,
Bring to me life-giving waters
Depressed am I and forlorn
Loi: The Goddess of Night
Whom Wairaka deceived
Loi: How the storms crash
Upon the death dealing rocks of Hades
But 'tis life, 'tis life and 'tis light.

The sun uncertainly dawns,
Peeping and bobbing,
'Tis up away
'Tis down again
Send thou thy rays
To unite all in light
Rise and stand then
Continuously to shine
Fill out the light of day

¹. From Heemi Himiona, a kaumatua and leading orator of Waikato at the Turangawaewae Marae Ngaruawahia. This is popularly known as a karakia (incantation) today. Translation by writer.
Shed forth o'er all the earth
Let the canoe move and shift
Bring the axes here
Join fore and aft
Unite......

Then he continued:--

Takoto kei taku tuakana, i te urunga te taka, i te moenga te whakarahia. Takoto mai i te amau i te mataotao.
Tenei te taniwha o te moana nei o Tauranga ka puta i tana rua.
Kua ea kei taku tuakana, kua ea! Kua ea!
Kua ea ra te mahi a te hanga nei a aitua!
Kua ea te wero i u ki taku kiri.
Ko Te Rangihouhiri tenei a Kahukino.
Waiho mai ko te tangi, ko te mana e kia au ki a Ngatiranginui e pae nei.
Haere ki te iwi, ki te mano. Haere ki nga tupuna, ki a Tamateapokaiwhenua ko Takitimu te waka. Haere ki a Ranginui, ki a Te Kaponga, haere e Huri. Haere, haere, haere. Nau mai Ngaiterangi. Haere mai i te ra e whiti ana. Na taku ariki koe i tiki atu i kukume mai i tua o te rangi!
Haere mai. Ko Mauao te maunga, ko Tauranga te Moana, ko Tupeea te tangata. Ko Matata te waka mai i nga kuri a whaare ki Tikirau. Haere mai Tupaea me o hapu maka. Kua ea taku mate i to tasinga mai i te ra nei. Mauria mai te tsonga nei te roimata me te hupe ruia ki te marae o Aitua. Kia tangihia ka ea, ka ea, ka ea!

Then as one man Ngatiranginui arose as Te Whiringa commenced the song of his peroration. The poem is a long one, and is full of archaic language and mythological references, centring on the ancestor Ranginui and the incidents that have made him famous.

(Translation of the above speech)

Addresses corpse: Lie there my brother (elder)
Upon the pillow that falls not
And the bed that gives no rising,
Lie there in that disgusting place
So dreary, so cold,
Here is the monster of the sea at Tauranga
Emerged from his cave
'Tis paid for my brother,
'Tis paid for, 'tis paid for,
The work of death has been paid for
Death's sharp point that pierced my body no longer pains.
Behold the famed Te Rangihouhiri son of Kahukino is come.
Remains but the sorrow with me
and Ngatiranginui assembled here.
Depart to the tribes,
Depart to the ancestors
To Tamateapokaiwhenua of Takitimu canoe
Depart to Ranginui and Te Kaponga
Farewell O 'Huri
Farewell, farewell, farewell.

1. Based on the formal oratory at the mortuary rites among the Ngatiranginui tribe today. The writer himself has used this formal oratory on such occasions in Tauranga, Kawhia, Rotorua and Ngaruawaha. The language, with little change, and the concepts and ideas expressed remain.
Addresses the visitors:
Welcome Ngaiterangi,
Welcome while the sun shines
My ariki fetched you
From beyond the horizon
 thrice welcome
Mauao is the mountain
Tauranga the sea
And Tupae the chief
Matatua is the canoe
From the dogs of Whaare Rocks
to Tikirau point at the rising sun
Welcome Tupae and your many subtribes
Your arrival today has compensated
 for my death and sorrow
Bring your gifts of tears and mucus
Cast them forth on the marae of death
Together we shall mourn
Lo! 'tis repaid,
'tis repaid, 'tis repaid.

The old man resumed his seat. An audible murmur of satisfaction ran around the assembled Ngatiranginui, while Ngaiterangi were more vociferous in their praise. Tupae and the other rangatira with him, lifted up their hands with a grunt that signified their approval of the sentiments and the manner of expression. The lesser chiefs of Ngatiranginui, including the kaumatua from the various family groups, followed Te Whiringa. The chief had opened the way and laid down the plan, as it were, for the speeches. The others repeated and emphasized the same sentiments. When all had done, Te Whiringa raised his hand aloft, and Ngaiterangi knew that the hosts had finished and it was their turn for the speeches.

Then Tupae stood up, with a club made of whale bone in his right hand, and began. The formal introduction was part of an ancient ritual which the navigating tohunga uttered when the Matatua canoe was launched at Hawaiki on the commencement of her journey to New Zealand many centuries before. The purpose of the ritual then, and on the occasion at Poike was to clear the seas of hidden rocks or threatening storms, that may engulf Matatua and her people.

1. Dogs of Whaare - rocks at Katikati, Tikirau is at the East Cape. The extreme points of the territory inhabited by descendants of the Matatua Canoe.
2. Sharing of sorrow brings comfort to the mourners and to a measure compensates for the death.
What hidden shafts of witchcraft lurk behind the welcome of Ngatirangimui thought Ngaiterangi, and Tupaea stood and faced his hosts across that sacred marae.

Ko wai ra! Ko wai ra
Te tangata tutu taua
Ke ore koa ko Hau, ko Nuiho, ko Nuake
Ko Manu, ko Weka, ko Tahioterangi
Tenei te maro ka hurua
Haruahuru mui no Maui, no Weka
Ka tu tapori atu, ka tu tapori mai
Wero noa, wero noa, nga rakuw whakaiia
Ne nga tupuna i tikina ki rawahi
Hai homai mo taku waka mo Waimihia
Te mata o nga raku a Tukariri
Te mata o nga raku a Tukaniwha
Te mata o nga raku a Tukaitaua
Whanowhano! Hara mai te tokio
Nesum e.....
Ui e..... Taiki J 1

Then another ancient poem used on such occasions that bespeaks the continuity and stability of life, despite the many vicissitudes that disturb, and likens the ancient way of life to the solidness of the mountain Mauao standing on the rock-bound coast at the entrance to the Tauranga Harbour. (Mauao is known today as Mount Maunganui - but Mauao is still used in many of the poetic utterances.)

Papaki kau ana nga tai o Mauao
I whakamikumukuhia, i whakanekenekahia
I whina reretia e Hotu, a Wahinerua
Ki te wai, ki Taiwiwi
Ki Taiwawa
Tihe..... Mauriora
Ki te whiaeo, ki te ao marama!

(Translations)
(By writer)

Who is it, who is it
Leading the fighting hosts,
Lo 'tis Hau, 'tis Nuiho, 'tis Nuake
Or is it Manu, Weka and Tahioterangi
Your battle dress - be prepared
'Tis the battle dress of Manu and Weka
Lo it falls here, and it falls there
Now the sharpened weapons strike in vain
Ancestral garment from beyond the seas
It adorned my canoe Waimihia
Behold the menacing point of Tukariri's spear
Behold the two-edged point of Tukaniwha's spear
Behold the piercing point of Tukaitaua's spear
Arise, arise, bring hence the axe... Join fore and aft
Declare it forth - Lo! All is one!

1. Te Tau O Matatua. The ritual incantation uttered by the navigating tohunga at the launching of the Matatua canoe at Hawaiki 600 years ago, on the departure for Aotearoa (New Zealand). From Te Hare Piahana, Kaumatua and leading orator of the Ngatirangimui tribe; also see Best, Tuhoe, New Plymouth 1925, p.720.
As Tupaea ended his speech, Ngaiterangi arose and in tremendous unison sang the peroration in the form of a tribal poem. Ngaiterangi has always been known for its outstanding compositions and the high quality of its singing. At the end, the oration was unrestrained.

Translation of Tupaea’s speech:-

The mighty Totara of the Great Forest of Tane is fallen, Behold how the earth trembled, and the sky was torn asunder The waters too were greatly disturbed Why? Why? Why? I ask has this happened. Son, Tahuri, should not the knees have been allowed to reach up round the nape? This! why? why? The striking of the wooden spear is seen, but alas for the shaft that strikes from the minds of evil men! Who did it? Who did it? Lie there, Son, Tahuri, victim of death’s awful power. Lie in the comforting presence of your ancestor Ranginui, Thou art with the multitudes of the night, with the chiefs, with the illustrious hosts. Farewell! Call, 0 Ngatiranginui. Call, 0 Te Whirina!

1. Figurative expression for a mighty chief. (Tahuri Wakanai).
2. Identification of chief with the tribe and canoe.
I, Ngaiterangi, am here. I, Matatuta, am here, to see her grandson.

Call my brother.1 (Younger). The family of Kuraroa is here, come at the instance of death.

Continuously, I ask, Why? Why? Son, Moko, be brave, be patient! Hearken to the words of your ancestors.

'One frond withers and dies in the forest, another rises in its place.'

This word is upon you.

Call, O people, behold we too bring the deaths of Ngaiterangi. We cast all on our illustrious friend lying there and thereby sorrow is softened, and death repaid.

When the other chiefs and kaumatua from Ngaiterangi had all spoken after their ariki, Tupaea, the hosts arranged themselves in a row facing the visitors, in front of the assembly hall and the whare mate, for the next part of the proceedings, which was the hongi.

The hongi is the final stage of bringing the visitors together and consists of touching noses, though sometimes the action is one of pecking or even rubbing. The touching may be prolonged, given with a short grunt, and helped on by pressure from the right hand cupped across the nape of the neck of the opposite person. Just before release of the touched noses, an extra pressure is exerted, while with the folk immediately around the corpse, that is, the close relatives, the contact is even much longer and is accompanied by a loud wailing. Otherwise the hongi part of the mortuary rite is fairly brief in duration.

The Ngaiterangi visitors also form themselves into a line headed by the elderly women and Te Kahurangi, the chief's daughter, with Tupaea coming close behind them. They begin the hongi from the side of the whare mate, away from the assembly hall, so that when all is finished their line ends up on the side of the assembly hall.3 With the commencement of the hongi, there is renewed wailing from the women in the whare mate, and this continues until all the visitors have made contact with the row of assembled hosts.

1. Classified use of kinship terms.
2. Note the sharing of grief.
Plate 5. The Hongi Greeting. (Shaking hands an innovation).
With the completion of the hongi, visitors and hosts were now able to mingle freely with each other. The tapu which had previously restricted their movements and interaction one with the other on first meeting is now lifted finally by the hongi. They, hosts and visitors, were now able to join together in welcoming the tribes that would henceforth visit the village to pay their respects to the dead chief. The two groups had now become identified in respect to their status, and consequently, they were able to assume and perform the similar role of hosts to those visitors who may come to the marae. Tupaea would now be able to stand and welcome other tribes, in the same way as Te Whiringa and the other chiefs.

However, there was in fact another stage to be gone through before the two groups were to settle down together and we shall now go on to describe it briefly. Since the people of Ngatiranginui had begun to gather together subtribal parties had arrived with quantities of food for the meeting. The groups from inland brought preserved birds, and also freshly caught ones. These the women folk had prepared. The people from the coastal parts had brought fish, and shell fish. Parties of men also had been out all night setting the hinaki for eels in the well-known haunts along the Waimapu river. Kumara and taro were brought by the subtribes to the West, where some of the finest crops are raised. Ngaiterangi too did not come empty handed; they brought with them their contributions of food. While, therefore, the speeches of welcome had been going on, in the background attached to each household unit there were groups of men and women preparing the food for the meal that was to follow.

The cooking was done in the umu or hangi of stones described earlier; and these were extended to cater for the greater quantities of food. Slaves helped with the fetching of water and firewood.

1. Cf. Frost, E.T., Maori Trails and Pakeha Tracks, Dunedin 1947, pp. 17 etc. details of catering at the tangihanga for King Tawhiao at Taupiri, Waikato, two dining rooms 1/2 mile long; 2000 loaves ordered daily, eels, pork, cattle, etc.

2. Eel traps or pots made of wicker material.
Women plaited the kono baskets as containers for the cooked food. One umu or hangi was regarded as a community one, unattached to the whanau groups, where some of the visiting subtribal units prepared the food they brought along with them.

Amidst all the hurry and bustle, behind the scenes of the public performance of the mortuary rites was an efficient informal organisation that catered for the feeding of visitors and their hosts. As soon as the food was cooked, a kaumatua walked on to the marae and in a loud voice called: 'Ngaiterangi, kua maoa te kai.' (O Ngaiterangi, food is cooked and ready to be served.)

Immediately this announcement was made, rows of women singing and moving forward with a swaying motion from side to side appeared, bearing in their hands the kono baskets of steaming food from the umu. The words of the song they sing as they come on to the marae has obscene references to create an atmosphere of freedom and informality. Another theme in the singing is that of apology for the food, now being placed before such distinguished visitors.

Ngaiterangi is seated in groups on the marae ground, each in their own subtribal units. Te Kahurangi and her father sit by themselves, and the first baskets of food are taken out to them. All partake of the meal, visitors and hosts alike, while the light-hearted chanting continues.

Soon all is over and the marae is cleared, for word has come that another ope or party of visitors awaits to come to the marae to pay their respects. Ngatiranginui and Ngaiterangi standing together join in offering the welcome to the new group following the procedure we have described.

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1. Cf. Best, Vol. 1, pp. 377, 378; Buck, Coming, pp. 376-378: Still practised among Ngatiranginui when the meal is set. In the modern Dining Room the call today is Kua Karanga te kuia nei. (The old lady invites you.) - The Dining Room is named after the wife of the eponymous ancestor, whose name is given the modern whare runanga.
At last dusk falls on the still busy and active groups of the Poike Village. Visitors and hosts alike enter the assembly hall, Ranginui-a-Tamatea, to continue their speeches, dancing and singing, commenced on the marae.

The order of seating and allocation of sleeping quarters is important here. Tupaea and his daughter Te Kahurangi, occupy the right side of the house, just under the front window, while the rest of Ngaiterangi spread along the wall toward the back of the house. The right side under the window is the place of honour reserved for distinguished chiefs. Ngatiranginui arrange themselves on the left of the building. Te Whiringa the chief of Ngatiranginui, props himself against the poutokomanawa, the main post holding up the middle of the building.

While the speeches continue, one notices there are differences in the behaviour and attitudes of the people though the general themes of the speeches are the same as earlier. The Maori indicated the difference between the proceedings inside and outside the house in the well-known saying:

Ko Tu ki waho  
Ko Tahu ki roto. (Tu outside, but Tahu inside.)

Tu was the energetic warlike spirit of the speeches and the challenge on the marae during the day. Tahu, however, represented the more subdued, more informal intercourse when folk light the fire in the middle of the house and gather around it. The oratory and poetry continued, interspersed with light touches of humour. History was narrated, even with conflict here and there between the versions that Ngatiranginui and Ngaiterangi gave.

After the speeches, Rehia, the patron of pleasure and entertainment, took over. There was here, too, the element of competition and rivalry between the groups of young men and women of either tribe.

But Te Kahurangi was undoubtedly the favourite. With rolling eyes, swirling hips, her arms and hands quivering, she danced, and as she did so many a young man's heart throbbed, and she brought forth the expressed applause of the whole assembly. The Maori said that even the quality of birth and breeding came out in the dance of the chief's daughter, so different and surpassing by far, the poor efforts of the low born commoner.  

7. Sociological Analysis.

Our concern with the mortuary rites of the ariki Tahuriwakamui must end here, omitting the interment, and the subsequent hakari feast. Sufficient is shown in the mortuary rites and the accompanying type of oratory to provide a basis for sociological analysis. The question then is, what was the function of the mortuary rites we have just described, and what were the meanings of the various elements which comprise the ceremony? Some light has already been thrown upon aspects, but we need to round off the interpretation.

The most important feature was the focus of attention on the high status of chiefship. A commoner died and no one made any fuss to the same extent. But a chief was honoured in death as in life. Some say more so in death than in life. The status of the visitors who graced the occasion, the high quality of the oratory displayed, all tended to reflect the prestige and significance of chiefship in the functioning of the society. The etiquette observed marked the strict adherence to the regulation and orderliness characteristic of the important occasions in the life of the village. The ceremonies also preserved the essential ranking system of the social structure in the precedence given the ariki and rangatira speakers. Te Whiringa was in charge until Te Moko

2. The hakari is no longer in vogue at mortuary rites because of the expense, but it was the custom at Tauranga among Ngatiranginui.
was initiated into the position through the maiden speech he was expected to make on the final night of the meeting.

The oratory with all its mythical references, did two things. One was to highlight chiefship, the other was to stress the chief's change of status, continuing a worthy position among the company of illustrious dead at a place called the Night. There the aristocracy continued their existence in much the same way as now.

Then, too, the rites for the chief strengthened the structure of the society in another way. Here the qualities on which the continuation of the social structure depended were being refined and crystallised. For instance the attitude toward chiefship, sentiments and emotional expressions that bind the parts of the society together, the practice of hospitality, the pooling of resources for a common purpose, the giving of sympathy one to another, all these were the elements which go into the making of a healthy society.\(^1\)

Looked at from another angle, one can see sense in the whole out-burst of emotion, the wailing, the mourning; in this way the surcharge of feeling, the loneliness created by the loss of a leader, the isolation experienced when a strong personality is taken at death, these necessary accompaniments of death are shared by the community as a whole. Grief to the Maori, far from isolating or restricting sections of the community, actually causes them to extend outwards. Grief is shared and in this very act of communion between members of the group, the social organisation is made stronger.\(^2\)

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2. Agreement between the Maori and the sociological viewpoints on the sharing of grief in the mortuary rites first occurred to the writer in discussions with Professor R. Piddington, Auckland, New Zealand.
In Maori society health is restored because sorrow is formalised and shared by all. The dynamic interaction of sections of the community is also a feature in the mortuary rites. So far as we have spoken of the positive side, the sharing, the communion, and the co-operation. These are fundamental bases of the society that are stressed again and again. But there is another side. Here too are undercurrents of tension and strain that alternate with the positive forces making for resolution and compensation. We can see the tension between the visitors and the people of the village. Contact at first was kept to a minimum until the actual ceremonies brought release to the mounting tensions, and the peoples were more closely knit together. The challenge by Te Komene was another example of this type of relationship, indicating the latent conflict between the two tribes, and the need for caution and care. However, the people were set at ease when Tupaea picked up the twig, a conscious signal— we are friends. The giving of the gift by Te Kahurangi, not only demonstrated the release of tension but displayed a desire for constructive friendliness and the willingness to attribute high prestige to another chief. The custom of the hongi also symbolised, in the touching of the noses, the final identification of the two tribes.

Within the tribe Ngatiranginui, there was also tension. The segregated whare mate is set apart from other people of the marae, tapu because of the association with the dead chief, and the final resolution of the tension did not occur till after the internment, when the funeral feast was over. Then within the family of the Ariki himself the rivalry inherent in the relationship between Te Napahi and Te Moko for leadership status within the group remained throughout, final reconciliation paradoxically coming through separation into different localities.

Perhaps the greatest conflict of all was between the twin concepts of life on the one hand, and death on the other. Throughout the rites one became conscious of the tug-of-war between this life and the next. There is a host of people on the other side beckoning those here to join them.
Once over the line between this life and the next there is really no returning. But the dead chief was received in all his glory, and given a position due to his high ancestry among his people, to look with benign concern upon the affairs of the tribe.

The knitting factor which brought all the conflicting groups together was kinship, which is felt very strongly in the rites. Ngaiterangi and Ngatiranginui were erstwhile enemies, but kinship joined them through the ancestor Kuraroa, a Ngatiranginui woman who married into the leading families of Ngaiterangi many generations back. Because of that connection, Ngaiterangi could not be denied access to the marae, and above all the right to attend and pay their respects to Tahuriwakanui, the descendant of Kuraroa. Tupaea was bound by this recognised kinship obligation to come and pay his respects. His prestige depended on his doing so, for attendance at the mortuary rites was one of the rangatira qualities of the society. Behind all the tensions and their resolutions in the rites, through all the co-operation of the tribe and its subtribes, was the network of kinship. Sorrow based on the foundation of kinship drew the tribe together and in so doing, fulfilled the law of the continuation and the maintenance of the social structure and chiefship in the old time village of Poike.
Distribution of Maori Population Aotearoa 1780

DISTRIBUTION OF MAORI POPULATION AOTEAROA

Approximate Percentage Distribution of Population By Regions

Distribution of Maori Population of New Zealand 1841

Larger dots, 1000 people
Smaller dots, 100 people

Total population (Maori, 14,000)

Approximate Distribution by Regions

Institutions contributing the society maintained its stability...
LEADERSHIP IN POST EUROPEAN MAORI SOCIETY.

PART I. MAORI LEADERS IN TRANSITION (1800-1840).

CHAPTER 5.

Initial Contacts.

1. General Survey.

Our description of Maori society prior to the arrival of the Europeans showed that it had achieved a fair degree of balance both in its internal organisation and in its relationship with the total environment. The institutions constituting the society maintained its stability. Chiefship stood at the centre of the social structure exercising powers in the tribe and the subtribe with due regard to the inherent sanctions and controls. But the functional relationship between the leaders and indeed the very foundation of chiefship itself, framed within the traditional social groups were soon to be disturbed by external forces from the European.

The European, already making his influence felt in other parts of the world, stumbled across Aotearoa in the middle of the 17th Century. Tasman, the Dutch Navigator, anchored off the coast of the land he named New Zealand in 1642. The absence of adequate rapport through lack of suitable means of

inter-cultural communication with the natives forced the Dutchman to abandon any intention for a prolonged stay. This first contact enabled the Maori chiefs to witness the death dealing powers of European weapons, a portent of the tragedies to follow from future contacts.

Over a hundred years after Tasman, Captain Cook the British Navigator on a scientific expedition to the Pacific, landed in New Zealand to initiate Maori-British association. From him the Maori received pigs, potatoes and other plants. Cook also claimed the new land in the name of his sovereign as Europeans were wont to do, and he left pigs, potatoes and other plants with the natives to ensure fresh provisions of vegetables and meat against the day of his return.2

Once the trail into the Pacific was blazed and the imperial designs of the European nations encompassed that ocean also, a variety of groups followed the explorers. The whalers, the sealers, were followed by British, French and American visitors to New Zealand waters. The whalers and sealers by virtue of their work were compelled to take up prolonged residence at the Bays along the coast. This led to liaison between them and the chiefs. Some whalers and sealers took Maori wives from chiefly families, others employed Maori crews on their ships, and as labouring hands in hunting, killing, and preparing whales.3

1. Thompson, op.cit., pp. 225, 233, 242; Taylor, Te Ika, pp. 205, 206; Beaglehole, J.C., op.cit., Chaps. 10, 11, 12; McNab, op.cit., pp. 44, etc.
Pakeha-Maori settlers, deserters from ships and escapees from the convict stations in Australia, found their way into Maori communities and adopted the customs of the people, while traders came seeking supplies of the timber and flax that grew in abundance.

The Maori himself was no mere passive receiver of cultural elements. Even before the beginning of the 19th century, Maori deck hands, including chiefs, joined ships which took them to Great Britain, Australia, and the European countries bordering the Pacific. The chiefs who were inveterate travellers in pre-European times seized the new opportunities to go abroad and see the wider world about which they had been told so much. They returned to assist in the changes that were taking place, and to astound the large tribal audiences on the marae with their fantastic and unbelievable accounts of happenings in the world of the European.

But where the explorer, the whalers and sealers, the Pakeha-Maori and the traders went, the missionary was sure to go. The founder of the Church Missionary society work in New Zealand, Samuel Marsden, came from Australia in 1814. With the aid of a much travelled chief Ruatara, the first Christian service was organised in New Zealand on Christmas Day, when Marsden preached to a large congregation of Maori chiefs on the Text, 'Behold, I Bring you glad tidings of great joy.' Marsden installed school teachers, agriculturalists and technicians to teach the Maori the arts of European civilisation. He was followed

2. Condliffe, op.cit., p.16; Taylor, p. 209; Elder, Pioneer Explorers, ibid; Taylor, op.cit., p. 209; see also McNab, From Tasman to Marsden, pp.84-85, 101.
3. The Cambridge History, pp. 33,45,46,47; Elder, Letters, pp. 58-59, 246-247; McNab, R., From Tasman to Maraden, pp. 79-80; Earle, op.cit., pp. 22-23.
4. Elder, op.cit., pp. 46, 60; about Ruatara see pp. 60-69; also pp. 525,526; Church Missionary Register, 1834, pp. 59-63; Earle, op.cit., pp. 22-23 - saw a house surrounded with vegetable gardens and furnished with a bed and a sea chest owned by a chief who had been to Sydney; Buick, op.cit., pp. 234-236.
Map 9. Early Contacts

Map 8.

1) Early contacts some government had been introduced.

Map 7. Distribution of Whaling and Missionary Stations late 1830's

Points of European Contact 1838

Northern Bays (Northern)

Cook Strait (Central)

Murihiku – Otakou (Southern)

NORTHERN BAYS

DISTRIBUTION OF WHALING AND MISSIONARY STATIONS late 1830's

Missionary stations established before 1839

Whaling stations operating in the 1830's.
by the Wesleyan Missionary, Samuel Leigh, in 1822, and the Roman Catholic Bishop, Pompalier, in 1838.1 In the meantime settlers were moving into the country. The location of European groups was scattered at isolated points mostly along the coast so that the main body of the Maori people was only slightly influenced by European forces of change. The intensity of social change differed in accordance with the degree of European contacts, nevertheless the smaller European settlements were vital centres of cultural diffusion.2

In 1839 the New Zealand Company took the initiative from the British Government and set out to promote a scheme of systematic colonisation in New Zealand by despatching a ship load of colonists to Petone. After some hesitancy the British authorities established government by assuming control of New Zealand and the Maori people through the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.3 By the end of this period the basic European institutions in commerce, religion, and government had been introduced to New Zealand per medium of the various pioneers of social change, the explorers, the traders, the settlers, the missionaries and the Government officials. Each group admittedly held different standards in operating within their institutions. They frequently clashed among themselves.4 But there were sufficient common sets of values and standards for the groups to interact satisfactorily and to maintain harmonious relations one with the other. There was however one fundamental problem that posed itself to the various interacting groups in New Zealand, and that was the nature of the over-all framework to coordinate all the organizations into a cohesive pattern.

2. Firth, Economics, p. 480.
4. The Cambridge History, p. 51; Keesing, op.cit., p.64.
The solution finally came with the incorporation of the Maori social structure as a subsystem within the network of the wider New Zealand society. The exact formula of the solution was designed by the establishment of British Imperial political control over New Zealand through the Treaty of Waitangi.  

2. The interacting systems and over-all control.  
   
a. The Maori Social Structure.  
   
In spite of attempts by missionaries and government officials to utilise the indigenous political system, the Maori social structure was inherently unable to provide a framework to comprehend all the various institutions being established in New Zealand. The values of Maori society were too remote for one thing from those of the incoming European systems, and the principle of conflict upon which it functioned was too fundamental to be eliminated without altering the total structure of the society.  

Nor were the European groups, settlers, missionaries, and governmental officials really willing to so adapt themselves to the standards of Maori society as to forsake their own cultural background. Beyond them stood the heritage of technical and spiritual development that became more and more influential with the increase in European population and the consequent reinforcement of European institutions. Then, too, the chiefs were never willing to keep themselves in isolation. Their society was opened wide to goods and articles from other cultures, especially if these were seen to be more  

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1. The Cambridge History, p. 51; Keesing, op.cit., p. 64.  
efficient than their own. The chiefs welcomed change because of the prestige it brought them and made themselves accessible to it, and when once they had committed themselves there was no turning back.2

b. Commerce.3

The early system of trading in New Zealand inevitably resembled more the gifting technique of Maori traditional society than the economic exchange method of the European. The explorers, the settlers, the missionaries and the traders were dependent upon the Maori for foodstuffs and commodities such as flax, timber, land, etc. The Maori himself was in great need of tools, plants and other goods. The relationship established between Maori and European was therefore one of reciprocal mutuality.

Later the bartered goods assumed a standard value for purposes of exchange according to the demand either among the Maori or among the European. The musket was so greatly needed— for sheer survival— by the Maori tribes during the musket wars of the 1820's that guns were considered to be worth 1 ton of flax, the ammunition fetching a further half a ton. As long as there was dependence of European upon Maori, the relations between them were determined largely by the requirements of the Maori, and such a state of affairs created friendly relations between the two peoples.

It was when there was an increased pressure upon the commodity of land that

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1. Cf. Firth, Elements, p.109 - A conventional view of peasant society is that wants of an individual in it are very limited - more careful observation leads to the opinion that the peasant has a highly expansable set of wants. What has been holding him back has been his limited means. Moreover, it seems that a powerful incentive for him to try and gratify these wants is the possibility of raising himself in the status system.


the relations between Maori and European were disturbed and the inter-relationships within Maori society itself suffered. The introduction of a money economy with its power to supply a multitude of needs and wants, in dealings with land affected the relationships between members of the tribe and their chiefs. ¹

c. Christianity.

The missionaries, believing in the uniqueness of the divine revelation in the Christian Gospel, came with confidence to the Maori and from the beginning attacked Maori culture at different points. The policy of the missionaries at first was to civilize natives as a preliminary to evangelising them. This gave the missionaries a wider control over all the earliest agencies and forces of change. Technicians and teachers were among the early advocates of Christianity, and because of the European background of the gospel and the cultural upbringing of the workers, the general impact on Maori society assumed a variety of forms that served to establish the total European way of life. It was this all-round approach that affected Maori society more quickly than anything. Christianity symbolised British European culture, politics and commerce, as well as a rigidly defined ethical code, an enlightened rationalisation of the universe, and a set of relationships which discouraged many practices in Maori society. ³


d. Government.

The tension between the various groups in New Zealand at this early period was perhaps more openly displayed in the realm of law. The introduction of material goods and animals had altered the ritual basis of Maori society and this had been taken a further distance by the rationalisations taught in the Christian gospel. New values had come to confuse the Maori. But the diverse moral standards among the European groups was also a source of confusion to them. European civilization and Christianity were often regarded by the Maori as synonymous, thus posing an apparent contradiction before them.

Attempts at devising a coordinating governmental system from the materials of the Maori social structure had failed. Thus the Maori and the European alike in New Zealand were forced to look in the direction of the British Parliament to take over the control. As a consequence the relationships between all the social groups in the land were materially changed. Then the Maori people were to become part of the British Empire, the Maori social structure a subsystem of European society, and the status of the chiefs compromised by the authority of the British sovereign.

The over-all picture of the emerging New Zealand society visualised a field of systemic interaction. Systems composed of social groups possessing varying degrees of integration, with different standards of conduct, often conflicting values, and at separate levels of communication, were drawn together in contiguous geographic location by common needs and experiences. From this rather abstract consideration of interacting systems, evolving a pattern for New Zealand society we shall now turn to the specific effects of contact between Maori and European systems upon the outlook and position of the traditional leaders of Maori society.

1. Ramsden, E., Marsden and the Missions, Wellington 1936, Chap.3; see also Buck's comment on this phase of culture contact in the introd. pp. VII-IX; Elder, Letters, p.532.

2. Busby's attempt to promote the Confederation of Independence in the North was an example; see Parl.Pap.Report of the Hse.of Lords Cttee of 1838, pp.179, 245-246.


4. See p.14 about the concept of systemic interaction.
### Categories of Maori Leadership in Social Change 1800-1840

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Maori Sponsored</th>
<th>Maori-European Sponsored</th>
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<td>Classes Involved</td>
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<tr>
<td>Status Factors Involved</td>
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<td>Role Factors Involved</td>
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<td>Contextual Background Identity</td>
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<td>Degree of Mobility</td>
<td>Partial</td>
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<td>Partial</td>
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*Chart 4.*

2. Condiffe, P.B. *In the Maori.*
3. For general compilations, *Māori, and Eelar, op. cit.*
4. Taylor, Te Ika, *et al.*
5. Travers, Te Paparatapu.
CHAPTER 6.

The Traditional Leaders and Social Change.

The initial hesitancy on the part of the chiefs, when they first beheld the newcomers soon changed to one of enthusiastic acceptance of the European and his works. There were certain predisposing factors in Maori society which accounted for this readiness. In the first place, Maori society was accustomed to change and adaptation. The Maori had come from a much warmer to a cold climate.

Second, there were common elements in both Maori and European societies. Third, chiefs did not take up any restrictive attitude toward other cultures. Imported alternative cultural features added to the strength of chiefly positions and were welcomed. Fourth, members of Maori society failed to be impressed unduly by the cult of European superiority which was inherent in the early contacts between Maori and European. The business of living required various, alternative ways of approach. The Maori alternative was as good as the European in its own context and environment. Where there was a display of more efficient means toward the securing of the old goals, then these means were adopted.

Developments in the structure of Maori society and the consequent changes in the position of the traditional leaders may best be seen by considering several related fields of activity; agriculture, trade, war, religion and government.

3. For general compatibility see Beaglehole, and for Religion, see Taylor, Te Ika, and Elder, op.cit., p.483.
6. Miller, The Maori People Today, p.60; Firth, Elements, pp. 109, 110.
Here we shall trace out the effects of the material goods, ideas, institutions and practices on the structural relations that made up Maori society, and we shall note in particular the changes in the position of the leaders in the society and in the interaction between Maori and European.

Of particular interest is the way in which Maori society incorporated the new elements from the European. The order followed was: material goods, techniques, methods and then institutions.\(^1\) While the flow of goods was in a two-way direction, the more efficient technology of the European dictated a greater degree of incorporation of European elements in Maori society rather than vice versa. Elements of culture were selected according to the usefulness to the adopting society and not altogether in accordance with the values placed upon these features by the donor society. However elements could not be regarded as discrete traits, but as centralised cores and clusters of values etc. Further, these clusters of elements were socially processed, they were in a sense re-translated into Maori cultural terms and given indigenous meanings.\(^2\)

2. Linton, op.cit., pp. 287, 333, 347, 355, the musket in culture contact; Hawthorn, The Maori, p. 12: The first muskets (two) were used in Taranaki by Tuwhare son of Taoho the Ngatiwhatua ariki of Kaipara. He fought with Te Rauparaha and Ngatitoa. Taranaki women composed the following Ngeri concerning them:-

\[\begin{align*}
I & \text{ rangona atu nga pu,} \\
\text{Kei te Taniwha,} & \\
\text{Kei a Hutiwhenua,} & \\
I & \text{ tangi ki taku kawenga i raro e} \\
\text{Keua e ana pu} & \\
\text{Ka whano mangu o} & \\
\text{Koi oku tapu papataoa} & \\
\text{He pu notinoti nga tapa} & \\
\text{He kuru tumata, toi haruru} & \\
\text{E ka ngerengere} & \\
\text{He mata aha he koi pu} & \\
\text{Ka tu ki runga ha} & \\
\text{E ka roa ko te tapa} & \\
\text{Ka moho ki te whenua} & \\
\text{E ka ngerengere. (2)}
\end{align*}\]

\(^{(1)}\) Smith, S. Percy, History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast, JFS, Vol. 18, 1908, p.45.
As heads of the tribe and subtribe, the ariki and rangatira were the main channels for the dispersal of goods, a media that was convenient to the European and regular to the Maori. The effect of the concentration upon the chiefs was rather contradictory. The importance of the chiefs was at first enhanced but then the very exposure of the chiefs to forces of change was destined to sensitize their positions to change, and thus render them highly vulnerable to later detractions.

A basic assumption must be made at this stage. It is not infrequent in situations of social change that the main orientations in, and the nature of change, in particular circumstances, are laid down during the earliest period of association between two or more societies. What happened at the initial stage in the contact between Maori and European institutions determined the reactions within Maori society and also the course of the process of interaction in succeeding years.

1. The Chiefs and Agriculture.

The attitude of the chiefs toward the material aspects of the new culture was one of keen enthusiasm and anticipation from the beginning of contact. This was very evident in agriculture.

There were good reasons for this keenness. Agricultural occupation was a valuable means of getting food in pre-European times and the chief played his part in the proceedings. The new plants, implements and animals added variety

3. This is true in the relationships between the two races. The bad race relations which followed the present period were abnormal; conditions, however, reverted later to the initial state.
5. See p.36.
to the schedule of agriculture. Curiosity was aroused. But there was something more than curiosity involved. The potato was more hardy than the kumara and was also more versatile. It grew in places where the kumara would not grow because it was better able to stand up to the climate of the colder parts. The pig appealed to the chiefly palate and augmented the poor meat supply.\footnote{1} Iron implements were more durable than wooden tools, and so the axe, the hoe and the spade were adopted to break in bigger areas of land which previously required the expenditure of vast amounts of energy and time.

The fact that food had a social value reflecting added prestige to the chiefs and tribe was also no small reason for the chiefly enthusiasm. The marae assemblies rang with the korero or talk concerning the large cultivations of chiefs, their possession of new iron implements, all of which helped in the production of foodstuff for the entertainment of friends and visitors. The new foods also replenished the feasts promoted by the ariki and rangatira, while gifts now included pigs, potatoes as well as the kumara.

The records tell of the keen rivalry between chief and chief, and tribe and tribe, over the size of cultivations and the possession of iron implements. There was a general expansion in the kinds and quantities of vegetables, tools and animals received from the European stimulated by the drive among the chiefs to get the better of their neighbours.\footnote{2}

On the side of the European too there were deliberate encouragement given the chiefs to adopt the new goods. The European settlers and before them the explorers and whalers needed ready supplies of their own kinds of foods for refuelling their ships and personal larders. Many Europeans left quantities of plants, etc., with the Maori chiefs for renewing future supplies, and there was a strong demand from the European for pigs and vegetables.\footnote{3}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[1]{1. Firth, Economics, p. 478;}
\footnotetext[2]{2. Elder, Letters, pp. 148-150, 204, 205, 207; Earle, Narrative, p.28; Wakefield, Adventures, pp. 465-466; Firth, Economics, pp. 460-461; Maning, op.cit., pp. 172-174.}
\footnotetext[3]{3. For trade demands between two groups cf. Firth, ibid, pp. 459, 460; see also Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1856, p.150 and Swainson, W., Auckland, London 1853, p.66; Morton, H.B., Recollections of Early New Zealand, Auckland 1925, p.24.}
\end{footnotes}
People like the missionaries made it their duty to civilise the Maori chief. One of the means of doing this was to teach them the European techniques of agriculture. Thus as part of missionary propaganda the growing of crops, the possession and proper use of tools, were important.1

One also suspects that the chiefs found many of the implements like axes, etc., additions to their armoury of weapons. The establishment of a blacksmith forge in a village community was often demanded by chiefs, as much for the repairing of iron implements, used as weapons in intertribal fighting, as for the maintenance of those tools used strictly in agriculture.2

The introduction of agricultural implements, plants and animals had two far-reaching effects. Changes inevitably followed within the structure of Maori society and also in the position of the chiefs. The balance of work had to be readjusted.3 The demands for the new agriculture from the European consumers and from the chiefly Maori producers meant that more time was spent on certain occupations rather than others. The potato cultivations and the rearing of pigs were taking up the attention of the chiefs and their tribes in preference to the growing of kumara, the snaring of birds and the trapping of the edible rat.4 The kumara however was never quite ousted. What did happen was for a new status to be given to the kumara.5 The potato by its versatility and its European origins became the common everyday vegetable, the kumara was largely reserved for chiefly menus. Pigs, however, achieved a high place in

1. Firth, Elements, p. 94; Similarly greenstone blades elevated when adzes accepted; Elder, op. cit., p.37.
2. Ibid, pp. 164-165.
5. The kumara needed more care than the potato and was surrounded with more elaborate ritual. Its comparative scarcity, and the fact that it belonged to the old culture retained for it a rangatira value. The writer's own family grew crops of kumara and potatoes for years; the kumara was handled more delicately and the use of artificial fertilizers was confined to the potatoes because it was a European crop.
the affection of the Maori. They were regarded as pets, adopted into families, and even elevated into the pantheon of familial gods.  

There was a direct attack made upon the position of the tohunga by the innovations. The changes in the diet of meat foods led to the decay of ritual in forest lore and a consequent minimising of the ritual functions of the tohunga. The adoption of the more efficient iron implements had somewhat the same effect. Magic was not really considered necessary when using the tools from the European for the cultivation of the soil. The potato was soon however surrounded with ritual of its own, hinging on the phases of the moon, but any common person may learn this ritual. There was a double effect upon the position of the chiefs. Most European associations at the initial stage had a kind of enhancing and detracting influence. The sudden growth of the agricultural goods, tools and techniques produced large cultivations; quantities, varieties and quality in food, that enhanced the prestige of the chiefs. But the changeover in foods which led to a decay in ritual also affected the ritual functions of the chiefs proper. As in the case of the tohunga there was less need for these. Then, too, the chiefs were the logical point of contact between the Maori and the European and were therefore directly affected.

Material goods, etc., did not come as discrete units but they came clustered about with ideas and beliefs that could not be set aside altogether. European ideas accompanied the goods, practices, etc., adopted in the field of agriculture that were later destined to weaken the position of the chiefs.

1. During the Ratana movement drive for the abolition of the use of charms, etc. in Maori religious practice in the late 1920's, many kinds of family gods were unearthed. The pig, hens, cows, etc. were included. The writer's father was of the opinion the pig (poaka) was elevated into familial gods quite early.

2. Cf. Firth, Elements, p.85: The potato and pig reduced the amount of labour put in on other crops and on fowling - they helped to change the scheme of ritual by reducing the amount of economic magic demanded. The element of the mysterious though not entirely eliminated found more ready explanations by reference to European implements and practices.

3. Planting of potatoes by the phases of the moon was long practised by the writer's own mother and father; Firth, Elements, p.85.

4. See Firth, Elements, pp. 109, 114-115.
The chiefs were undoubtedly drawn toward the European and vice versa through the demand for agricultural means from the latter. The source of the supply assumed prestige, and chiefs set themselves out to cultivate the friendship of the Europeans. The uneven distribution of the Europeans not only further added to the scarcity value of the latter, but it also boosted up some chiefs and their tribes, at the expense of others. The rivalry between chiefs has been mentioned for agricultural implements etc. This was a source of conflict within Maori society that affected the relationship of one chief with another and with the European.¹

The chiefs of course did not wholly accept the agricultural goods and implements in the raw from the European. There were two sets of values that surrounded the goods. The chiefs were not able absolutely to reinterpret European goods and practices in indigenous terms. However at first it was the Maori cluster of meanings that was attached to the agricultural goods being incorporated into Maori society. We have seen this in the case of both the potato and the pig. The potato was not so very different from the kumara. Both were root crops. The potato was cookable in the hangi, and it was stored in pits like the kumara. The potato, together with the maize, was treated like the fern root and soaked in water. The former was called kotero and the latter kanga wai, and both were considered delicacies fit for setting before a chief. The pig became a worthy offering as a gift to distinguished visitors and was also wrapped in a certain amount of ritual. For a time, anyway, at the beginning the borrowed agricultural materials were incorporated into Maori society as part of the indigenous culture.²

¹. Elder, J.R., Letters, pp. 148,150,164-165,166,204-205. Rivalry among chiefs for prestige-giving association with the European; Wakefield, Adventures, p.306: conflict in chief's loyalty to the N.Z. Company and the government; Maning, Old New Zealand, pp.172-174 - A chief asserts his authority to secure patronage of Maning; see also pp. 19-21.
². Cf. Firth, Elements, p. 115: Goods of European style used today at marriages, funerals and other gatherings - treated as part of Maori Culture.
2. The Chiefs and Trade.

The early contact between the chiefs and Europeans in trade was based on the principle of gifting. The giving of gifts was a recognised means of promoting and maintaining social relations between the chiefs.\(^1\) When the European came the absence of money directed the exchange of goods along the lines of barter. At the basis of barter was the principle of giving, rather than the giving of one article as an exact exchange for another. This process was called Homai no homai, gift for gift, without regard to the exact evaluation of the corresponding goods, nor for any emphases upon immediate payment. The purpose was partly to establish friendly relations between the chiefs and the Europeans, though of course the demand for the goods themselves was involved. The social significance of this practice is illustrated in the following extract from the diary of E.J. Wakefield, an advance agent of the New Zealand Company who landed in the country toward the end of this period.

'I never made a bargain with E. Kuri (chief) during my transaction with him, which lasted two or three years from this date. He used to bring me a cargo for the vessel as a Homai no homai, a gift for a gift; on some future occasion I used to present him with a bale of blankets or a quantity of other goods, equivalent to a market value of the cargo. In the barter of mutual confidence, I was sometimes his debtor for a month or two to the amount of ten to twelve tons of potatoes and forty to fifty hogs; and at other times he would be in my debt to a like amount. And we never had a single disagreement about the accounts; and the numerous followers and relations who invariably confided their ventures to this chief, were always satisfied with their speculation. I had thus soon established through the authority and with the cooperation of their own head chief, an amicable intercourse with a large number of natives. They were dependent upon me to a certain degree for the supplies of European articles which they required and I on them for cargo, and this commerce being entirely carried on by myself and the upright chief in mutual presents, a lasting friendship more lasting than that of mere customers was soon engendered.'\(^2\)

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2. Wakefield, E.J., Adventures, p. 406; also Maning, Old New Zealand, pp. 168-174. - Though facetious, Maning, who lived with the Natives, was underlining the rights and obligations that sprang up between the chief and his European - it was understood, to keep up general relations, my owner should from time to time, make me small presents and that in return I should make him presents of five or six times the value; all this - as if arising from mutual love and kindness and not the slightest allusion to be ever made to the relative value of the gifts on either side.
Thompson records of the Pakeha-Maori who acted as trade agents for Maori chiefs in bartering pigs, potatoes and flax for guns, blankets, tobacco and other articles; they —

'conducted this trade with great success and in strict accordance with Native custom. They took into the interior large quantities of trade, which was distributed among the tribe for nothing; when the proper season arrived they asked their chiefs for flax, which was given without payment; and with this plan more flax was obtained if article had been placed against article.'

Enemies had to be kept off, but old scores had also to be settled and defeats revenged. The ability to supply the musket gave the European enhanced social status with the chiefs. Pakeha-Maori according to Thompson were given land, houses, and the hand of the chief's daughter in marriage when the demand for his services as agent to secure guns was at its highest. One suspects that the keenness of chiefs like Potatau Te Wherowhero and others to welcome traders as sons-in-law at Kawhia was largely due to the same reason. The chiefs curried the favour of Europeans because of their value as the suppliers of guns.

This demand for guns and their European source was also a factor in determining new alliances in Maori society. Te Rauparaha travelled and lived at Kapiti to the South partly because of the proximity to trading vessels. Te Heuheu joined with Te Rauparaha because the latter gave the

2. Thompson, ibid., The Story of New Zealand, pp.299-300, 302; Buck, Coming, pp.280-282.
former muskets. Te Rauparaha linked forces earlier on with the travelling Ngapuhi hordes for the same reason, while Te Waharoa of Ngatihaua at Matamata kept the highway clear to the coast at Tauranga, and thus maintained friendly relations with Ngaiterangi in order to ensure free access to traders who called in at the Tauranga harbour.  

The chiefs who secured muskets rose to the top in Maori society. Men like Hongi, Te Rauparaha, Te Waharoa and others, the great military leaders of the period built their prestige above that of their fellows upon possession of the muskets. Ngapuhi was a great fighting force because they had muskets and other tribes had none. When the musket was more evenly distributed there was a general levelling down of the high peaks in military leadership.  

The demand for guns at its maximum period affected the balance of occupations in Maori society and indirectly the social organisation and health of Maori groups. Tribes under their chiefs left their dwellings on the higher ground to live by the flax bushes in the unhealthy swamps. The cultivations were neglected, and the diet of the people suffered. While the kinship groups remained intact despite the shift in residence, the new hours of work, the difficulties of the work, the rough nature of the accommodation were all reflected in the interpersonal relations within the group and the supervisory control of the chiefs. Traditional values, routines, and attitudes were subordinated to the drive to secure flax to exchange for guns. More and more the closer correspondence between goods in the commercial transactions of the European became adopted in Maori society.  

1. Taylor, ibid, pp. 332-333.
2. Vennell, Such things were, Wellington 1939, p.32; Wilson, Te Waharoa, pp. 3-5.
There is no doubt that the same principle was at the bottom of the dealings between the Northern chiefs and Samuel Marsden and others over the purchase of land. The first mission site was about two hundred acres which Marsden secured for twelve axes. In 1819 again Marsden was given by the chief Shunghee (Hongi) an area of 13,000 acres for some 48 axes. The significance of the trading in both cases was fundamentally, from the side of the chiefs, a means toward the promotion of friendly relations. The reverse side of this transaction stressed by many Maori tribes in later years was that if the missionaries severed their relations with the group who gave the land as Homai no homai then the land should be returned to the Maori owners.

While a variety of commodities was exchanged between chiefs and the Europeans, land and muskets had the most devastating effects on the structure of Maori society and the position of the traditional leaders. The European placed a high priority upon land, while the Maori needed the musket for his survival against the military leaders who were a feature of this period.

Buick records the speculation in land by Europeans just before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. European land sharks were attracted to the country. The New Zealand Land Company played a not insignificant part in the rush for Maori land for its settlers. The demand influenced the relationship between the two groups. The same double effect we have noted with agriculture was also noticeable here. The European paid a great deal of attention to the chiefs who were releasing their lands on the gifting principle. This attention enhanced the chiefly positions. European purchasers had worked out a technique

1. Wakefield, op.cit., p.5; Cf. Ngata, Maori Land Settlement, in The Maori People Today, pp. 106,107; Ngata notes that recent acquisition of land had not set up any emotional attachment, thus ease of transfer to settlers of Petone.
2. Wakefield, Adventures, op.cit.
3. Cf. Claims made by tribes at Kawhia, Lower Waikato, Te Awamutu, Kaikohe for return of lands given to missionaries and later sold to private farmers.
for land transfer that was successful because it rigidly observed the importance of the chiefs' position in the transactions between the Europeans and the tribes. This attention further helped to widen the diplomatic functions of the chiefs as well as adding to their administrative roles in supervising tribal discussions for the sale of land. There were however some dangers in the overwhelming attentions of the European to Maori land. A chief who did not agree to land sales often found that other persons of lesser rank than he were being encouraged to agitate differing opinions that would lead to sale of land. Not only was there conflict within the tribe between chief and members but frequently between the chiefs and the Europeans.¹

From 1820 onwards the musket was the most important single European commodity in the evaluation of the chiefs.² Like the potato and the pig, the musket effected significant changes in Maori society.³ This was quite understandable when possession of muskets was a matter of survival physically, and in terms of social status and prestige.

3. The Chiefs and Government.

There was a growing desire among the chiefs for law and order. Hongi realised that the only way to establish unified control was through conquest.⁴ The Maori chiefs themselves expressed to Marsden the need for the intervention of a third party.⁵ Many saw in such intervention their only means for survival from the intertribal fighting. Other chiefs looked to the missionaries for directives in the confusing situation created in Maori society by the clash of

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1. Ngata, ibid, pp. 109, 110, 111, 118, 132, 133; Brown, W.B., N.Z. and its Aborigines, pp. 68, 69; Firth, op.cit., p.387; The Cambridge History, p.131. Later Europeans supplied pro-sale Maori party in fight with non-sale party; Smith, The Maori People and Us, pp. 107, 110; The Cambridge History, pp. 129, 130.¹³
3. Marais, op.cit., p.85; Firth, Elements, pp. 85.
values and differing codes of behaviour.¹

There were good reasons for the growing desire of the chiefs for law. Intertribal warfare aided by the musket ravaged the country. The devastation caused by the uneven distribution of muskets among the chiefs intensified the effects of the fighting.² Then European lawlessness was a by word.³ Ships

1. The translation of the letter thus given to Marsden by the N.Z. Chief reads as follows:

'Will you give us a law? This is the purport of my address to you.
1. If we say, let the cultivations be fenced, and a man, through laziness does not fence, should pigs get into his plantation, is it right for him to kill them? Do you give us a law in this matter.
2. Again; should pigs get into fenced land, is it right to kill or rather to tie them till the damage they have done is paid for? Will you give us a law in this?
3. Again; should the husband of a wife die, and she afterwards wishes to be married to another, should the native of unchanged heart bring a fight against us, would it be right for us to stand up to resist them on account of their wrongful interference? Will you give us a law in this also?
4. Again; in our wickedness, one man has two wives; but after he has listened to Christ, he puts away one of them, and gives her to another man to wife. Now, should a fight be brought against us, are we in this case to stand up to fight? Give us a law in this.
5. Again; should two men strive one with the other? Give us a law in this. My (Ritenga) (law is, to collect all the people together, and judge them for their unlawful fighting, and also for wrongfully killing pigs. Therefore I say, that the man who kills pigs for trespassing on his plantations, having neglected to fence, had better pay for the pigs so killed. Will you give us a law in this? Fenced cultivations, when trespassed on, should be paid for. These only are the things which cause us to err - women, pigs, and fighting one with the other.
6. But here is another. Should a man who is in the Church come in a fight against us? Give us a law in this. Another thing which we are afraid of, and which also degrades us, is this - slaves exalting themselves above their masters. Will you give us a law in this also?'

(Elder, Letters, p.532.)

Also see pp.46, 33, 511, 521-524; Condliffe, N.Z. after five Wars, p.24; Buick, Wai-tangi, pp.10-11; Busby's views in Letter to the Colonial Secretary, N.S.W., 16th June 1837, p.7; Elder, p.18


deserters, escaped convicts and others free from the sanctions of their own society continued their degrading behaviour in Maori village communities as well as in the European settlement of Kororareka. The Maori chiefs were treated to the spectacle of the contradictions in European society, with the puritanical missionaries on the one hand and the utterly immoral Europeans on the other.¹

There were dangers of the relationships between the Maori and the European becoming strained to breaking point. Unscrupulous ships' captains absconded with chiefs and outraged their daughters. Trade in preserved heads was also carried on. The British Resident and the missionaries realised only too well the inherent threat to other Europeans that would come from the Maori chiefs' retaliation for the ill-treatment meted out by the Europeans.²

The changing situation as it affected the Maori political system had a bearing on the need for the establishment of government. The control of the chiefs was too limited to exercise any sanction value over the European. The latter were increasing in numbers, they had implanted their own institutions in the land, and in practice the attitude of superiority with respect to the Maori chiefs prevented any real subordination to their rule. The Maori political system headed by the chiefs was not sufficiently elastic to incorporate the European and his systems.³ The chiefs themselves were confused by the clash of values created in their society by the introduction of material goods, practices and codes of behaviour from the European.⁴

Under the manipulations of leaders in British institutions the growing desire of the chiefs for law and order was directed toward the British system of Government. This manipulation to desire a certain type of European control

¹ Ramsden, Marsden and the Missions, Chap. 3; and pp. VII-IX; Elder, op.cit., p.523.
³ Elder, p.335.
⁴ See Footnote 1, p.129.
was inherent in the cultural background of the missionaries and the settlers, and became stimulated by the colonial ambitions of other imperial powers. Under the direction of the missionaries a formal request was sent to William IV, the British sovereign, asking for his protection against the French and also against unruly British subjects. The outcome was the appointment of the British Resident, who was to be the official link between the chiefs and the British sovereign. Later in 1835 under his influence a Confederation of Chiefs was established at the Bay of Islands. This organisation was designed as a framework for the more effective, though indirect government of the country by British authorities. The next logical step in the movement into the British system of government was the Treaty of Waitangi signed between Queen Victoria and the Maori chiefs in 1840.

Throughout the slow evolution of the British governmental institutions among the chiefs there was a constant interplay between the imported and the indigenous sources of authority. The influence of the promotion of government upon the chiefs followed the two-fold course of enhancement and detraction. The liberalism injected for a period into British imperialism by the evangelical movement in Great Britain determined policy toward the authority of the chiefs. Maori chiefs were regarded as independent sovereigns in accordance with international law. The political relationships between the Governor of New South Wales and the chiefs were defined in these terms by specific acts of legislature. The appointment of the British Resident to New Zealand was itself a recognition of the sovereign status of the chiefs. The giving of an ensign symbolising

2. Buick, Treaty of Waitangi, pp. 34-38; Busby's Despatch to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 16th June 1837; Taylor, R., Te Ika-a-māui, London 1855, p. 209 (Letter sent to William IV, that led to appointment of British Resident, Busby); Elder, op.cit., pp. 504-506.
4. Buick, ibid, pp. 81, 88-96, 270-273, etc.
Maori independence in the sphere of international maritime trade, was an act confirming the status of the chiefs, on the assumption that the latter were legally competent to conclude international treaties with whatever nation they may desire. There was therefore a strengthening and an enhancement of the status of the chiefs, at least in theory, through the association with British governmental authorities.

Formalisation and clearer definition of chiefly positions were always conducive to the bolstering up of these positions. The creation of governmental institutions in New Zealand with a place in it for the chiefs added to the importance of the persons concerned. It is also undeniable that the roles of the chiefs were extended. The Confederation referred to above had visualised governmental functions for the chiefs that were spread beyond the narrow tribal limits. Maori chiefs had also been appointed as magistrates as far back as 1814. The European authorities in their discussions and conferences with the chiefs had opened up a wide area of ideas and interests to the latter. The increase in European population alone which followed the promotion of Government brought a variety of groups and institutions with which the chiefs made contact.

However, the Treaty of Waitangi with all the legal enhancement it brought in the confirmation of chiefly rights over the land and estates, nevertheless posed another sovereign authority against that of the chiefs. Indeed, in signing the Treaty of Waitangi, the chiefs had deliberately surrendered their mana to the Queen.

Buick, the authority on the Treaty, refers to the interesting position of

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3. The letter to William IV which led to Busby's appointment, and later conferences under Busby; Elder, ibid, pp. 504-505.
those chiefs who did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi. According to him those chiefs were still in legal possession of their sovereign rights.\(^1\) In actual practice, however, as Tamati Waka Nene so clearly stated in his address to the assembled chiefs who opposed the Treaty, the acceptance by all the chiefs of European culture and the Christian teaching, created a situation in which the mana of the European was paramount.\(^2\) In a sense the Treaty was only a convenient formalisation of what had already been developing since the arrival of the European. The Maori chiefs, whether they signed the Treaty of Waitangi or not were soon made aware that the formal surrender of their sovereignty to the Queen meant a real modification of their powers over their tribe and over the land.

The Treaty of Waitangi backed by the cultural and aggressive human forces from European society legally incorporated Maori society into the wider system. This incorporation gave Maori society a new status in the wider whole, a status which however was in many ways inferior to the one which the Maori held in independence. The chiefs were subordinate to the Queen and the Maori people surrendered their mana to her. The European was up and the Maori was down.\(^3\)

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2. Ngata, Maori Land Settlement, in The Maori People Today, p. 114; Wakefield, E.J., Adventures in New Zealand, London 1845, p. 283. Turoa, ariki of Whanganui, received a blanket when he signed the Treaty. On being informed that this meant his mana was subordinate to that of the Queen he wanted to return the blanket; undoubtedly Wakefield's antagonism to the Missionary and the Treaty because of the desire for land, influenced his attitude to the question; Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. 7, Pt.2, pp. 74,127,128; Buick, op.cit., p.142, Waka Nene: "I will speak to us... What then shall we do? Friends whose potato do we eat? Whose were our blankets?... What has the Ngapuhi now? The Pakehas gun, his shot, his powder?..." Cf. Firth's concepts of the processes of conduction and convection - Elements, p.86.

4. The Chiefs and the Musket Wars.

The most outstanding leaders of the period were the warrior chiefs whose fame rested primarily on the possession of muskets. Guns were more efficient than the old weapons. The results in the inter-tribal fighting were more intensively devastating, and there was a tendency for the scope of the fighting to widen over the whole country. Some chiefs readily obtained muskets, others were not so fortunate. The uneven distribution gave the military leaders of the period an undue superiority over their fellows.

Then too, warfare as an institution in Maori society had always been the maker and the breaker of leadership. The motive for the new fighting was still that of revenge and the desire to build chiefly and tribal prestige, as well as the gaining of revenge and satisfaction. The musket only added a new machine of destruction to the old motives. But of course the musket, like other features of European culture, had clustered around it values and procedures which had a certain amount of modifying effect upon the age-old sanctions that regulated warfare. The cannibalistic orgies which accompanied much of the fighting at this stage occurred because greater numbers were slain through the use of guns which consequent developed a taste for human flesh and the deep urge for revenge for the death of kinsfolk who had little chance of survival against muskets. Over and beyond these factors was the increasing disintegration of indigenous sanctions which had previously controlled the fighting between the tribes.

While the musket undeniably helped the construction of the military class of leader, the fact that the main point of contact between Maori and European societies was the traditional leaders, meant that the chiefs were the persons

3. On cannibalism, see Sutherland, The Maori Situation, p. 11.
Plate 6. Te Rauparaha, military leader, Ngatitoa. (Musket wars).
able to get muskets. The military leaders made famous by the musket wars were men of superior or near superior kinship background. In other words no entirely new category of leader had developed. The warrior chiefs were those whose status was being enhanced by this particular association with features of European culture. Te Wherowhero was ariki of Waikato and he was the main leader in the exploits against Te Rauparaha both at Kawhia and in Taranaki.\(^1\) Te Waharoa was the leading chief of Ngatihaua, Te Heuheu, of Ngatituwharetoa.\(^2\) Hongi, Pomare and others among the Ngapuhi were men of high birth and they were among the foremost of the military leaders in this period.\(^3\) The case of Te Rauparaha has often been considered as one of a low born assuming paramount leadership in the tribe.\(^4\) But Te Rauparaha was not a low born, though he was not of the most senior line in his tribe. His kinship connections coupled with his skill and personality as a courageous leader of Ngatitoa, were the combined factors which took him to the fore.\(^5\)

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2. Wilson, J.A., The Story of Te Waharoa, Christchurch 1866; good account of the Ngatihaua chief (First section).
5. See Genealogy. Cf. Also Firth, Economics, pp.93-95.

GENEALOGY. Hongi Hika and Hone Heke (1)

Ngatokimatawhaorua Canoe
Puhimanaariki
Te Hau
   Rahiri = Whakaruru
   Kaharau = Hautaringa
   Taurapaho
   Te Hou = Mahia
   Tuawa
   Tuatahi
   Ngahue = Maramuka
   Ruaitaia
Tutu
   Te Wairua = Walkainga
   Te Aukahai = Kawaata
   Te Whakaaria = Te Anyha
   Pehirangi = Taingami
   Te Tahapango
   Waihua
   Te Hotete
   Tuhikura
Te Kana = Tuharapara
   Hongi Hika = Turikatuku

Hone Heke = Ngapua
   Hare Hongi
   Harata = Hone Heke

The flexibility in the structure of traditional leadership allowed even in pre-European times for the shifts of the focal point in leadership to various members of senior or near senior families. The same principle was operating in the present instance.

The success of outstanding military leaders, as we have mentioned, widened the sphere of their influence. The tribes unable to get muskets readily sought alliance with them mostly of a subordinate kind. Many of these alliances cut across kinship boundaries, and thus rearranged the form of tribal alignment. We have also seen that the military leaders were drawn toward European traders. Many of the latter married into chiefly families or were incorporated into the fighting as supports for the chiefs.

While the military leaders were mainly men of superior kinship, warfare and skill in the use of the musket brought forward a certain amount of rivalry in the tribe to the paramount chiefs. This is illustrated in the case of Te Rauparaha who had overshadowed the chiefs of superior descent. But the flexibility of the structure of leadership, the traditional differentiation of functions of leadership and the possession of common kinship connections prevented the tensions from getting out of hand. Even the military leaders who were of the ariki class were recognised most of all in their own sub-tribes. They may direct the overall strategy in the fighting, or occupy in the field the most important position, and their name may be applied to the leadership of the tribal forces. However, they were still only absolute with their own sub-tribe, and the group as a whole still discussed matters relative to the making of war.

1. See Section on Leaders in Traditional Society, p. 22.
2. The Cambridge History, pp.20,21: Te Rauparaha at head of a Taranaki Confederation.
4. Travers, Te Rauparaha, pp.64-65: for genealogy, see pp.61-62; Best, E., Notes on the Art of War, JPS, Vol.16, 1907, p.30 - also in Vol.11, p.25. Army organisations and function of tohunga. Taylor, R., Te Ika, 1855, pp.336; Smith, S.Percy, Taranaki Coast, JPS, Vol.18, 1909, pp.47-48, 72, 118,119; see also Maori MSS including History of Te Rauparaha, by his son Tamihana (Grey Collection, Auckland Public Library).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Maori Sponsored</th>
<th>Maori-European Sponsored</th>
<th>European Sponsored</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classes</td>
<td>Ariki, rangatira, kaumatua, tohunga,</td>
<td>Christian leaders, judicial leaders, political leaders, parliamentarians.</td>
<td>Church workers, government officials, judicial leaders, military leaders.</td>
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<td>Charismatic; Ariki, tohunga, toa.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Political, Judicial</td>
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<tr>
<td>Status;</td>
<td>Kinship superiority</td>
<td>Superior Kinship, general kinship, Maori and European skills, Formalised positions.</td>
<td>European system skills and symbols.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Factors</td>
<td>prowess in war, charisma, Maori</td>
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<td></td>
<td>skills, position in Maori social</td>
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<td>structure.</td>
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<td>Roles;</td>
<td>Traditional roles, conservation of</td>
<td>Mediation between societies</td>
<td>Transmission of values, coercion of Maori systems.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Factors</td>
<td>Maori values, protest, Reintegration</td>
<td>Transmission of values, Agent of change, defence of Maori systems, Reaction against European.</td>
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<td>of Maori society.</td>
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<td>Contextual</td>
<td>Maori social structure mixed</td>
<td>Parallel</td>
<td>European systems.</td>
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<td>Background</td>
<td>European values</td>
<td>Institutions</td>
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<td>Identity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Degree of</td>
<td>Partial</td>
<td>Increasing, Arrested, Antagonistic</td>
<td>Partial; against Maori.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mobility</td>
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and the disposal of the armed men.¹

Guns, like other features of the adopted culture, were integrated into the position of the chiefs. Many warrior chiefs owned special muskets to which was given a personal name.² In other words the chiefs accepted the muskets and wrapped around them a cluster of indigenous meanings and values. The possession of a stand of muskets enhanced the prestige of a chief. In many cases a musket, like the taiaha, was an insignia of rank. In the same way muskets were used in ceremonials announcing the arrival of distinguished persons. Rounds were fired in salute or the guns themselves were used in the posture dances in the presence of leading men.³

As a further illustration of the force of the gun affecting the process of social change through the instrumentality of the chiefs may be mentioned the adjustments in military strategy and also in military engineering. The warrior chiefs planned new kinds of formations in attack and defence, and substituted devices in the construction and location of fighting forts to minimise the dangers from bullets fired at a distance.⁴

The status of the military leaders was enhanced above the normal state by the uneven access to muskets. Military leaders however were not right outside the superior kinship or near superior kinship. There was sufficient flexibility in the structure of traditional leadership to allow for the developments which were taking place. The relationships between the tribes, the chiefs and the

2. Cf. Linton, The Study of Man, p.341. "When a rifle is presented to any group, they accept or reject it not on the basis of its associations and functions in the donor culture but on the potentialities for use which they perceive for it in their own."
3. Elder, J.R., Letters and Journal of Samuel Marsden, p.191: a chief and his men saluted Marsden at Whirinaki by firing a round from their guns; see also pp.461-466. Chiefs saluting each other, see Tarakawa Takaamui Nga Mahi a Te Wera me Ngapuhi ki te Tairawhiti, JPS, Vol.8, 1899, pp.235-241, for example; Travers, op.cit., pp.70-71; Best, Vol. 2, pp.348-351; Buck, Coming, p.281.
Europeans were bound to be influenced by the introduction of the muskets. There were potential rivals to the paramount chiefs, the framework however, of traditional leadership kept them confined. The chiefs themselves took over the musket and clustered around them values that built up their positions, and gave new meanings to the adopted weapons. As men trained in the art of battle, the chiefs changed their methods of fighting and their whole type of military engineering to cope with the new weapon.

5. The Chiefs and the Christian Missions.

The Christian Missions were the sources of the most powerful forces of change in the early interaction between the chiefs and European society. The church was a totalitarian organisation both in purpose and policy. It controlled the agencies of change such as the schools, literature, and also agriculture and technical training schemes. Its programme of change was deliberately planned. The policy of the early missionaries was to use the chiefs first to introduce the civilising forces from European society and then the saving truths of the Gospel. Civilise then evangelise was the controlling motive of the missions. There were also certain common features between

1. When Hongi died from his wounds, Tamarehe of Ngatiwhatua, a sworn enemy, composed the lament: (Cursing the European for bringing the gun.)

Ko wai au E Hongi e,                   By whom O Hongi was the deed performed
I riro mai a konei e i                              That sent me here in exile?
Tera Ngatiwhatua e i                                  There in affliction lives Ngatiwhatua.
Te tangata nana i kai atu                             The people that in former times did eat
Houwawe, Houmoku,                                       Houwawe and Houmoku, southern chiefs
Te Kai a Te Karoro na, i
'Te Upoko ra, Te Tupa-i-tawhiti!'
Nana rawa i homai,
At the bloody field of Kai a Te Karoro
Ko te kaha tuarangi, 'Curses on thy head, thou stranger from afar,
Hei tua i te motu, That brought hither to this land
Ki hinga ki raro ra e. The strong and powerful weapons
And laid them low in death.

Christianity and Maori religion that eased the propagation of the Gospel.1 Furthermore, the chiefs and even the tohunga regarded Christianity not really as a rival of Maori ritual but as an alternative to it. The tohunga did not openly oppose the Christian teaching for its own sake, the opposition was engendered later on rather by its intimate association with British culture. The personality of individual missionaries such as Samuel Marsden was also a factor in the acceptance of the Christian religion among the chiefs.2 But behind everything was the dynamic belief among the missionaries in the unique nature of the Christian revelation and the good it would bring to the Maori chiefs.

We find in Christianity the double effect of enhancement and detraction upon the position of the chiefs. The missionaries had acquired through the unselfish work of its founders an air of prestige. Further, it was a source of material goods from the European.3 Association with the missions was therefore a fine thing for prestige among the chiefs. The role too of the chiefs was added to, for the missionaries soon saw to that. They were not only encouraged to attend the schools, travel to Australia, join a respectable institution with recognised hierarchical positions but they were used as media for the propagation of the Gospel among their own people.4 The church added to the jobs they were required to do while their association with the European introduced them into a wider circle of contacts. Their diplomatic functions were widened. The Government and the Missions were combined in Maori eyes. This combination added to the mana of the missionaries that was transferred to those chiefs who linked up with them.

1. The rites of Baptism and Tohi, the position of tohunga and clergy, the dogma of tapu and the holy Io, the supreme being; The Cambridge History, p.57; Elder, op.cit., pp.127,483; Travers, op.cit., pp.17-20; Rev.A.J.Seamer, Ex-general Superintendent of the Methodist Home and Maori Missions, stated that the old tohungas when presented with the Gospel at first hesitated; however, they later accepted the new religion because they believed that there was the goal toward which their own religion was moving. The two were complementary; see Buck, op.cit., for the opinion that the Polynesian religious concept Io was of post-European origin, and Ngata's reply, JPS.


4. Condliffe, N.Z. after Five Wars, p.24. Ruatara, the associate of Marsden, is an example; Taratoa and Tamehana later; Sutherland, The Maori Situation, p.17; Elder, op.cit., p.46.
But there was also a detrimental effect of the work of the missions on the position of the chiefs and the tohunga. The missions condemned three important institutions in Maori society that were built around the position of the chiefs. Warfare was condemned, and warfare was the maker of chiefs. On the other hand there was introduced later on an ideal of the Christian chief which operated in the arts of peace and stressed other aspects latent in the position of the chiefs—hospitality, kindness, generosity, etc. Slavery and monogamy received the attention both of the Christian and non-Christian European. But slavery was integrated in the position of the chiefs, not only justifiable for economic reasons but also necessary as symbols of elevated positions. The slaves were given education by the missionaries, like their masters, and many of them possessed intellectual abilities that surpassed the talents of their masters. They were, moreover, permitted to partake of the sacraments and sit in the same pews with their masters. They may even become preachers and catechists. The chief with more than one wife was made to feel out of place. He had to let her go. But his mana fell because it was considered that such a practice was the right of chiefs. With the introduction of material goods and the values of Christianity the ritual functions of the chiefs were placed in a light that belittled their importance.

There was, too, a direct attack on the position of the tohunga. The new set of rationalisations of the universe, the alternative system of rituals, reinforced the effects of the material goods, etc. which had been most readily

1. Elder, op.cit., pp. 275, 383, 387, 481: throughout this work are examples; Gifford and Williams, The Centennial History of Tauranga, pp. 21, 22.
2. The ideal stated in the Ohaki of dying chiefs in post-European times was 'Kia mau ki te whakapono Ki te ture ki te aroha'—Adhere to faith, law, and love; cf. also leaders like Tamehana, Taratoa and many more who embodied the qualities of a Christian gentleman.
accepted. The cultural elements among the European had come, clustered about with values, that were soon to clash with those found in Maori society. There was no exception in the case of the tohunga. His tapu was belittled, and the basis of his ritual as well as its effectiveness was doubted. The tohunga had rivals in the catechists and preachers produced by the missions and they had an advantage in that they were less restricted in their action than the tohunga. The new ritual leaders were also backed by the features of European culture which the tohunga and chiefs themselves had adopted.

The introduced set of rationalisations for the universe dove-tailed in to the changing circumstances.

The effects of Christianity on Maori society as a whole were tremendous. New systems of ethics were incorporated that changed the relationships between chief and people as well as between one tribe and another. The relationships with non-Christian European groups were also affected. One of the most important effects was in the creation of denominational subdivisions that frequently cut across kinship groupings but which more frequently emphasised inter-tribal conflicts. Old practices were condemned, new ones were advocated. Days of worship were introduced with a whole set of routine performance that was partly stimulated by the inherent competitive element in Maori society. But it was the totalitarian approach of Christianity reinforced by other features of European culture, which tended to support one another, that broke wide the defences of the society and exposed the chiefs and the tohunga to revolutionary changes in their positions.

1. Ibid, p. 305.
Conclusion.

The period is important because of the attempt by the traditional leaders at experimentation in the field of interaction with the European. The result was a general widening of the horizon of the chiefs as they selected from the wide range of European goods, techniques, codes, values and institutions offered to them. The twin factors of enhancement and detraction in the status foundations operated in the structure of leadership because the chiefs were the logical focus of the European pioneers of change.

The traditional leaders retained their positions, though European institutions such as the church and the schools were slowly introducing new means of acquiring prestige without regard for birth. However, the traditional leaders were still substantially in control.

The outstanding leaders at this time were the military men. While the uneven possession of European guns was largely responsible for the exaggerated emphasis upon this type of leader, they were nevertheless men who would have gained prestige under the older regime. The guns came into the hands of men of superior kinship background, while the motivations for the fighting between the tribes were those that belonged to traditional society. Moreover the foundation of traditional leadership was sufficiently flexible to incorporate the new status-giving elements without creating a new category of leader altogether. Leadership in the musket wars for these reasons remained within the superior, or near superior kinship circles.
BOOK II

LEADERSHIP IN POST EUROPEAN MAORI SOCIETY

PART II. MAORI LEADERS IN TRANSITION (1840-1900)

CHAPTER 7

Pressure and Reaction

1. General Survey.

The period 1840 to 1900 brought differing results to Maori and European. The European continued his steady progress, spreading his influence over the whole country and establishing his institutions more firmly among the tribes, at the same time increasing in numbers through immigration, and thus taking control of New Zealand affairs. 1

The initial enthusiasm of the Maori for European ways waned about the middle of the century, as the European pressure became more intense, especially in connection with land. The climax of the deteriorating relationship between the two peoples occurred in 1860 in the form of the wars which ravaged the country for the next ten years, in the western, central and part of the eastern districts of the North Island. 2 The end of the wars further opened the way for European development, while the Maori people were left broken, disheartened and dispossessed. 3

1. Sutherland, The Maori Situation, Chap. 5; Firth, Economics, p. 465; The Cambridge History, Chaps. 5, 6, 7.
2. For discussion on the Wars (Maori Wars) see ibid. Chap. 7; Harrop, A. J., England and the Maori Wars, London, 1937; Cowan, J., The New Zealand Wars, Vols. 1 and 2 (written from the European viewpoint); The Adventures of Kimble Kent, Christchurch, 1911, Story of Titokowaru's War, 1868-1869, told by a Pakeha-Maori, who lived with the Hauhau; - The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period, Vols. 1 and 2, Wellington, 1922-1923 - For the Maori viewpoint written by a European, see Gorst, J., The Maori King, London, 1864. For accounts by chiefs, see Te Paerata, Hitiri, The Battle of Orakau, Wellington, 1888, and Mair, Gilbert, The Story of the Gate Pa, Tauranga; A balancing of views is found in the Report of the Sim's Royal Commission on Confiscated Lands, (A to J, 1928, G-7); The statement given here is based on oral material found among the Kaumatua of Ngatiranginui and Waikato.
3. Sutherland, op. cit. pp. 30, 33, 435; Keesing, op. cit., p. 64; Hill, op. cit., - For the social and psychological effects of the wars; Firth, Economics, p. 466.
The two-fold process in social change, conduction and convection, left Maori leaders in a dilemma. They had given more than they had intended in the interaction with the European, and they found that the way back to a revival of the old culture was closed to them. Neither able to look forward, nor backward, they therefore looked upward to find hope and help in super-normal forces.

Of special significance to our study are, first, the manipulation of policy within the growing European society toward the Maori, and then the reactions within Maori society in answer to that manipulation.\(^1\) The period is important for the conflict between the Imperial and Colonial authorities concerning the disposal of Maori lands and the status of the Maori within the emerging New Zealand society.\(^2\) The conflicts within European society over Maori affairs, it is contended here produced a policy which indirectly helped to harden the lines of demarcation between Maori and European groupings. But these also created corresponding types of reactions in Maori society expressed in socio-political movements and characteristic classes of Maori leaders.\(^3\)

Up until the late 1850's Maori leadership continued in its acceptance of European culture in a positive fashion. Maori chiefs had freely accepted the institutions from the European that bridged the gulf between the two peoples. But the drive among the Europeans for Maori lands, the transfer of political control from Imperial to Colonial authorities, set up obstacles to intimate and

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1. The Cambridge History, p.51; Gorst, J.E., The Maori King, pp. 188-190. Manipulation is an unfortunate term. The political techniques and procedure of the European Colonists were acceptable devices in statecraft; to the Maori, however, the motives were always sinister. This is how the Maori viewed such devices which may or may not have been the actual fact.

2. Buck, op.cit., p.27; Elder, op.cit., p.502; a somewhat similar thesis to explain race attitudes to Negroes in the U.S.A. was advanced by Franklin Frazier in an Address to the International Congress of Sociologists, Liege, Belgium, in 1953, suggesting the conflicts in American Society influenced the policy to negroes; see section on Parliamentarians infra.

friendly association between the two peoples. The Maori leaders turned toward a reorganisation of their own society, at first through constitutional means and within the wider New Zealand whole, but later through their own efforts and apart from the European and his institutions.

Rational attempts at the reorganisation of Maori society were replaced by appeals to the irrational and supernormal forces reflected in appropriate types of movements. Maori leaders sought to sever relationships with the European and set about reorganising their society in a manner more fitting with their own policy for self-determination and the consolidation of their status.

After the wars, when the conflict between the two groups had reached a stage of resolution, the relationship between the two peoples assumed a more balanced character. The Maori was no longer an obstacle to European ambitions, for control had passed into his hands. The policy of the Government was now aimed at the economic development of the whole country.

The Maori, on the other hand, continued to withdraw into a condition of social and economic isolation with feelings of resentment and disillusionment. His numbers declined toward the end of the century and many prophesied for him an early extinction. In areas where the fighting and the subsequent confiscation of Maori lands took place, the Maori people turned from the churches, from the schools, and from official participation in European affairs.¹

2. Socio-Political background. A power structure.

The application of the concept of systemic interaction to the historical data helped to highlight an important directive feature in the process of

¹ Sutherland, op.cit., The Maori People Today, pp. 434-435; Ngata, ibid, p. 157; Keesing, op.cit., p.69; Report, Stout-Ngata Commission, Ato J 1907, G-1C. Rev. G. Laurenson, General Superintendent of the Home and Maori Missions of the Methodist Church pointed out to the writer the withdrawals of chiefs from the Schools, and the closing of many of the Mission stations in Waikato and the King Country. The late Princess Te Pua Herangi told the writer that this withdrawal was responsible for the non-acceptance by Waikato of the system of State village schools found on the East Coast and in the North Auckland.
interaction. This feature was of course present from the beginning of the contact. I refer here to the manipulations in European society of what was known as Maori policy.

The location and development in New Zealand of a governmental centre of control in the form of the Colonial Parliament had shifted the base of policy manipulation and application from Great Britain to New Zealand within 20 years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. By that time control of Maori affairs had virtually passed into the hands of the local colonists. As a result Maori policy inevitably embodied the interests, the ambitions, the prejudices and frictions of this group. There was little opportunity for checks and modifications to be applied, as in the days when the Imperial Parliament was in charge of New Zealand and Maori affairs.

In terms of our conceptual scheme, we do find in operation at this period a network of units forming themselves into a power structure.1 The units comprising the structure all aimed at securing control of the social, political, economic and human resources of the Maori people. The conflict and tension between the units occurred in Great Britain and later more especially in New Zealand. A series of compromises took place when the balance of power between the units reached some sort of equilibrium. This compromise was expressed in Maori policy. On the other hand when one or other of the units within the structure obtained the fullest command of the instruments and facilities of control then the particular interests represented by that group were written into Maori policy.2

The policy approach for the understanding of social change in Maori society

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1. Airey, W.T.G., In Evolution, 1840-1880; in New Zealand, (edit. H.Belshaw), London 1947, p.35. The underlying thesis in the present section is that Maori leadership grew in reaction to European pressure.

2. New Zealand after Five Wars, reports the Times as saying "The truth is that the New Zealand Colonists for whose exclusive benefit, if not at whose instigation this war is to be undertaken, are literally the only party who will not be out of pocket by it." See also: Marais, J.S., The Colonization of New Zealand, p.11. (Two principles at work in the foundation of New Zealand, (a) Systematic Colonization, (b) Missionary. These mutually antagonistic. Between them the Colonial Office acted as a rather biased arbiter. Cf. Fitzgerald, Jas.Edward, The Native Policy of New Zealand, Wellington, 1862 (Plea for equality for the Maori.)
and the ultimate relationship between the Maori and European peoples within the wider New Zealand society is significant. The direction of the changes in Maori society, the reaction, protest, etc., were governed largely by the policy and attitude of the European to the Maori. The specific types of reactions and changes within Maori society were stimulated by the nature of the external pressures imposed upon it. Not only the changes such as the rise of nativistic movements, but also the character of the outstanding leaders of the period, the charismatic leaders, can only be fully appreciated and understood against the wider background of policy manipulation in European society.¹

a. The New Zealand Company.

The New Zealand Company included men who were keen to apply systematic principles of colonisation to New Zealand.² Included among them were influential leaders in the British Parliament and among the intellectual classes. Wakefield, one of the leaders of the Company, admitted however that later the high ideals of the Company became confused by mercenary motives when the commercial aspects of the land transaction received prior consideration. The social conditions in Great Britain were partly responsible for the popularity of the scheme. The opportunities in the salubrious climate of New Zealand publicised by the Company attracted a very fine type of colonist. The Company aimed at promoting a cross section of British society - retaining its social and economic stratification in the new land, by buying land cheaply, selling at a sufficient price, and bringing out both capital and labour in proportion. The rapid possession of land from natives was therefore a sine qua non of the success of the scheme.

1. Cf. Gouldner Studies in Leadership, pp.60-61. The charismatic leader announces himself amidst the agony of class conflict or civil wars, invasions or threats of invasions, economic deprivation and mass frustration; usually attendant are cleavages which fracture the society - the mushrooming of psychological anxiety on a mass scale.

2. The plan for early colonisation on which the New Zealand Company was based, is discussed in Marais, J.S. The Colonisation of New Zealand, London 1927, pp. 3,26,27,59; Wakefield, E.G., The Art of Colonisation, London 1849; Airey, W.T.C., in New Zealand (edit. H. Belshaw), London 1947, pp. 75-78; Harrop, N.Z. after Five Wars, p.44. (The New Zealand Association); The Cambridge History, pp. 30, 39, 37-85, 130; Social Conditions in Great Britain which gave rise to immigration.
b. The Church Missionary Society.

Just as the New Zealand Company aimed at getting land for European settlement as quickly as possible, so the Church Missionary Society had visualised in New Zealand an opportunity for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. From the point of view of the Church Missionary Society, colonisation of New Zealand would be exposing the Maori people to all the evils of commercialism, and ungodliness, thus its policy was designed to impede immigration when its total elimination was found to be impossible. The Church Missionary Society was also led by eminent politicians in Great Britain and supported by the forces among the Christian Churches emanating from the evangelical revival of the Wesleys. Dandeson Coates - its lay secretary - and James Stephen, a member of the Society and Permanent Under-secretary at the Colonial Office, were opponents of the New Zealand Company. From their Christian convictions they had inferred political principles which attributed to the chiefs a sovereign independence acknowledged in international law and crystallised in the instruments of government affecting

1. For a statement concerning the Christian idealism that motivated the Church leaders in Great Britain on the question of colonising New Zealand, see: Airey, op.cit., pp. 78-86; Coates, Dandeson (Lay Secretary of the Church Missionary Society), The Principles, Object and Plan of the New Zealand Association, London 1837, outlining the physical and moral destruction of native races in the contact with the European; in a letter to Lord Glenelg at the Colonial Office, 3 Jan., 1838; Coates wrote more positively concerning the principles on which Britain should negotiate with the Maori chiefs in the promotion of British control in New Zealand: (1) The preservation of the sovereignty of the chiefs, (2) The effectual interposition of British influence. All laws, contends Coates, must be directed at promoting Maori welfare, including the preservation of their sovereignty recognised in International Law. The introduction of government and law must be guided by the special circumstances of the Maori and their needs for religious and moral improvement; Beecham, J., (British Methodist leader), Colonization, London 1838, criticised the proposals of the New Zealand Company; Busby's Despatch to the Colonial Secretary in New South Wales, 16 June, 1837, stressed the need to recognise the sovereignty of the chiefs; Marquis of Normanby, Instructions to Captain Hobson, 14 August, 1839, show how far the idealism expressed had become embodied in the official policy of the Colonial Office; for a useful historical account of the growth of liberal movements in British political affairs, see Marais, The Colonisation of New Zealand, pp. 11-12, 14, 25, etc. (Clapham Sect established designed to influence British policy to regard oppressed native races with sympathy. Britain should assume the Christian role of championing their rights; 1807, the abolition of slavery; 1831, Exeter Hall founded, and 1836, the Aborigines Committee in the House was brought into being to safeguard the rights of native races.)
New Zealand preceding and including the Treaty of Waitangi.¹

c. Colonial Office.²

From the beginning, the Colonial Office of the Imperial Parliament became the battle ground where the conflicting interests concerning New Zealand were fought out. Control of the Colonial Office was the important factor in the success or failure of policy. The Church Missionary Society was entrenched in the Colonial Office in the person of the Permanent Under-secretary, James Stephen. The lay secretary of the Society, Dandeson Coates, also had the ear of the minister in charge. As long as the Society had the upper hand the Colonial Office expressed a policy favourable to the chiefs retaining their rights over their lands. As long, too, as the ultimate power of control of Maori affairs was held by the Imperial Parliament the rights of the chiefs were respected. When, for a short period after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, control of the Colonial Office passed to another political party in Britain, Maori policy was reversed.³ This resulted in the virtual rejection of the Treaty of Waitangi and the implementation of a policy more akin to the ambitions of the New Zealand Company concerning the acquisition of Maori idle lands. The intervention of Governor Grey saved an outbreak of hostilities.⁴

d. The Governor.

The representative of the Queen, the Colonial Office and the Imperial Parliament in New Zealand after the Treaty of Waitangi was the Governor. The Governor himself was partly the channel for the Colonial Office policy and partly

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1. Note in particular official despatches from the Colonial Secretary, New South Wales, the appointment of a British Resident, the acknowledgment of an ensign for New Zealand, ships, the Confederation of the Independence, etc.
4. Ibid, pp. 117, 118.
the maker of that policy. A strong Governor often superimposed his own will upon the Colonial Office through official despatches to the Home Government or by ignoring the instructions of the Colonial Office, as did Grey on the issue of Maori idle lands and as Fitzroy did in withdrawing the pre-emptive right of the Crown in the disposal of Maori lands. But in the main the Governor remained a faithful channel of Colonial Office policy. The next stage of the conflict for power in Maori Affairs occurred between the Governor (the Colonial Office) and the local colonists.

e. The Colonists.

The scheme of colonisation promoted by the New Zealand Company brought a substantial increase to the European population after 1839. European institutions were more firmly established and European society assumed a more cohesive solidarity enabling the colonists to justify their demand for the transfer of Governmental control from the Imperial Parliament to themselves. The necessity for the alienation of increased quantities of Maori land for European settlement was naturally enough a dominant interest among the Colonists. The tardiness of the Maori chiefs to fulfil this demand increased the tension between the racial groups. The increasing tension between the two groups, as well as the real policy animating European politicians at this time, may be seen in certain acts which represent the most significant aspects of the period from the European side, as far as directing the relationships between the Maori and European and determining the nature of the changes within Maori society is concerned. First, was the withdrawal from the Maori chiefs of the right to vote, though this right

1. Ngata, ibid., pp. 120, 122.
3. Parl. Papers, Applications from N.Z. Colonists for Representative Govt., 1846, XXIX, i.
was specified in the Constitution Act, passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1852; second, was the declaration of war in 1860; third was the Confiscation Act, 1863. These constituted both the means and the end, of the use of power which was firmly established in the hands of the Colonists.

f. The Maori Social Structure.

The pressures from European society upon Maori land, the inroads made by European institutions into Maori society, the acceptance of values, standards of conduct, techniques and methods had affected a structural as contrasted to an organisational change in Maori society. But the policy for the withdrawal from the Maori of privileges, opportunities, facilities - and the wholesale alienation of Maori land both by lawful and unlawful means - gave these changes a protest and reactionary twist that further affected the interaction process between the Maori and the European. The Maori replied to the challenge against the denial of mana in the emerging society by the promotion of movements of reintegration under the leadership of chiefs and warriors who assumed charismatic features.

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1. Some account of the Constitutional developments in New Zealand about this period given in Webb, L., Government in New Zealand, Wellington 1940, pp. 5-9; Lipson, L., The Politics of Equality, Illinois, 1948, pp.19-21; Hight, J. and Bamford, H.D., The Constitutional History and Law of New Zealand, Wellington 1914, Chap.17; Aotearoa 1860, E-7 and 8 for the discussion concerning machinations of European vested interests - political and commercial - to prevent the chiefs from getting the vote. The passage of the Bill through the House of Commons was opposed by those associated with the New Zealand Company. Later the franchise clause was referred to British Crown Law Officers, who adjudicated that Maori Land Tenure disqualified Maori voters from exercising the franchise under the Act. It should be noted however that the political clique (the upper classes) in control in New Zealand did not favour a widening of the franchise in any case; Miller, The Maori People Today, pp. 84-86; pp. 1682, 3229.

2. Ngata, The Maori People Today, pp. 172-173; The Cambridge History, p.141; Aotearoa, 1864, E-2 to 2c; - 1865, A1,D2a,D13; - 1866, A2 to 2b, F2; - 1867, A17; - 1871, C4 and 4a; - 1880, G2; - 1881, G1,G5; - 1882, G5, G5c; - 1883, G3; A to J 1928, Session 1, G7; Aborigines Protection Society, The New Zealand Government and the Maori War of 1863-1864 (a view regarding Confiscation); Partridge, C., Calumny Refuted, the Colonists Vindicated, Auckland, 1864 (Contrary view); Airey, N.Z., (edit. H.Belshaw), p.85; Smith, The Maori People and Us, Chap. 8.

3. Cf. The Cambridge History of the British Empire, p.130, Their leaders resolved to stay the process by organising a nationalistic movement to unite the tribes in a stable economic and political system suited to their nature, in cooperation with the Pakeha (European) if he were willing, but independent of him should he continue in the path leading to their absorption or extinction; Gorst, op.cit., p.59; A to JNR, 1861 - E.No.1, p.320.
3. Convergence and Divergence in Maori in European interaction.

The Treaty of Waitangi enunciated three basic principles that have governed the political relationship between the two peoples. First, the Maori chiefs yielded their sovereign rights to the Queen. Second, the Queen confirmed the chiefs' proprietary rights over their own lands subject only to the Queen's right of pre-emption. Third, the chiefs and their tribes were guaranteed the privileges of citizenship in the British Empire, together with the protection of the Queen.

As a statement of an ideology, the Treaty of Waitangi was necessarily vague. However, the Treaty set the theoretical direction for the policy toward the Maori people. There were two main inferences drawn from the Treaty and these have to varying degrees controlled the interaction between the two peoples. The first comes directly from the last clause of the Treaty, the guarantee of protection and the offer of the privileges of British citizenship. The Native Trust Ordinance, 1844, crystallised the underlying principle by stating that the aim of Native Education was the assimilation of the Maori people. In the Colonial Parliament even above the din of the cry for Maori lands, politicians quite sincerely stressed the identity of interests of Maori and European. The greeting which Governor Hobson extended to the chiefs who signed the Treaty of Waitangi, 'Tatau, tatau,' (We are one people) was no idle statement but a real belief in the minds of many administrators.

4. Condliffe, J.B., New Zealand in the Making, London 1929, p. 54; Condliffe defends the individual settlers in Parliament who advocated the Maori cause - Fox, Featherston. See also The Cambridge History, p. 122, for harmonious relations here and there.
There was however another less specific implication in the Treaty, more clear in the minds of the framers of the Treaty than in the clauses themselves. It was the hope that the Maori will retain his own customs and practices within the wider framework of the British system of Government. 1 A form of indirect rule was devised and thought about by men like Busby, the British Resident. The Confederation of Independence was designed for this purpose, the main theme of which was the preservation of Maori political integrity within New Zealand society. 2 The interplay between these ideas of assimilation and accommodation characterise the theoretical discussions in the Colonial Parliament and provided justification for policies primarily based upon other less idealistic but more practical considerations.

The Colonial Government after 1840 was the equivalent of an absolute Monarchy. 2 The Governor exercised executive functions, with legislative powers assumed by a Council appointed by, and responsible to, the Crown. The sudden influx of settlers under the Wakefield Scheme increased agitation for a greater local share in the Government. This was partly granted in the Constitution Act, 1852. Under this act, the control of Government was placed in the hands of the local colonists, but the Imperial authorities retained jurisdiction over imperial matters and also over Native affairs. The new Constitution set up a Provincial form of Government with a General Assembly supervised by the Governor. 3

1. Parliamentary Papers, C.O. 209/3, June 1838: A Bill guaranteeing the rights of the chiefs is an example; Miller, H., The Maori People Today, pp. 83-89: "wherever the natives were numerous, native custom should be given force of law."; Marquis of Normanby Instructions to Hobson, August 14, 1839; Papers relative to the Affairs of New Zealand, Busby to Colonial Secretary, 16 June, 1837: (C.O. 209/3).


The majority of the Maori population was distributed throughout the North Island, occupying as they had always done, the traditionally owned land of the tribes. In the Maori districts the tribal and subtribal groups continued their existence as self-contained political units. While the theoretical jurisdiction of the Provincial Councils and even that of the General Assembly, was cast vaguely over Maori and European alike, there was in fact no real, effective link between Maori and European groups in the same way as that which existed between European groups. The Maori was theoretically within, but practically outside, the system of established Government, despite the direction of the Treaty of Waitangi and the Constitution Act, 1852. Various reasons accounted for this. One was the difficulty that had always been experienced in coercing the scattered districts into an integrated unit owing to the poor forms of communication and transport. Another was the cultural differences that separated the Maori from the European communities, thus centering interests and sentiments in their own respective areas of activity, while the absence of any deliberate attempt by Government either to take out facilities to Maori communities or to bring Maori representatives into centres of Government also contributed to the Conditions.

The policy of Government after the assumption of responsible control in 1852, was largely one of non-interference in Maori affairs. Reinforcing this laissez faire attitude was the divergent viewpoints between Maori and European over the ownership of land, which strengthened the desire of the Colonists to gain and retain control of Maori affairs.

1. Richmond, A to J, 1860, E-1, p. 5.
2. Cf. Malinowski's view concerning selective giving of institutions etc. by the European; The Dynamics of Culture Change, p. 58; Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 340-341; Taylor, R., Te Ika, p. 275, (Taylor proposed that chiefs should have seat in General Assembly); Sutherland, I.L.G., The Maori Situation, pp. 28-29; Gorst, op. cit., p. 196, A to J, 1860, E-1, p. 23.
3. A to J, 1860, B-1, and E-1, E-3.
4. Abolition of the protectorate of Aborigines in 1847 had same effect: Cambridge History of the British Empire, p. 130; Smith, N., The Maori People and Us, p. 125.
Two methods were open to the Colonists. One was the transfer by an act of parliament of control over Maori affairs to the Colonists. The Imperial Parliament hedged on this matter in the Constitution Act of 1852. The Colonial Parliament replied by limiting the authority of the Governor by forcing him to act 'in council' and also by watching the use of Colonial funds in Maori affairs.1 The other method was more negative, though the effect was positive. This was to reinterpret the electoral clause in the Constitution Act so as to disable Maori chiefs from participating in Governmental institutions in their own rights as British citizens on the grounds of unsuitable land tenure qualification.2

While the chiefs were not fully apprised of the motives actuating the Colonial politicians, they were nevertheless deeply concerned about threats to the status-giving relationships, which they held with the Governor, the mouthpiece of the Crown.3 On the other hand, the chiefs were men of insight and wisdom. Before long they began to adjudge the significance of the conflicts in European society.4 The Maori interpretation of political machinations was simple. These were being motivated in an attempt to keep him out of Government

1. Despatch from Governor Gore Browne to the Duke of Newcastle, 22 May, 1860; Cambridge History, p. 132; Miller, op. cit., p.87.
2. Taylor, Te Ika, p.275; A to J 1860, E-7 and 8; Miller, The Maori People Today, pp. 84-86.
institutions and to ease the alienation of his lands. That he was not mistaken may be seen in the series of land legislation from the Confiscation Act 1863 to the founding of the Native Land Court in 1865, and to the end of the century, by which time millions of acres of the best Maori land were alienated for European settlement.

On the other hand, the divided control of Native affairs while favourable to the Maori, was not in keeping with the development of self-government in British Colonies. The democratic tradition had been confirmed in the case of the American possessions - 'No taxation without representation' - though this principle was not applicable, according to the Colonists, to the chiefs and their tribes from whom the Colonial government was extracting taxes out of all proportion to the amenities they were receiving.

There were also reactions within Maori society which tended to deflect Maori

1. The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol.7, pt.2, p.131 - Stress here is on cultural differences as the cause for baulked dispositions and inferiority complexes on part of Maori; Firth, Economics, p.433 - cultural differences among groups in partial occupation of same territory cause grave tensions; Keesing, The Changing Maori, p.62. The history of transition is one of misunderstandings; Smith, The Maori People and Us, pp.127, 128; Ngata, Maori Land Settlement, p.126 - methods employed by Europeans to induce natives to sell; p.133; individualisation of title eased the flow of land with semblance of justice to Maori; cf. A to JEN, F-3.

2. Ngata, The Maori People Today, pp.123-129; Smith, N., Native Custom affecting land, Wellington 1942, Chap.I. The Cambridge History, pp.131,133,141; discussion of politics of land confiscation, the growing apprehension among the Maori of his loss of mana. Also p.142, - the wars cost 3 to 4 million pounds, best amount of European property destroyed, immigration, settlement and economic development retarded; positive results - an enlightened Native policy: (a) Native Schools Act 1868; Native Land Act 1862, forbade land transfers before ownership ascertained; Native Land Court established 1865; Legislation on Native Education 1867-1871; Native Representation in Parliament 1867 and two chiefs appointed to the Upper House in 1873; Sutherland, The Maori Situation, Wellington 1935, p.36; quoting Condliffe in N.Z. in the Making, on the influence of the Native Land Court on the legal separation of the Maori from his land; also Ngata, Maori Land Settlement, in The Maori People Today, pp. 124-125.

3. Swainson, New Zealand and its Colonization, p.358; Par.Pprs, 39, 1846 (applications from N.Z.Colonists for Representative Govt.)

4. Harrop, A.J., New Zealand after 5 Wars, p.45; Gore Browne found little that Maori had received from European: No schools North of Auckland, no provision for native service, and few roads; Hill, H., On the Maori Today and Tomorrow, TNZI, vol.29, 1898, p.154.
and European political development. The chiefs saw their mana becoming more and more subordinated to that of the European of all classes. Their land was also slipping from their grasp. The leaders of insight in the more populous areas set about to organise their own judicial and political institutions. The lead thus given by the chiefs was followed by Government schemes for the same purpose, thus further hardening the lines of demarcation between the two groups.

By 1855 the whole political atmosphere in New Zealand had become more intense. The deflection in political development was now regarded as a necessary part of policy, in order that Maori agitation may be steered clear of the centres of political control. In 1858 the Native Districts Regulations Act, and the Native Circuits Act were passed. In effect, these acts crystallised the separation of two sets of judicial and local administrative organisations for Maori and European, and turned the attention of Maori leaders for the time being from the General Assembly to become enmeshed in the details of local government. The scheme promoted by the Government was a convenient device to fill the political and administrative vacuum which had existed in Maori communities since the arrival of the European, and the usurpation of Maori institutions by those of the European. But they served the convenience of the European authorities, while giving many Maori communities something to occupy their attention. The final outcome was to complete the deflection between the two groups. Accommodation had replaced assimilation.

The next stage in the process of deflection was the Maori-European war. The Maori view of the war is simple and direct. The European manipulated the war to gain control of the country's economic and political resources,

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and to break the resistance of the Maori to European encroachment.1 From this angle, the wars were an inevitable part of the struggle for power in New Zealand inherent in the contact between the two peoples from the beginning, and inherent also in the basic policies of European society toward the Maori.

The divergence between the pathways of the Maori and European was more or less complete. The Maori swung inwards into his own group.2 The European swept forward, full master of the situation. From this background we shall now view the reactions in Maori society towards the European, and the methods which the chiefs employed to solve the problems created in his society by the pressures from the European.

1. The writer has heard this view being expressed by leaders in Waikato, Taranaki and Tauranga among tribes who suffered from land confiscations. Cf. Harrop, New Zealand after Five Wars, pp. 47, 48, 50, 54; General Cameron resigned his command because the 'war was being carried out for profit and the gratification of the Colonists'. The Cambridge History, p.125 (N.Z. Attorney-General on Wairau); also pp. 120-121: causes and direction of the 1860 wars; Condliffe, New Zealand in the Making, Historian's view: "By 1860 the Maoris - in close contact with the settlers - had no alternative but to defend their land by war." p.55 A to J, 1860, pp.4-5, F-3.

CHAPTER 8.

The Protest Leaders and their Society.

Two main classes of leaders have been selected from this period for special consideration. Other classes existed in commerce, in the church, in government institutions and in European military organisations. They all exercised an influence upon Maori society. However, from the Maori point of view, the two most outstanding classes were the political and charismatic leaders. They were both, in actual fact, leaders with essentially political functions, but in our analysis we shall make the distinction indicated by the terms.

These leaders were significant for two reasons. They rose directly out of the situation among the Maori people created by the particular kind of policy which we have described in the previous chapter. Further, they illustrate the reliance of the Maori in times of crises upon the traditional leaders, the logical heads of the tribes and subtribes.

1. The political leaders.

Political leaders were found at the local, as well as, the national level. At the local level these served as a judiciary in Maori communities - magistrates, assessors, wardens, etc. National political leaders were men at the head of

1. Ngata, Maori Land Settlement, in The Maori People Today, p. 130; Cf. for wider theoretical formulation the similar thesis propounded by Cox, Oliver Cromwell in Caste, Class and Race, New York 1948, and more briefly in Little's letter to the Editor in Man, Vol. 51, 1961, p.17. "It is necessary - to make clear - that racial prejudice is rooted deeply in the social structure and - from historical and contemporary evidence it is associated with some fairly specific types of social organization. Prejudice - is a function rather than a cause of situations of group conflict." There was prejudice against full Maori participation in political institutions, written into Native policy this in turn induced contemporary leaders.

the movement to form a nation-wide type of government among the Maori people.

These men were drawn largely from persons of chiefly rank. Many of them had gained European skills, from close association with and experience among Europeans, as well as through education in the schools. Thus we find alliance, and frequently rivalry, between the educated persons and the aged hereditary men of rank. Generally, however, one supported the other, so that the main leadership centre was still the traditional kind.

The operations of the European courts of justice, the General Assembly and the Provincial Councils had not been lost upon the observant Maori political leaders. European ideas of law, procedures in the making and dispensing of laws, were grafted upon the political systems of the indigenous runanga of the tribe and subtribe. The occasion and motive were provided by the deflection of Maori society from full membership in European judicial and governmental institutions, and also by the growing dissatisfaction of the chiefs concerning their inferior status in European society.

The main functions of the political leaders were the reintegration of Maori society through the promotion of specific movements, the establishment of Maori forms of government to promote law and order in Maori communities and the restoration of Maori status in the emerging New Zealand society.

The status of these leaders was based on superior or near superior kinship. They were chiefs in the tribe or subtribe. The movements in which they held their positions helped to define their status by formalisation. This is true whether the movements were formed spontaneously by the chiefs themselves or whether the organisations were set up under an act of parliament. Clear articulation of positions is an important source of status.

1. The concept of formalisation as used in this study is defined by the Oxford Dictionary: to formalize, give definite shape or legal formality to — make ceremonious, precise, or rigid, imbue with formalism. There are degrees of formalization — in a group ranging from the mere act of holding regular meetings to a legally constituted organisation.
The specialised skills both of a Maori and of an European nature were also factors in ascribing authority. The leaders too, being of the traditional category, embodied the values of the society, and as the relationships between Maori and European deteriorated, so the protest elements in the structure of political leadership became better crystallised.

2. Judicial and National Political Movements.

The movements of particular significance here are the Runanga and Te Kingitanga (The King Movement). Both of these developed among the chiefs of Waikato, a cluster of tribes renowned in New Zealand history for their political abilities and statesmanship. The runanga movement was first devised by the Waikato chiefs, though the government soon followed with a scheme based substantially upon the Waikato organisation. The government sponsored runanga was more elaborate and was set up in both Waikato and North Auckland. The King Movement was at first designed to include all the major tribes of the country and did in fact become one of the rallying points for the Maori people in the Maori-European wars. The Waikato runanga movement was included within the body of the King Movement, though this was not so in the case of the runanga judicial organisation set up by the government.

A descriptive analysis of these movements will illustrate the basis of status and the scope of the functions of the political leaders for whom the movements provided a context for operation.

a. The Runanga-judicial institution.

The runanga movement was founded upon the traditional assembly of the tribe and subtribe. The old time institution located in the village social centre,

1. A to J, 1860, E and F; Cf. Gouldner, Studies in Leadership, p.60, for Weber's view of background changes in the context of the bureaucratic and charismatic leaders; also Gerth and Mills from Max Weber, p.52... process of rationalization is punctured however by certain discontinuities of history. Hardened institutional fabrics may thus disintegrate and routine forms of life prove insufficient for mastering a growing state of tension, stress or suffering. It is in such crises that Weber introduces a balancing conception for bureaucracy: the concept of charisma.
the marae and the assembly house, was the field in which the kaumatua heads of families, the rangatira head of the subtribe, the ariki leader of the tribe and the tohunga ritual leader, met in congress to discuss and deliberate upon all matters affecting the welfare of the tribe and subtribe. The extension of European institutions had increased the range of interest of the assembled leaders. They now deliberated upon such matters as land transfers to the European, political matters like the Treaty of Waitangi, the Constitution Act, the authority of the Governor, the attitude of the European to the chiefs, and also matters relating to trade and commerce in general. The establishment of the European had extended the functions of the runanga through the accretion of these newer interests.

About the middle of the 19th century the runanga acquired a more specialised function in accordance with the needs and interests of the chiefs and the tribes. The situation of Maori society outside the judicial facilities of the country, the novelty of the European law courts, the continuing confusion in Maori society due to clash of values, forced the chiefs to resort to the runanga for some solution to their problems.

The runanga was made the basis for a Maori court of law, making laws and dispensing justice within Maori communities.¹ It was an adaptation of an all-purposes indigenous institution to a more specialised function patterned after the practice of the Europeans. The legislature and the judiciary were telescoped into an unitary institution in the runanga.

The scheme for a Maori judiciary originating from the Waikato chiefs is important in showing the approach of the chiefs to meet the new conditions. The whole was necessarily a synthesis of Maori and European ideas. The more clearly defined framework of the European system with its techniques and devices

¹. Fenton's Report on Affairs in Waikato: A to J, 1860, E-1C and E-3; Cf. earlier attempts (Letter from McDonnel to Governor Bourke.)
was rooted in the deliberative assembly of the traditional marae. In the Waikato scheme, the basic unit was the village community. Here the kaumatua heads of extended family groups forming a subtribe met together to operate as a law court. The personnel of this runanga was limited to twelve men appointed by popular election. Each runanga was to be part of a federation of village communities. Thus the association of related subtribes forming the tribe was retained in the scheme. Presiding over the federation of subtribal representatives, which was to meet once annually, to discuss laws of wide application, was the "Kai-whakahaere tikanga". He was to be an embodiment of the mana and sovereignty of the people. The foundation of leadership in the runanga movement would therefore be the traditional leaders of Maori society.

The twelve members of the runanga would select from their own numbers three or four to act as magistrates or wardens. The duties of these were to make awards between litigant parties, and generally to settle disputes and direct the internal economy of the village.

The function of the runanga was to make laws for the government of the village. Restricted to the Maori race only, these laws would deal with a variety of topics such as women, cattle, trespass, fencing, adultery, noxious weeds, theft, slander, pigs, canoes, tauas,¹ taumau,² and spirituous liquors. When the runanga had devised the regulations these were to be submitted to the whole village for the approval of the people.

The penalties for guilty offenders, included confiscation of personal property or land, reduction of tribal right of commonage, or imprisonment in the European jail.

The Waikato chiefs, while organising the scheme for their own subtribes, nevertheless recognised that dependence upon the European systems was necessary.

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1. Taua - fighting.
2. Taumau - betrothals.
Difficult cases would be brought to the notice of the European magistrate, whose assistance was also to be solicited in the promotion of legal and judicial training among the leaders of the Maori runanga. In intertribal disputes especially were the European magistrates, assisted by the Maori wardens, asked to preside.

Fenton, who was appointed later as a resident magistrate in the Waikato district, wrote concerning the chiefs in that area:

"When they understand the English language, and are sufficiently advanced in other respects, they propose to enter the European General Assembly, and in all respects identify themselves with the white people in every way." 1

On the seriousness of purpose among the chiefs Fenton has also written:

"The assemblies are being held constantly, today at this settlement, tomorrow at another, and the union of both at a fresh village on a third. I have attended several, and have everywhere observed the utmost decorum and regularity." 2

In 1858 largely on the recommendation of men like Fenton and others who had seen the great political activity in Maori village communities at this period, the government passed two acts which virtually gave legal sanction to, and also greatly elaborated, the scheme which had grown up among the Waikato chiefs. The first of these acts was "To Regulate the Local Affairs of Native Districts." 3 The preamble to the Act stated:

"Whereas it is expedient, in order to promote the civilisation of the Native race, that the Governor in council be enabled to make and put in force, within districts over which the Native Title has not been extinguished, such regulations on matters of local concernment, or relating to the social economy of the Native Race, as may appear adapted to the special wants of the inhabitants; all such regulations being made as far as possible, with the general assent of the persons affected thereby."

The Act appointed districts over which the Native Title had not been extinguished, as areas for the exercise of regulations devised by the Governor.

1. A to J, 1860, E-3; see also, E-1C, F-3.
Among the topics for which regulations were to be made were the branding of cattle, noxious weeds, general and dog nuisance, drunkenness, restrictions on sale of liquor, injurious Native customs, rights of tribes, and the health and personal convenience in village communities. The fines for the violation of any regulation were not to exceed a maximum of £50.

The accompanying act which set up the judicial organisation to try cases affecting the regulations devised by the Governor for Native Districts, was passed on 4th August 1858. The aim was to make provision for better administration of justice in Native Districts. "... more effectual provision... for the keeping of the Queen's peace, and for the administration of justice."

European resident magistrates and at least one Native Assessor were to be appointed by the Governor. The latter was to be chosen from aboriginal natives, 'of the greatest authority and the best repute in their respective tribes'. Together they were to form the Native Circuit Court. The jurisdiction of the court covered both criminal and civil cases, in which either native or European was involved. A native included any person of mixed parentage who was living as native.

Although the act was not specific, members of the juries required for both criminal and civil cases would naturally be appointed from the local natives. Special powers were given the native assessors, in what was known as "The Assessors Court", but the personnel able to exercise such special powers were appointed by the governor. The assessors court, with certain limitations, exercised all the powers and functions vested in the Native Circuit Court and the presiding resident magistrate. The fine imposed by the Assessors Court must not exceed 20/-, the jurisdiction of the court was

1. The Native Circuit Courts Act, 1858, in Accounts and Papers, etc., Vol. 9, pp. 3-7.
confined only to persons of the Native Race, and an appeal may lie from a conviction in the Assessor's Court to the Native Circuit Court of the district. Though these acts laid down the general outlines for the government scheme in the administration of justice in Native communities, the application varied in different tribal districts according to the customs and practices in those areas. For instance the organisation of the courts and the runanga movement sponsored by the European in the North Auckland was different from the organisation found among the Waikato people.

However, sufficient common features existed in the structure of these organisations wherever they were set up, to warrant sound generalisations concerning their fundamental leadership pattern.

The significant feature in the Maori sponsored runanga movement in Waikato was the fact that no absolute break was visualised in the relationship with the European political system. The chiefs designed their movement to operate in parallel and even converging lines with the wider governmental institutions of the country. There was no thought at this early stage of separation in an absolute sense from European political and judicial organisations.

Only one instance of the work of the Native Circuit Court may be cited. This Court was held at Taupiri on 22nd July, 1857, before F. D. Fenton, the Resident Magistrate, and Waata Kukutai, Native Magistrate. Waata Kukutai was a rangatira of a subtribe in the lower Waikato and was opposed to the Maori sponsored runanga. (A descendant, Rev. Ngapaka Kukutai, is the present Chairman of the King's Council.)

2. See also A to J, 1860, E-1G.
Rupene Materima V. Toiwhati Te Mahamaha.

Rupene Materima (sworn) - States nothing from personal knowledge - all hearsay.

Miki (sworn) states - In the evening we assembled at the Awaroa. Matiu gave Hohua and Te Mahamahua a shawl, sleeping apparel for them. Te Mahamahua was inside Roka’s sleeping apparel, and they slept together until the sun arose. This is what I saw. We returned here.

Cross-examined by Defendant - I saw no wrong.

By the Court - I saw with my own eyes sleeping together.

Hohepa (sworn) states - I saw defendant and Roka sleeping together.

Cross-examined by Defendant - I saw nothing wrong. I saw them sleeping together in the morning when the sun rose.

Reretu (having declared) states - We assembled at Awaroa. Matiu gave a shawl to Hohua and Te Mahamahua - sleeping apparel for them. We went to sleep. Defendant and Roka slept together until the sun rose. I saw this. We returned.

Cross-examined by Defendant - I saw nothing but their sleeping together.

More (sworn) - We assembled at Awaroa. Matiu gave a shawl to Hohua and Te Mahamahua to sleep in. We slept. Defendant slept in Roka’s clothing with her; together they slept until daylight. I saw this. We returned.

Cross-examined by Defendant - The only wrong I saw was the sleeping together. I saw no wrong. I went to sleep.

Hohua (sworn) - In the evening we assembled at the Awaroa. Matiu gave a shawl to me and defendant to sleep in. Defendant and Roka slept together until day light. We returned.

Cross-examined by Defendant - The only wrong I saw was the sleeping together. I saw no wrong.

By the Court - I alone slept in the shawl. He went to Roka.

Defendant stated he found the shawl too small, and went into Roka’s blanket, but nothing took place between them. In the morning they went away back. Roka has a husband, Rupene. I think I did wrong. There was a committee about it and I paid £1 to Rupene. I did not go to the woman; I went to the blanket.

After deliberation Waata Kukutai delivered judgment for £2.0.0. (i.e. £1 above the £1 already paid) stating that the Court believed the Defendant had not committed adultery with Roka, but that it was wrong to sleep with her, and the old practice must be put an end to.

Judgment for Plaintiff - £2.0.0.

The extensive range of data on the Runanga movement in both Waikato and Hokianga and other parts of North Auckland, point definitely to the retention of leadership positions in the hands of the traditional leaders in the tribe or subtribe. This means that superior kinship was an important factor in status. On the other hand the influence of the resident magistrate as in Waikato was often thrown on the side of men qualified in the more technical requirements of...
the position, rather than the possession of kinship background. In North Auckland particularly the problem arose of important chiefs requesting their own candidates, men of high rank, to be appointed to the runanga. In such cases there was often a conflict between the choice of the European authorities and that of the Maori chiefs. A further complicating factor was the payment made to members of the Runanga by the government. This economic feature not only attracted Maori chiefs to the positions but it also caused the European officials to exercise more caution in the selection of candidates than they otherwise would have done.

Another problem in the north was the existence of men of rank who were comparatively illiterate and therefore unable to discharge their duties as magistrates in accordance with the regulations. This difficulty was solved by the appointment of Maori officials from educated persons. Thus there was brought into the scheme the two classes of leaders, the hereditary and the educated. The educated person was on these occasions an assistant and an adviser to the chiefs.

It is undoubted that the legal formalisation of the positions, and the issuance of the authority for the assessors from the governor added to prestige. The Native assessors and magistrates were raised above their equals by the appointment to their positions. This is a new element characteristic of these formal organisations. However, in the instance we are discussing, frequently such elevation coincided with superior kinship background.

2. A to J, E-9; see also ibid, F-3 (app. B-1). Fenton notes similar tendency in Waikato.
3. A to J, E-9; Legal formalisation of an organization clarifies the relationships between the position of officials and defines the roles and status of leaders. The sanction of the Governor in this instance further adds mana to judicial leaders. The other side to formalisation is the clear definition given the ordinary members of the tribe in relation to the leaders.
b. The Maori King movement.

The Maori King movement crystallised the ambitions of the chiefs to organise themselves into some form of unitary political control because of the neglect of the European administrators to draw them into the European institutions. This view is expressed by Hon. Richmond, the New Zealand Prime Minister of the day, and Mr. Fenton, Resident Magistrate in the Waikato.

The structure of the King movement followed the same tendency as in the runanga to graft European procedures, terminologies, etc., upon the indigenous foundation of the Maori socio-political system. The ariki, rangatira, kaumatua and tohunga were bound together in their respective positions in the hierarchy of leadership. New titles were borrowed from the European but the old relationships remained.

The King movement was a Confederation of tribes. Its nucleus was the federation of subtribes constituting the major tribal unit of Waikato; and Maniapoto, because of common descent from the Tainui Canoe, was closely associated with Waikato. Theoretically, however, during this period, we may regard the King movement as comprised of tribal units extending throughout most of the North Island. The bond of unity was common agreement on the idea of having a Maori King, and the genealogical acknowledgment of the superior descent of the Te Wherowhero Aristocratic Family of Waikato.

1. The authority is Gorst, John, The Maori King, London 1864; Buddle, T., The Maori King movement, Auckland 1860; Taylor, R., Te Ika, pp. 277-278; Condiffe, New Zealand after 5 Wars, pp. 43, 47, 132, 133; Ngata and Sutherland, The Maori People, pp. 349; Kelly, Tainui, Chap. 41. The writer lived and worked with leaders of the King movement; oral accounts from hosts of kaumatuas from Te Puea Herangi herself and from the writer's own father.

2. A to J, 1860, E-1 and E-3; see also Buick, Waitangi, pp. 355, 386; cf. Taylor, R., Te Ika, p. 277. At a meeting in Otaki the unity in the minds of the chiefs was expressed thus: New Zealand is a house, the Europeans are rafters, on the one side, the Maori are rafters on the other side. God is a ridge-pole against which all lean, the house is one; Gorst, op.cit., pp. 71-73, 161, 271-273, 280-281, 284-285. Tamehana's policy of using lawful means to preserve the Mana Maori; Graham, 1., Orders from Tamehana to his people (in Maori), translation by Graham (Grey Collection - Auckland Public Library).

3. A deputation travelled throughout the North Island in search of the rightful chief to be King. Oral history now recorded and kept in the care of the late Tita Wetere's family, Waikato, tell of the Pou tangata, the aristocratic Pillars to whom the Kingship was offered. Potatau's family trace genealogical descent from the senior lines of all the major canoes.
A. Potatau Te Wherowhero
(First Maori King)

B. Rangatira members
King's Council
(Te Tekaumarua)

C. Rewi - Fighting Rangatira - Intercase wars. (Ngatimaniapoto)
The framework of the movement followed traditional lines of formation. At the head of the movement was the King, and he was attended by the King's Council consisting of Rangatira leaders who lived close to the King. In later years the King's Council expanded into a Parliament called Te Kauhanganui complete with two chambers patterned after the organisation of the New Zealand Parliament.

One of the principal positions in the government of the movement was that of Tumuaki or President. This position was a hereditary one confined to the senior male members of the Te Waharoa Family of Ngatihaua to this day. The Tumuaki and the King were the only truly hereditary positions in the King movement.

In each village there was a runanga assembly controlled by the leading kaumatua of the village under the supervision of a rangatira. Several of the villages combined through their representatives to form a district runanga of rangatira leaders. The local and district runanga assembly were the main formal constituents in the King movement. However, each local and district runanga while being tied in to the movement through common allegiance to the King, nevertheless maintained strict traditional independence characteristic of the subtribe. Each rangatira jealously guarded the rights of control over his own subtribe. The organisation was strongly decentralised, though meetings were called by the King at the central marae, where free expression of opinion was the order of the day.

2. The original Kauhanganui Building stands at Rukumoana, Morrinsville, a more recent building at Ngaruwahia now used as office of the Tamai Trust Board, and for the sittings of the Maori Land Court, was designed to replace the House at Rukumoana.
3. The famous Wiremu Tamahana was the first caretaker of the Kauhanganui Parliament, and therefore the first Tumuaki; see Gorst, op.cit., pp.59-60; A to J, 1861, E-1, B20.
The leaders of the movement realised the necessity for funds. The sources of finance to carry out the functions of government were the fines imposed by the runanga judicial court in the movement, voluntary donations from subtribes and families, and the fees got from ferrying Europeans across the Waikato river. A proposal was also made to levy a residential fee upon all Europeans living in those districts which acknowledged the jurisdiction of the king, but this was never carried out.

It will be seen from this brief sketch of the structure of the king movement that the main burden of leadership was with the traditional leaders operating within their own groups, though now more formalised and linked with a wider network of leaders. The data, however, is quite clear concerning the necessity of European skills in negotiation with the European. Men possessing these skills were therefore given advisory and diplomatic duties within the movement. These educated leaders were regarded, and did so act, as advisers to the traditional leaders or at most as amenuensis or diplomatic mediators with the Europeans. Probably the most outstanding political leader of this period was Wiremu Tamehana, Founder of the King Movement, and its guiding light. He had accepted the Christian faith and was well versed in European techniques and skills. He was the main adviser and guide of the Maori King.

The functions of the Maori King may be briefly stated. Potatau, the first King, was an old man when he was elected. By superior birth and by the choice of leaders among the Maori tribes he became the logical embodiment of the mana Maori— the sovereignty, the prestige, the cultural integrity of the Maori people. He focussed the self-respect, and self-esteem of the Maori people. He represented to the tribes the focal point of the traditional status of the Maori people which was being weakened through the association

1. Ibid, pp. 280–281.
with the European. The status of the Maori, so the chiefs thought, was being lowered beneath that of the European. They saw in the policy of the European, signs of mana Maori being gradually disintegrated. The Waikato leaders today state quite openly that the King was established - hei pupuri i te mana - to hold the prestige of the people.

There were also more active governmental functions attributed to the King by the chiefs. He was to stop the flow of blood. In a letter to Governor Browne in 1861, Wiremu Tamehana wrote:

"... I looked at your books where Israel cried to have a King to themselves, to be a judge over them, and I looked at the word of Moses in Deuteronomy and at Proverbs and I kept these words in my memory through all the years, the land feuds continuing all the time, blood being still spilt and I still meditating upon the matter. In the year 1857, Te Heuheu called a meeting at Taupo, at which 1600 men were present. When the news of this meeting reached me, I said 'I will consent to this, to assist my work.' I began at those words at the Book of Samuel, 'Give us a King to judge us.' That was why I set up Potatau in 1857. On his being set up, the blood at once ceased, and it has so remained up to the present year. The reason why I set up Potatau as King for me was because he was a man of extended influence and a man who was revered by the people of this land. That, my friend, was why I set him up. To put down my troubles, to hold the land of the slave; and to judge the offences of the chief, the King was set up."  

Law and order and justice were to be administered through the runanga organisation within the movement.

The status of the leaders in the King Movement was primarily based upon superior kinship sources. But this was no doubt reinforced by the principle of formalisation which had been introduced through the setting up of the wider federation, and the adoption of European procedures. But traditional kinship background was the most important factor. The educated persons who were

1. Te Puaa Herangi, Tamo Reweti, Te Aho-o-terangi, Ngapaka Rukatai, Tita Wetere, etc.
3. See genealogies in section on traditional leaders. Elaborate genealogical tables in the records of the Tutuku Committee, Turangawaewae Marae. Ngaruawahia, show the interconnections of the Potatau Family with all the senior lines of descent of New Zealand.
brought in as mediators with the European and as technical advisers to the traditional leaders enhanced their standing by the possession of European skills, but these were significant largely because they were linked to the fulfilment of Maori values.

The King himself is an important illustration of the retention of indigenous factors of status within an outwardly European framework. The story of the search for a King from among the ariki families of the country is often told among the Waikato peoples to this day. Three features were basic to the position of kingship. First, was superior kinship ascertained through the genealogical connections with the leading men of the ancestral canoes, traceable through the senior male lines. This was the mana tangata - the prestige on the human side. Second, was the mana whenua - the fame attached to significant landscapes within the tribal territories of the chiefs considered. Third, was the mana kai generally attached to the mana whenua - the renown of land and waters as supply sources of high quality food in sufficient quantities.¹

Among the families whose qualifications were considered were: Peehi Turoa of Whanganui, Te Heuheu of Taupo, Te Amohau of Rotorua, Tupae of Tauranga, Te Kani-a-Takirau of the East Coast.² Their personal qualities, fighting prowess, kinship background, and food supplying capacities were all studied by a special deputation. All declined the honour recognising the great responsibility involved. The final choice rested with Potatau of the Ngatimahuta subtribe of Waikato. His motto was 'Ko Potatau te tangata, ko Taupiri te maunga, ko Waikato te moana, he piko he taniwha, he piko he taniwha'. (Potatau is the man, Taupiri is the mountain, Waikato River is the sea, in every bend there is a monster.). Potatau Te Wherohero was chosen because he fulfilled the qualifications which the chiefs had decided should

¹. From Tame Reweti.
². These were termed Pou tangata, pillars of aristocracy.
Plate 8. Throne of the Maori King, taken recently in the Kauhanganui building (Parliament), Rukumoana, Morrinsville.
mark the status of the Maori King.

This family was connected with the leaders of all the major ancestral canoes. Many of the genealogical links came through senior male lines. Potatau himself was a man of the highest courage in war - he had been with his Ngatimahuta forces in the forefront of all the battles of Waikato. His father, Te Rauangaanga, was the leading tohunga of the tribe. Surrounding Potatau and Ngatimahuta was a veritable galaxy of important chiefs at the head of strong subtribes in Waikato. This was the significance of the reference to the monsters in every bend of the Waikato River. These rangatira leaders acknowledged the kinship superiority of Potatau Te Wherowhero. Two portions of land and water in the tribal territory of Potatau, Taupiri Mount and Waikato River, were famous - the first, as the most prominent landed feature in the Waikato Domains and the burial ground of the ancestors, was mentioned in song, poetry and story. Waikato River was the mother of the tribes. In its waters lurked the feared taniwha monsters of legend and mythology, but from there, too, came the white-bait and the eel. The district was, moreover, seething with bird, fish, and other foods in quantity and quality. Kawhia on the West Coast was an inexhaustible supply of all sea foods, and so was Hauraki on the East Coast. Waikato was also quite centrally placed for visitors from other tribes. Potatau Te Wherowhero was therefore chosen, and the kingship has passed through his family to Koroki Te Rata Mahuta Tawhiao Potatau Te Wherowhero, the present occupant of the position.1

The king as ariki retained the usual symbols of authority invested in his position.2 But others from the European were added. A parliament was set up and housed at the village of Wiremu Tamehana and his Ngatihaua Tribe, Rukumoana. There a throne was installed, and other regalia of kingship

1. From Tita Wotere, Roore Erueti, Tame Reweti, Te Kanawa, Haere Huka, Whareiaia Moke, Peahi Tu and Tu Mokai Katipa, leaders in the King Movement today.
2. See symbols of Chiefship, pp. 49-55.
imitating European sovereignty. 1 Each chief in a District also provided the
King with Guards - armed and trained to appear on the visits of the King to
that area. A police system attached to the King's Runanga became the bodyguard
of the King, but these modern innovations were always supplemented by the
tohunga guardian to protect the life principle of the King from sorcerers. A
flag - consisting of a red cross on a white background - was flown whenever the
King was in residence. As Ngaruawahia was the Capital of the King - a palace
was built there with Maori material - Raupo. 2 Other residences for the King
were erected in other villages and were set apart from the other houses in the
village and stood close to the whare runanga. The King also had a newspaper
edited by the educated men in the movement and it expressed the opinions of the
King on the variety of matters that arose in the political associations with
the European. 3

At first it was quite definite that the King movement was designed by the
chiefs to link with, rather than rival, the Queen's authority. 4 Many chiefs,
however, who favoured closer alliance with British Government institutions
sensed the dangers involved in setting up the movement, feared conflict with
the Queen's authority, and who condemned the movement. The Founder, Wiremu
Tamehana, seemed not to have seen any real problem in the relationship with the
Queen. He was rather supported by certain responsible Europeans who regarded

1. See Plate 8.
   239-240. The King's Paper was Ta Hoki O Miu Tirumi e rea ata ana,
   printed at Ngaruawahia on a Press given by Archduke Maximillian in 1859.
   First issue appeared 1862. The old Press is a relic installed by Te
   Puqa at Turangawaewae, Ngaruawahia. The present paper is Ta Paki-o-
   Matatiki; the writer was assistant editor.
4. Sutherland, I.L.G., The Maori Situation, pp. 29,30; Gorst, op.cit., pp.284-
   285, 301; A to J, F-3; Reed, A.H., The Story of New Zealand, Wellington,
   1945, p.50 (XXX). Tamehana discussing the King movement with Gorst
thrust two sticks in the ground. One was the Governor, the other was the
Maori King. Another stick was placed over the other two; this was the
law of God, and of the Queen. A circle was drawn around the sticks -
this represented the Queen - the fence to protect all.
Plate 9.

A. Modern Maori Parliament Building at Ngaruawahia (used as office, Tainui Trust Board, and Sessions Waikato - Maniapoto Maori Land Court)

B. Original Kauhanganui (Maori Parliament) built during Maori-European Wars, Rukumoana Marae, Morrinsville (also showing statue of Mahuta, third Maori King)
both the runanga and the King movements as attempts on the part of the chiefs to set up their own organised forms of government because of the political vacuum created by the exclusion of the chiefs from the central institutions. The change came during the wars. By that time the relationship between the two peoples had deteriorated. The pressure upon land was met by groups like the King movement with a straight refusal to sell. When the tension broke out in open conflict, the King movement assumed the role of the champion for Maori rights and focussed the protest elements in Maori society. The peace-maker, Wiremu Tamehana, was forced to admit that the European desired not negotiation and compromise but a struggle to secure full political, economic and social control of the Maori people.

The function of the leadership in the King movement was changed, while slight modifications in the basis of authority took place. The political leader, relying on constitutional means for internal as well as external control in Maori society, assumed an aggressive role and the features of the charismatic leader we are to consider next appeared.

While the main pillars of leadership in the King movement were the traditional, ariki, rangatira, kaumatua and tohunga with slight modifications, there were also the educated persons who possessed European skills. They acted as editors of the King’s paper and secretaries and advisers to the traditional leaders. The relationship was one of cooperation and not rivalry. The status of the former was rooted in superior kinship, that of the latter in the skills of the European, harnessed to the appreciation of Maori values and ideals. But the educated persons also changed with their traditional mentors during the Maori-European interface wars. Protest elements came to the fore in the programmes of all classes of leaders as they combined to champion the Maori cause with all the resources at their disposal against the challenge of the European.

1. A to J, 1860, F-3; Gorst, op. cit., pp. 73, 272-273, 279, 280.
2. Views held by late Tita Wetere and other kaumatua leaders in Waikato.
3. The Charismatic Leaders.

The crises in Maori society created by direct conflict with the European turned the sober-minded judicial and political leaders of the pre-war period, into the charismatic leaders of protest against the Europeans. While political leadership revolved around hereditary chiefship, charismatic leadership relied mainly upon the ritual aspects of the traditional category. The tohunga took on the more aggressive leadership of the tribe per medium of the charismatic leader.

There were men holding these positions among the different tribes, although the principal leaders of this kind originated in Taranaki, where pressure on land was intense. Among them were ariki, rangatira, and tohunga. Several were educated in the mission schools and were therefore versed in the Christian ritual and doctrine. Within the charismatic structure were included the prophets, the high priests, and the religo-political leaders of the latter part of the wars war period.

An interesting feature of the charismatic leaders was the clear metamorphoses occurring in their status and function. Distinct stages may be observed as leadership passed from the straight judicial and political beginnings, through to the religious features expressing a strong political function and hence to

1. For the concept of the charismatic leader see: (a) Weber, Max, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, pp.358-372; (b) Gerth, H.H., and Mills, C.W., From Max Weber, London 1948, p.62; Gouldner, Alvin W., Studies in Leadership, New York 1950, pp.60-66; (c) Lasswell, Harold D., Psychopathology and Politics, Chicago 1930, Chap.8; (d) For modern charismatic leaders, see: Lowenthal, Leo, and Guterman, Norbert, Self-Portrait of the Fascist Agitator, in Studies in Leadership, pp.80-90; also Laurence, M., unpublished Master's Thesis, Edinburgh 1953, on Charismatic Authority, pp. 31-36; Maclver and Page, Society, London 1952, p.149; this is the first application of the concept to the New Zealand material, is inclined to acquire, like the bureaucratic leader concept used later, a specialized meaning. The essence of the charismatic leader is the dependence for authority upon supernormal forces. General sociological use of the term stresses agitational features in the charismatic structure. The charismatic leader is also termed the Agitator.


3. Cf. Weber's view described by Gouldner, which implied a rotation of bureaucratic or traditional leadership on the one side with charismatic (agitational) on the other, against a background of increasing rationalization, Studies in Leadership, p.60.
the founder of an organised religious sect, like Te Kooti Rikirangi, the prophet. The chameleon-like changes correspond with the deterioration of Maori fortunes against the European, and the intensification of European pressures upon Maori lands.

The main functions of the charismatic leaders were to oust the Europeans from the country, to consolidate the Maori people, to embody the protest elements within Maori society, and to provide a religious motivation for the struggle against the Europeans.1

The main basis for the authority of the leaders in this class was the charisma.2 The term is used to describe the religious and mystical sources which gave super-human powers to the leaders by means of revelations, visions, dreams and healing practice.

Many of the men in the present classification were of superior or near superior kinship background. Others had been trained as tohunga, or were educated in the mission schools and thus were versed in the newer rituals. In terms of traditional category it was the tohunga, or the tohunga features, in the old society which were now breaking through into what we have called the charismatic leaders.3

Maori society was oriented to meet the threat of destruction from the European. Embodiment of the protests against the threat in the charismatic leaders ascribed definite authority and retained for them an essentially political function.

2. See pp. 25,26, Laurence, Charismatic Authority (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1953, p.32). Charismatic authority is irrational in the sense of being foreign to all rules... The basis for the selection of the charismatic leader is the sign or proof of his divine inspiration, usually a miracle, and his claim is unchallenged so long as he continues to benefit his followers.
3. Ngata and Sutherland, op.cit., pp. 350, 361; cf. Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber, p.52: Weber borrowed this concept from Rudolf Sohm, the Strassburg church historian and Jurist. Charisma, meaning literally gift of grace... characterise self-appointed leaders who are followed by those who are in distress, and who need to follow the leader, because they believe him to be extraordinarily qualified. The founders of world religions and the prophets as well as military and political heroes, are the archetypes of the charismatic leader. Miracles and revelations, heroic feats of valour and baffling success are characteristic marks of their stature. Failure is their ruin.
But not only did the charismatic leaders embody Maori values and sentiment, they were also endowed with European skills, that were linked to Maori ideals.1

From the respectable Kananga and King Movements we turn to the aggressively protest, and so-called nativistic, movements of the Hauhau and Ringatu.

(a) Hauhauism.

The term Hauhauism has a wide application in the present study.2 The original movement was founded by Te Ua Haumene in Taranaki in the early 1860's and spread rapidly throughout the areas of the North Island, where the fighting with the Europeans took place. But there were other expressions of this movement associated later in the war with the names of leaders like Tohu Kakahi, Te Whiti Orongomai and Titokowaru.3 About this same period too, after Tawhiao had succeeded Potatau as King, Hauhauism provided the religious and ritual foundation for the King movement,4 though Tawhiao seemed to have kept some connection with most of the orthodox theologies.

The various versions of Hauhauism, naturally enough, embodied the particular orientations of individual leaders and assumed features from the cultural background of the respective tribes, though certain well defined features common to the different expressions of Hauhauism existed. The niu pole around which the people marched singing special chants and ritual incantations under the supervision

2. The standard work on Hauhauism is Babbage, S.Barton, Dunedin 1937; see also Ngata and Sutherland, Religious Influences, in The Maori People Today, pp. 351-354; A to J, 1864, 44, p.26, and E - 1866, E, E-8, 1870, pp. 3-13; Firth, J.C., Conference with Tamati Ngapora and the King Natives, Auckland 1869; Ward, R., Life among the Maoris of N.Z., London 1872; Cowan, J., The New Zealand Wars, Vol.2, 1923, Chap.I; the writer heard many accounts from his late father, and more recently from Te Kanawa Haerehuka, Kaumatau of Ngatimahuta, and a leading tohunga of the sect today. On Te Whiti and Tohu, see Ward, John P., Wanderings with the Maori Prophets, Nelson 1883, pp. 2-3, 6, 7, 16-17. Oral accounts from Tekunawa, Roore Erueti (Waikato)
4. Ngata and Sutherland, op.cit., p.553; Religious basis of the King movement, known as Pai Marire, strong in Waikato and Manapoto; accounts to the writer from the late Te Pue Herangi, and also from Tu Mokai Katine. The writer regularly attended the daily services (7 a.m. and 7 p.m.) of the Pai Marire Cult in the house of Te Pue Herangi; oral accounts are current among the Kaumatua leaders of Waikato and Manapoto concerning a meeting between Tawhiao and the prophet To Ua in which Hauhauism was accepted by Tawhiao: E ka e toru nga taonga kei tatu ringa ko te Romana, ko te Ingarangi, ko te Weteriana, ko tau ka wha, Pai Marire. Writer first heard this from Marae Erueti, Kawhia.
of the Tiu was an essential part of Hauhau ceremonial. The use, too, of the head of a decapitated British officer as a means of communicating instructions and prophecies was widely made. Certain symbolic acts accompanied by special oral formulae guaranteed protection against the bullets of the European, and included a variety of phrases which were taken from ancient Maori religion, transcriptions into Maori of military and other clichés, and terms from Christianity. Magical powers were believed to reside in the phrases when uttered correctly.

It is interesting to note that the standard of rationality and logical coherence in the uttered ritual formulae deteriorated as the wars progressed and the defeat of the Maori forces became imminent. The strictly religious significance of the Hauhau movement lessened, and Hauhauism became a formal movement to hold the people together and thus promote cohesion.

For this and other reasons some authorities hesitate to call Hauhauism a religion at all. Sutherland and Ngata point out that Maori leaders did not readily agree that Hauhauism was a religion in the same sense as Ringatuism is. By implication, Babbage holds a similar view, for he stresses rather the political purpose in Hauhauism, while European leaders in the orthodox churches would have supported Bishop Hadfield who described Hauhauism in 1865 as a fanatical movement and a political engine for upholding nationality.

Keesing, on the other hand, was far more generous in describing Hauhauism as a form of religious expression. The present writer supports Keesing in the sense that Hauhauism linked its followers with supernatural forces, practised ritual ceremonies, possessed a priesthood and held specific though inadequate

1. Information from the writer's mother and father, also from Te Kanawa Haerehuka.
5. The Changing Maori, p. 72.
rationalisations of the universe. Te Ua Haumene, the accredited initiator of Hauhauism, addressed his incantations to the three persons of the Trinity.¹ The angel Gabriel appeared and spoke to him, while Jehovah, the war god of the Israelites, was also featured in the incantations. The religious character of Hauhauism was real enough to Maori leaders, for, threatened with destruction, deprived of their cultural heritage, these men turned for their salvation from rational and human resources to irrational and supernormal forces.²

The ideologies inherent in Hauhauism and expressed by the charismatic leaders aimed at strengthening the tribes and maintaining their unity in the struggle as Babbage says - to preserve their national existence.³ Some leaders of Hauhauism, while formally rejecting Christianity, and setting aside the Bible, nevertheless retained many of the ideas. For their peculiar situation the Maori people found a ready parallel in the conditions of the Children of Israel kept in bondage by the Egyptians. The positive aspect of the Biblical narrative stating the apocalyptic deliverance of the bondaged people through divine intervention, was stressed by the Maori leaders, and the application to the future destiny of the race was direct. Some leaders said that Jehovah God, others that the angel Gabriel, or some other celestial being, would effect the deliverance through chosen human vessels.⁴ But the objective always was the destruction of the European by the divine forces and the restoration of the Maori people to Canaan, the land of promise, which was another name for New Zealand. During this coming event the Maori people would gain the knowledge of the European arts and sciences, including mastery of the English language, again through the divinely inspired ministrations of the charismatic leaders.

¹. From Te Kanawa Haerehuka; cf. Babbage, op.cit., p.8; Greenwood, op.cit., pp. 4-7.
². The writer's father was a student and a practitioner in Maori religious cults and is the source of much of the information in this section.
⁴. From Te Kanawa Haerehuka; also Ngata and Sutherland, op.cit., p.351; Greenwood, op.cit., p.5.
Such knowledge was conceived as the basis of the power and superiority of the European, while lack of it accounted for the inferior position of the Maori. Together with these more spiritual gifts much of the material possessions now held by the Europeans would be transferred to the Maori. The final goal of all these movements was the Manamotuhake o te Iwi Maori. The concept is related to a form of Maori Home Rule in which the Maori will replace the European possibly with the retention of European institutions manned and officered by Maori personnel. Though vaguely visualised at first, the leaders of this period embodied this political ideal in their plans and their programmes. Put another way, the positive side to the more negative destruction of the European, was the promotion of national self-determination, through the intervention of supernormal forces on behalf of the Maori people.

The main leaders in Hauhau movement assumed the titles of Poropiti or Prophet, Tohunga or Priest and High-Priest. The principals were assisted by disciples upon whom specific responsibilities were placed such as healing practice, preparation of forces before a battle, performance of ceremonials and instruction of laity. The assistants were also given the task of proselytisation. These men went among the tribes publicising the revelations from deity and angels which had been vouchsafed to the Prophet. Leadership in the fighting was assumed by the Prophet himself. It was also to him that the visions appeared and he gave the interpretation of them to the people. His sayings were kept by the people as indicating the future destiny of the Maori, and also showing the more immediate fortunes of the fighting forces. The Prophet devised the ritual formula used by the followers. This formula was revealed to the Prophet

1. From Winiata Piahana; Babbage, op.cit., p.8.
2. From Winiata Piahana.
3. Something of this concept is traceable in the utterances of a minority section of the Ratana and King Movements today.
4. Information from Raumati, the blind tohunga of Te Atiawa, Taranaki, and Te Kanawa Haerehuka; Babbage, op.cit., pp. 8, 9.
in visions. The whole policy of the movement was worked out by the Prophet. Te Ua Haumene instructed his people in their relations with the European, the replies they were to give requests from the European. He it was who said when the fighting and how the fighting should take place to ensure victory. Te Whiti and Tohu later in the conflict laid down a policy of passive resistance against the European, and at one stage only women and children met the Government forces who has been sent to survey some land. Titokowaru, on the other hand, was a very energetic war leader, placing himself at the head of his forces on all occasions. Te Ua Haumene told his people when they went into battle they were to hold up their hands and say 'Hapa Pai Mairre, hau' and no bullet of the European would harm them. This formula was adopted by all the various versions of Hauhauism. In the actual worship ceremony of the niu pole the director was called the tiu or Jew. This title is significant as stressing the Link between the Jews and the Maori people as against the European who were called the Gentiles or Tāuiwi.

Titokowaru, Te Whiti and Tohu were men of high rank. In particular Te Whiti and Tohu, according to Sutherland and Ngata, were both descended from Turaukawa, the most famous Priest-Warrior Chieftain of the early 19th century in Taranaki. But they were also men of learning and education. The same authorities stress the concentration of the Hauhau leadership in the hands of men qualified both in terms of high birth and also of adeptness in Maori and European skills.

The personality of many of the leaders in the jargon of the modern psychologist was of a pathological character. Sutherland regarded Te Ua as abnormal, a feature, he states, not unusual in the founders of such cults. That writer,

3. Te Kanawa Haerehuka.
4. Ngata and Sutherland, The Maori People To-day, p.361.
5. Ibid, p.351.
too, attributes ventriloquial powers to many of the Hauhau leaders. Further, psychological aberrations are attributed the mass hysterical behaviour of Hauhau adherents during some of their ceremonies, while the acts of decapitating enemies, the gouging of eyes of victims, and the drinking of human blood are frequently referred to as examples of reversion to barbarism. The psychological explanation for the behaviour of the leaders is undoubtedly sound. But the cause for such personality deterioration stems from the general disintegration in Maori society under the pressure of European policies. It does seem certain that a disintegrated society reflects itself in abnormal behaviour of members in that society. Maladjustment in society creates maladjustment in personality. On the other hand, leadership drive and significance also seem to arise in these circumstances from abnormal or maladjusted individuals. The charismatic leader in other words is the leader of crises whose experiences in a disintegrating society turns him into a revolutionary.

The cohesion of Hauhauism was maintained by the focal position of its leadership. But there were certain features and elements within it which guaranteed the unity of the group. While Hauhauism cut across kinship bounds spreading from the West to the East, it tended to assume the characteristics of its own tribal and cultural location. The movement was adapted. Even in Taranaki where both Te Ua and Whiti and Tohu movements operated, that associated with Te Whiti and Tohu was a self-contained community set in the village of Parihaka among a subtribe of Taranaki. The latter became less aggressive, acquired passive resistance policies, and omitted deity. It relied upon its own internal organisation for strength, revolving around the person of the leaders, and nourished by festivals of a social and symbolic kind.

1. Sutherland, op. cit., Beaglande, and Firth stress this condition in a situation of change.
2. The writer visited Parihaka in 1949, and saw the old dilapidated houses of Whiti and Tohu in the village; see also A to J, 1882, A-8 to 88, H-14, -1883, A-12; - 1884, Sess 102, A-5; Ward, Wanderings, pp. 1-3, 6, 7, 16-17.
3. The writer has attended some of these feast days held on the 18th of each month at the small village of Ihumatao outside Auckland. The leader was the Kuia, known as Kahu, (The Duchess).
in all the versions of Hauhauism there were elements which were traceable both to the Bible and to Maori traditional sources as well. Quoting from Sutherland and Ngata:

"The resounding Hau which punctuated the ritual and from which the movement took its name was taken from the chorus of the ancient war dance. The niu pole again was not a new feature to the Polynesians nor was the dried head of an enemy. In the case of the King Movement, part of the dance ritual adopted demonstrated the potaka or humming top, another old Polynesian element." 1

Te Whiti and Tohu at their monthly gatherings chanted compositions founded largely on ancient songs and adapted to the theme of oppression and injustice. The chanting was accompanied by the poi dance and the haka. 2 The adaptations from Biblical accounts of the Children of Israel, etc. have already been mentioned. The ritual and ideas taken from familiar elements resulted in fusing the movement together and thus maintaining its solidarity. 3

The phenomena of Nativistic movements is not new in the history of social change situations. 4 The sociologist however does not rest satisfied with the orthodox explanation of the administrator or the European historian concerning reversion to barbarism, etc. This is only partly true and it omits some essential features. Firth as a social anthropologist explains the Cargo cults in the Solomons as an attempt by native peoples to affirm native claims, native community solidarity, native values, in the face of what is conceived to be an impassive, unsympathetic, or hostile outside world. He calls the seeming worthless expenditure of effort on the part of these peoples as part of the symbolic validation given to the idea that the things wanted are morally justifiable.

2. At a competition between tribes in traditional dances held at the Turanga- warfare marae, Ngaruawahia, in 1950, followers of Te Whiti and Tohu won first prize with their display of these dances and songs. The words were a mixture of legend, tradition, history and mythology. An attempt by the writer to record the songs was met with antagonism from the Taranaki kaumatua.
Gluckman similarly advances the theory for explaining Mau Mau in Kenya with all its atrocities, not as a return to the old ways but as a product of Colonialism. In their helplessness against the restrictions imposed upon them, the Kikuyu have organised themselves against the restrictions with the aid of the supernatural. They rely on magic and a developed sorcery.

'Their oaths are like fantasies of what sorcerers in other parts of Africa are reputed to do. The oaths used, as all secret oaths must, include the symbolism of blood and killing near kin, as sorcerers are feared to do. Again there are limited themes for initiatory oaths, blood, sex, and excreta. The release of nihilistic courage, kill and be killed, releases instinctual urges which break the conscience. This is already weakened, since Kikuyu controls which were sanctioned by their religion can no longer operate, and Kikuyu are denied new openings.'

The sociological explanation of Hauhauism runs along these lines. First, it is representing the Maori reaction to European pressure on rights over land. Second, the destruction of those rights were imminent through European victory in war and by virtue of confiscation. Third, Maori controls and sanctions had been eliminated through the process of social change. The Maori leaders turned, in their helplessness and sense of frustration, to the supernormal forces and, what Gluckman termed, nihilistic courage, was released. Fourth, the adoption of elements from traditional sources and from the Bible helped in maintaining group solidarity and also brought hope and confidence in circumstances which offered no other means of escape. Fifth, the behaviour of the leaders was understandable as a method of gaining revenge - a principle inherited from the old time fighting. Sixth, this was an attempt at the reintegration of their society by Maori leaders in a situation of social disorganisation.

(b) Ringatuism.

Ringatuism, founded by Te Kooti Rikirangi, developed in similar circumstances as other sections of Hauhauism. Authorities like Ngata, Sutherland and Greenwood hasten to draw a line of demarcation between the atrocities of Hauhauism and the

2. Ngata and Sutherland, op.cit., pp. 349, 350, 354; see also Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function, pp.81-83, for a proposed theoretical framework.
more strictly religious features of Ringatuism. For our purposes we need to stress the essential connection between Ringatuism and the other movements which are included under the general heading Hauhauism. For one thing, all these movements rose directly out of the situation of Maori-European conflict and tension. Then the motive - that of ousting the European from power with the assistance of supernatural force was inherent in all the movements including Ringatuism. More specifically, the Hauhau sign of the Upraised Hand was used by the Ringatu as a group, and as part of the ritual accompanying the Amen at the end of the prayers.¹

It is true however that whereas there was a tendency with other versions of Hauhauism to turn from the Bible, Ringatuism borrowed freely from large sections of scripture both for its doctrines and ritual.²

Ringatuism developed from the emotional stress of the times induced in Maori society by European pressures. In the course of the fighting there was a hardening in the social situation of the in-group as against the out-group in New Zealand society, although the hardening process was to return to a more rational basis than the earlier reactions of Hauhauism. The quieter atmosphere in the prison at Chatham Island in which the Prophet, Te Kooti, evolved the doctrines of the movement, also aided this more rational development in doctrine and teaching.³ However the fundamental motive was the same, as also was the main ideology.

While revenge was never far from the mind of Maori leaders in the struggle for their national existence - this principle now became a conscious feature in the fight against the European and their Maori allies. Te Kooti was urged on by the desire to revenge himself against the European for unjustly casting him into irons and deporting him from New Zealand.⁴ The betrayal by his own relatives who sided with Europeans, also irked the Prophet. As a result revenge became a primary motive in the Ringatu movement, with its sanction coming from Jehovah, the war God of the Israelites.

1. Most useful account is Greenwood, W., The Upraised Hand, JPS, Vol. 51; The Iconography of Te Kooti Rikirangi, JPS, Vol. 55, pp. 1-14; see also Ngata and Sutherland, op. cit., pp. 354-361. The writer's late father was a tohunga of the Ringatu, who lived at Wainui, the Ringatu headquarters. He was therefore brought up in Ringatu atmosphere from earliest times; see also A to J, 1869, A-3, A-10; - 1870, A-8 to S-C; - 1871, F-1; -1883, A-8.
2. Ringatu theologians claim that their church is essentially Biblical.
3. A to J, 1870, E-5; Hauhauism produced prayers and incantations that had little logical meaning, Ringatuism created a body of doctrine that was coherent.
Ngata and Sutherland stress the element of martyrdom in the structure of Ringatuism. Te Kooti was the martyr who had been shamefully treated by the Europeans and also by his own relatives, and the betrayal was intertwined in the ritual and prayers of Ringatuism. There were two other factors which gave meaning to this motive of martyrdom. One was the national betrayal of the Maori people as a whole and the other was the parallel of the betrayal of Christ. There was not as Ngata and Sutherland rightly state, any comparison consciously made between the prophet and the Christ, but one had a suggestive effect on the other in the thinking of the Ringatu.1

The features of the Ringatu, in addition to being more strictly religious than the other movements, also showed strong trends toward a synthesis of the old and the new.2 In this regard it followed the pattern of the other movements we have been discussing - a grafting of the new on to the old. The monthly meeting date was set for the 12th, the day when the Government completed the transfer of the Wainui Reserve for the use of the movement. Other feast days followed the ancient divisions - the harvest, the seasons for planting. At these meetings the traditional routine was followed. Visitors were welcomed in the old style on the marae. Prayers were added to the welcome. For one whole night the people devoted themselves to intensive religious exercises. This was called 'Te Po Takoto', which was reminiscent of the long night watch kept by a fighting force before battle.3 Traditional apparatus was used in the services such as water and fire. Tapu too was a feature in Ringatu. Cooked food was kept separate from the church building and its services, the latter were highly tapu. The cemetery was tapu, the head of the male was tapu and the Bible was also tapu.4 The touching of tapu objects necessitated ceremonial cleansing by washing in water.

Doctrines were taken from the Bible - with the prophet's own interpretation. The chants and songs used in the services of worship intermingled with the account of

1. Ibid, p. 354.
2. Greenwood, op.cit., p. 25.
4. As a boy, the writer accompanied his father to the sacred places where the latter performed the rituals; when sick, the writer was taken by his father to the water's edge where the curative ritual was administered. These areas are known to Ringatu members. Neither he nor his brothers were permitted to go to the cemetery because of the tapu there. The writer's father kept his Bible hidden in the corner of the house, out of reach: after anyone handled the Bible, hands had to be washed for the ceremonial cleansing.
the incidents in the imprisonment and betrayal of the prophet, with extracts from the Bible, while the musicology of the hymns etc. and the method of rendition were traditional. These were sung in unison by the whole congregation under the leadership of the song lifter - kai hi waiata - as in olden times.\(^1\)

The cohesion of the Ringatu movement was guaranteed by its hierarchy of leadership which pyramided in the person of the prophet, Te Kooti. The Ringatu sign of the Upraised Hand was a mark of identification of members of the movement used during the services of worship.\(^2\) The development of the in-group and out-group relationship with the European at this time also fused the Ringatu people together, with the sufferings of the prophet, stressing the points of conflict between the two racial groups. The feast days which we have mentioned were very popular occasions for the gathering of the people. They worshipped together, they discussed their common problems and they listened to the instructions of the prophet. The Ringatu Church buildings were patterned after traditional style. This not only tied them into the subtribe and tribe but it also set them aside from the European churches, as being different, and most of all as being Maori. The routine of behaviour in the buildings emphasised the separateness of the movement. No cooked food, no tobacco, etc., were to be taken into the buildings. The resting place of the male heads were tapu and not to be trampled over, least of all by women. The visitors to a service came at specific times and at no other; food was partaken outside or in rude shelters at arranged periods. Strict care was taken over attendance at the services and active participation in the exercises. In fact, Ringatu services were characterised by the very full participation as a corporate unity of all members of the group. Then there were the various tapu places at which special rituals and ceremonies were performed.\(^3\) The leaders of the Ringatu knew where such places were, though the laity generally had only vague ideas. But the existence of such tapu places and some knowledge of them served further to promote the cohesion of the movement.\(^4\)

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1. Ngata and Sutherland, op. cit., p. 356.
2. The tohunga placed his hands together, palms facing inwards, directly in front of him; the members used the right hand with open palm facing across his body sideways, fingers together.
3. The sacred water was called Te Wai; in Tauranga healing ministrations were performed at Ohane, at Te Akeake, where sick persons were lowered into the icy cold water at night. The sacred fire was called Te Ahi - at Tauranga, Te Ahi was located in scrub and here the Koha or gift offerings (all coppers) were placed, the essence ascended to the deity.
4. The writer attended many of these gatherings as a youth and participated in the services in Tauranga.
The structure of the movement from the point of view of leadership positions was simple and clear cut. At the head was the Poropiti - the Prophet, Te Kooti himself. He was the focus of the whole movement, both in its military and in its religious aspects. The revelations were vouchsafed to him. He laid down the policy of the movement - he gave it its theology, and selected sections from the Bible to use in the services. The main ideology of the deliverance of the Maori people from European bondage followed the same lines as other aspects of Hauhauism. But there was here a stronger emphasis on the Bible stories and ideas incorporated into the doctrines of the movement. In the guerilla warfare which Te Kooti carried out against the Europeans, he not only placed himself at the head of his forces and took the lead in the fighting, but he also worked out the military strategy for the engagements. Te Kooti said, and the people agreed with him, that his life was charmed because he had a mission to fulfil. At different stages in the fighting leading European officers were detailed to capture Te Kooti, but it must reflect to the skill of the Prophet that he was never caught, though his followers attributed his successes to Divine protection. He was later pardoned as a rebel.

Te Kooti's main assistant was his secretary, Hamiora. Hamiora was one of those men found in Maori communities who possessed qualities of efficiency, and methodical thoroughness in the performance of jobs. He had little education, but he was a faithful follower of Te Kooti. The Prophet, impressed by his modesty and his efficiency, appointed him as his secretary. Hamiora protested that the position was too elevated, and anyway he had had very little education, but Te Kooti insisted, reminding him of the promises of wisdom and knowledge made to the faithful followers. In this case the prophet said, with the exercise of faith, Hamiora would not only be taught his duties from above, but he would become an expert in languages. Among Ringatu folk many stories are current concerning the wisdom and knowledge of Hamiora. It is said that he knew Hebrew and that he read the Bible in the original tongue. His main function seems to have been to

1. Greenwood, op.cit., pp. 34, 49, 52-64.
2. Ngata and Sutherland, op.cit., p. 354. While this information is found in Greenwood, as well as Ngata and Sutherland, the writer heard it from his own father and mother. Te Kooti's life story, in his home, was like that of Robin Hood in the home of a European child.
make copies from selected portions of the Bible to use in the services and the general arrangement of doctrinal teaching in the movement under the supervision of the prophet.¹

The clergy of the movement were called Tohunga, and they were in charge of the services of worship, the instruction of the laity, the ministration of healing rites, and the supervision of the feast days. At the beginning of the movement the Tohunga were selected from the kaumatau heads of extended families, and membership in the Ringatu corresponded with extended family boundaries. In later years, with the growth of active communication with the Europeans, further differentiation took place within the Tohunga structure so that types of Tohunga assumed specialised duties such as those dealing with European law, and those to do with healing and the conduct and supervision of feast days.²

At the lowest rung of the ladder were the Pirihimana or Policemen. These were often chosen from the younger men of Ringatu families and served as an initiation into the pathway that led toward the position of a tohunga. Their duty was to keep order in the services. They stood at various points during the services and prodded anyone who went to sleep. They also saw to it that no one left the marae during the restricted periods at the feast day services.

At first the Ringatu movement revolved around the person of the prophet, and all the members had first hand contact with him either during the fighting or at the feast days. As membership increased the movement dispersed and local branches were set up under the supervision of the Tohunga clergy. The annual gatherings, however, still took place at Te Wainui, where the Prophet had lived, and to these the Ringatu pilgrims came from all over the country. When Te Kooti

¹ Information from writer's father, Eruera Matawha, a Ringatu tohunga, and Te Kaporangi, well-known Tohunga from Tuhoe. These men were associates of Hamiora.

² Greenwood, Ringatu, Upraised Hand, JPS, Vol. 51, pp. 49, 52, 53, 64. The pattern of leadership has undergone changes over the years. Since 1938, the main leader is called Te Poutikanga; he is assisted by an executive committee of twelve and a general secretary.
was being pursued by the Imperial Forces the nucleus of the movement followed him wherever he went. For instance, he was invited by the Maori King Tawhiao to take up his residence in the King Country, and Te Kooti stayed there for some time. When we study the elements that constituted the status of Te Kooti as leader, we must vote first importance to the charismatic background that surrounded his person. While in prison at Wharekauri (Chatham Islands) he had studied the Bible and was struck by the parallels between Israel in bondage and his own condition at Wharekauri. It is said that an Angel appeared to him confirming his appointment as leader of the Maori people. It is further stated that the Angel blinded the eyes of the guard as Te Kooti opened the doors and freed himself and his friends. Another version stated that the Angel opened the doors. The fact is, Te Kooti and his friends bound the gaolers, commandeered a schooner, and returned to New Zealand. This was the foretaste of the delivery anticipated, through Divine intervention. Wharekauri was Egypt, the land of bondage, and New Zealand was Canaan, the Land of Promise - te whenua o te kupa whakaari. The killing of Europeans and his own relatives were all part of his mission. The parallel again was taken from the Bible - the killings the Lord ordered Saul to carry out. Te Kooti said that the European will never capture him, though some of the finest soldiers were assigned to this task. It is alleged that when those pursuing Te Kooti shot at him at close quarters they could see the bullets ricochet from his back, so great was his mana. Undoubtedly Te Kooti was a great guerilla leader, according to any standard, but the people attributed such skill to his charismatic background. Another extension of the gift endowed on Te Kooti is seen in the many healing cases attributed to him that further give the impression that he held in his hand the powers over life and death.

2. Heard from the writer's mother since childhood. Part of the corpus of oral information current in Maori communities; see also Ngata and Sutherland, op. cit., p. 354.
Te Kooti also possessed certain Maori skills that helped to give him his position: he was a competent carver and belonged to a subtribe long renowned for its carving experts. One of his masterpieces of Maori architecture and craft stands to this day at Te Kuiti, while most of the meeting houses used by Ringatu people as church buildings, were carved or otherwise decorated in Maori design. Then, too, Te Kooti was not lacking in European skills. He had been educated in the Mission School at Waerengahika, where he studied the Bible under the famous Williams Missionary family. This factor contributed to the more Christian and Biblical turn the Ringatu movement took.

Kinship elements undoubtedly had some effect in the construction of status. Greenwood contends that Te Kooti belonged to a senior branch of the Ruapani sub-tribe of Te Rongowhakaata tribe. Ngata and Sutherland are also careful to stress this point. While this may be true, the actual effect upon leadership would not have been very substantial except perhaps in a negative sense. There is a tendency in subsequent writings both among Maori and European experts to attribute, after the event, some superior kinship status to persons who have made their mark on Maori society. This is done under the mistaken view that Maori leadership must necessarily follow a superior kinship patterning during the period of social change.

Te Kooti's main claim to status as leader lay in his charismatic background. Kinship in his case helped to allay criticism of his attempts at leadership. While leaders in Taranaki were drawn from the superior kinship classes, Te Kooti qualified from near superior kinship augmented very strongly by the charismatic background and his own personal qualities. He not only focussed the values in

1. Te Tokangamii-a-Noho, at Te Kuiti, embodying some of the finest Maori craft work, was constructed by Te Kooti.
society at this stage, but he possessed skills to carry out the programme embodying those values. This is of prior importance.

Two trivial matters have often been mentioned in descriptions of the prophet, but not given any weight. These were that Te Kooti had one finger missing and that he had a white horse.¹ In a Maori community these seemingly trivial, but out of the ordinary features, assumed a particular significance. People talked about them, thereby setting the prophet apart from the rank and file. The white horse of Te Kooti especially, helped in the maintenance of prestige among his followers. In later years, Ringatu people have elevated this white horse into a mythical creature. The successor to Te Kooti, some believe, will be indicated by an association with the white horse of the prophet.²

Status was maintained by the growing formalisation of the movement which Te Kooti led.³ His sayings were treasured by his followers as indicating his mana and power. The story of his martyrdom was enshrined in the chants of the movement, thus the prestige of the leader was kept intact.

Despite the misguided attempts to separate Te Kooti and his movement from the general Hauhau movements during this period, Te Kooti cannot be taken out of the social context which joins him to the leaders such as Te Ua Haumene, Whiti and Tohu and Titokowaru. Te Kooti, like them, was a champion of Maori rights. True, he established a Maori church that achieved a degree of orthodoxy, but in this way he was, like the others, merely reintegrating Maori society, disorganised as it was by the pressures from the European. Te Kooti belonged to the succession of charismatic leaders - the prophets of the Maori race, and his movement performed an important function, strengthening the protest motivations against the encroachments of the European.⁴

¹. From Eruera Matawha.
². Current among Ringatu people in Tuhoe, Ngatiporou, and Ngatiranginui.
³. Cf. Weber's analysis of the change from the charismatic to the bureaucratic leader; the irrational assumes rational features.
⁴. Ngata and Sutherland, op.cit., p. 354. Te Kooti's successor will reveal his identity after he finds the prophet's secret burial place.
We have now completed our survey of the movements which provided Maori leadership with the immediate context for its operation during this period. The stress has necessarily been upon the contextual framework, for the reason that leadership is meaningless without the network of social relations in which it finds status and where it performs its functions. Leadership operates within a group.

Our task is now one of further examining the above movements to discover their main features, and to see how these have a bearing on the type of leadership we find in them.

All the movements described arose out of the turmoil of feeling, bitterness and sense of frustration which characterised Maori people during the period of inter-social antagonism and conflict.¹ Their origins may be traced either directly or indirectly to the destruction of Maori land rights and the repercussions from that fact back into Maori society.²

Maori leaders attempted the reintegration of their own society as a means toward adjustment to the situation of crises. It is interesting to note that prior to the wars both the runanga and the King movement aimed at the establishment of judicial and governmental machinery in Maori communities, largely based upon the indigenous structure of the marae social centre. The advent and the continuation of the wars, however, saw changes in the King movement that turned it into a separatist organisation, whereas before it had encouraged the incorporation of the Maori systems of control into the corpus of New Zealand society.

The next stage in the process was to embody the protest elements in Maori society in semi-religious organisations, the avowed object of which was the destruction of the European. The emphasis on the religious elements at this

juncture would suggest that Maori leaders were forced to meet the external pressures by reliance upon the assistance of non-physical and supernormal forces. The divine was brought in to intervene on behalf of the weakened Maori people.

These factors gave a peculiar orientation to classes of leaders, and these were essentially of the charismatic kind. The whole basis of charismatic authority was found in the leader's link with spiritual sources of power that communicated with him in the form of visions, dreams and other revelatory techniques. This kind of leader further embodied in his position the protest elements among the Maori people against threat to the ideals which the Maori considered to be worthwhile striving to preserve.¹

All the movements were rooted in the traditional social structure. The Runanga superimposed borrowed European methods and procedures upon the indigenous foundations of the ancient assembly of the people.

From the runanga movement there gradually grew the superstructure of the King movement - but even here in the King movement the outlines coincided with the federal formation of the subtribes in the tribe - under the supervision and direction of the ariki. The resemblance to the form of Government - Provincial Chambers and General Assembly - established in 1852 among Europeans, facilitated the assimilation of many features from the latter into the King movement.²

The implication of the foregoing facts for leadership is quite obvious. The leadership of the movements was substantially that of the traditional kind, the tohunga and the warrior chief had come through into the leadership of the Maori people. In Taranaki the leadership of the aristocracy was very marked.³ As a generalisation arising from the empirical data it may be stated that in times of crisis Maori society relied for its leadership upon the logical heads of the tribe and subtribe.

² From Te Kanawa Haerehuka.
³ Ngata and Sutherland, op. cit., pp. 350, 356, 361.
On the other hand there was quite an extensive borrowing of elements from European culture, including laws, procedures, terms, ritual, symbols of rank, equipment and instruments of identification. Social change, as Firth has stressed, is irreversible and although Maori leaders attempted to recall the past, this was not altogether possible. As a result Maori leaders adapted their movements to fit the situation as they found it. The leadership class, too, included within its structure status-giving factors from the European. The knowledge and skill of the European in methods of warfare, in organisation, in ideals and values, were not very far from the total ingredients that gave authority to the leaders in all these movements. Both the leaders and their movements showed features of a synthesis of new and old elements.

mention has been made of the personality structure of the charismatic leaders in a situation of social disintegration. The resulting maladjustment seems to suggest that a leader of crises is necessarily revolutionary - the dynamic for action coming from the condition of maladjustment in the society which is reflected in the individual personality.

Perhaps of importance, too, during this period, is the existence of the rationalisation of the leaders. This not only gave purpose and direction to the movement, but also helped to bind the members together. The resort to the Bible is understandable in view of the fact that this was the main book in the Maori language, and it provided a basis for religion as well as political science. The parallels between Israel and the Maori people in similar historical circumstances gave the Maori leaders the material for their rationalisations.

2. Elements, p. 86.
3. Ngata and Sutherland, op.cit., p. 355; These parallels between Israel and the Maori are current in most Maori communities today; see Greenwood, op.cit., p. 21.
LEADERSHIP IN MODERN MAORI SOCIETY.

MODERN MAORI LEADERS 1900-1953.

CHAPTER 9.

Section 1 - Leaders in present day traditionalist society.

General.

The beginning of the 20th century brought the Maori people round from a feeling of apathy, frustration and resentment to a growing sense of hope and an awakening confidence in their future as an integral part of a New Zealand society. This changed reaction was reflected in the steady rise in population about 1900, and was due in no small measure to the emergence of a corps of educated Maori leaders who were able to exert a powerful positive influence upon the forces and direction of social change.¹

The European, with his greater numbers and more comprehensive control, was dominant. The disproportion in populations and possession of power, coupled with the dependence of the Maori upon the European, resulted first in improved relations between the two groups in contrast to the conflict and antagonism of the 1860's, and second, in drawing the Maori people closer in still as a subsystem of the wider New Zealand society.²

1. Sutherland, The Maori People Today, pp. 402-405; Firth, Economics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Maori Leadership In Social Change 1900-1953</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Classes</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Maori Sponsored</td>
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<tr>
<td>Traditional; Ariki</td>
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<td>Kaumatua, tohunga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maori</td>
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<td>Ruia, educated</td>
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| **Status**                                              |
| Maori sponsored                                        | Maori-European sponsored | European sponsored |
| Superior kinship, charisma, Maori skills, Maori ideals and values | General kinship, ethnic affiliation, Membership in Maori and European institutions, Maori and European skills, Maori values and ideas, Formalised positions. | Membership in European institutions, European values and skills, European ideals, European symbols. |

| **Roles**                                               |
| Maori sponsored                                        | Maori-European sponsored | European sponsored |
| Social, ceremonial symbolic functions                  | Mediation between two societies. Adjustment of Maori society. Transmission of values. Representation of Maori to European Agent of change, Reintegration of Maori society, Protest, Blend of cultures | Transmission of values Agent of change, Assimilation of Maori society, Representational of European to Maori. |

| **Contextual Background**                               |
| Maori traditionalalist society;                         | Dual Frame of organisation: Maori and European systems, Specialised associations, Maori social structure | European systems and institutions, European Bureaucratic systems |
| Impregnated with European values, ideas, procedures, practices, Circle of Maori ideals, beliefs, sentiment, etc. | |

| **Degree of Mobility**                                  |
| Maori sponsored                                        | Maori-European sponsored | European sponsored |
| Partial                                                | Complete - Bilingual, and bicultural | Partial |
1. **Traditionalist Society.**

In spite, however, of the more intensive social changes that have occurred within the last 50 years in Maori society, the interrelations within the waka, the iwi, the hapu, and even the whanau, still dominate the thinking, attitudes and relationships of Maori with Maori and Maori with European.¹

The tribal confederations of Te Arawa, Waikato-Maniapoto, Ngapuhi, the Takitimu and Horouta tribes on the East Coast, Matatua in the Bay of Plenty and Aotea in the Taranaki district, are some of the recognised waka amalgamations that are rooted in their ancient tribal boundaries.

There is, of course, no political importance attached to the amalgamations today, though certain legal arrangements tend to give firmness to the waka outlines. For instance the Trust Boards set up in Te Arawa, Taranaki, Waikato-Maniapoto and Ngaitahu of the South Island, with two more proposed for Whakatohea and Ngapuhi to administer compensation monies for alienated land and marine rights, coincides with the waka cluster of tribes. Then the Maori Parliamentary electorates, the circuits of the Maori land court, the tribal committee organisation, all superimpose a formal framework on the waka grouping.²

In purely Maori circles, the symbolic waka leadership is recognised, if not nationally as in Waikato-Maniapoto, at least locally as with the Roretana family of Ngaiterangi, Tauranga, but the waka combination, though loose and faint in form, insignificant in political functions, nevertheless helps Maori groups to feel a sense of unity and identity.³

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1. I am indebted to Dr Little for the term 'traditionalist society', signifying the remnants of the waka, iwi, hapu and whanau. Ngata, Tribal Organisation in The Maori People Today, pp. 162, 163, passim; cf. pp. 1-3.
2. Ngata, ibid, pp. 163, 173-175.
3. The writer is a member of the Ngatiranginui tribe, which comes of the Takitimu Canoe; though Ngatiranginui and Ngatikahungunu have lived in different parts of New Zealand, there is still a feeling of unity between the groups meeting today.
The iwi remains within the waka foundations. Although there is no longer any political powers in the iwi as in ancient times, it still retains a hold over the lives and minds of the descendants of a common ancestor.

Obstacles to endogamous marriage are less strictly emphasized, though persons brought into a tribe are not fully accepted, or at least sentiment ties the migrants to their own tribal group.

Like the waka, the tribe is fixed in specific territories inherited from the ancestors. Village centres, old battle grounds, food resources, and other features of tribal lands, though now owned by the European are still regarded with sentiment by the various tribes.

Formal arrangements like Maori school boundaries, sports organisations and competitions, church affiliations and local administrative devices also provide some kind of framework.1

The majority of tribes do not acknowledge superior kinship in their active leadership, for authority is dispersed and there are new factors giving status. However, when the members of the tribe meet during the mortuary, or other ceremonials on the marae, the people know who the tuakana family is according to the genealogies and varying degrees of recognition are duly accorded to it.2

Into the tribe new institutions have come - religion, education, law, politics, government and commercial organisations to share the interests and the loyalties of the people.

2. Ngata, A to J, G-10 (1931) 'There is abundant evidence to show that the institution of chiefship has survived in a modified form the derangement caused by the influences of western civilisation. The student who is privileged to observe from the inside the constitution of Maori society today becomes aware of the existence of an influence permeating it, and to which a respectful deference is paid. He will find it running through a family group, through a subtribe, and so forth, until at some point he reaches its source. Whether its outward form is a group of elders or some person, its opinion or word is accepted for the guidance of what appears to be an organised community.'
The hapu is the compact group in the village, attached to the marae. Gone are the ancient types of buildings made of rough timber and raupo (typha angustifolia) with no floors or windows. Institutions, too, such as the whare wananga, the wai tapu, the tuahu and turuma are no more; that is to say, no more in their old forms. The underlying needs, however, are supplied by systems that come from the European. The Church, the school and modern sanitary arrangements stand in the marae confines forming with the meeting house and the new dining rooms the social core of the village and hapu.

Communal water supplies, electricity, steam cookers, European foods and other amenities may be included in the marae facilities, but to the hapu the marae complex retains its social meaning as of old; this is the kohanga, the cradle of the subtribe. The tangihanga (mortuary rites), the welcome to visitors and other gatherings are held here in a manner and atmosphere that belies the air of modernity and sophistication.

The leaders in the subtribe are those possessing the skills needed in the multitudinous situations which confront the hapu, both in their interaction with the European and among themselves, but general kinship background is a prerequisite.

The life of the hapu, as with the iwi and the waka, is invaded by European organisations, values and interests. Additions are made to the social structure of the village community.

The whanau is slowly but surely breaking up into nuclear units, though the smaller family group is not yet completely severed from the influence of the whanau. Land is owned in whanau holdings, the name of the original procreator of the whanau is assumed by most, if not all, the members as a surname, while

1. Cf. The account of the traditional Village of Poike, pp. 75-77, 82, 83; Best, Vol.2, pp. 373-374; Firth, Economics, pp.80-81.
the symbolic leadership is in the hands of the current kaumatua or kuia. Within the hapu the whanau groups work together, as more or less autonomous bodies, providing leadership for the hapu and the labour force required at the communal gatherings. Sentiment and integration within the whanau framework is stronger than that between whanau and whanau in the village and hapu.1

Embedded in the background of traditionalist society are ideals, systems of values, a body of beliefs and practices which find an expression in the existing classes of traditional leaders. Of relevance are the ideas and beliefs in the field of Maori medicine. There is a mate Maori, Maori sickness caused by the violation of Maori ideals and prohibitions, in contrast to the mate Pakeha, European derived sickness. No doctor can cure the former, only the modern counterpart of the tohunga of ancient times can do this.2

In addition there are the current confusions inherent in Maori traditionalist society due to the impact of the codes, the techniques and methods from the European. Such confusions create an atmosphere in which the tohunga, the healer, the prophet and the seer thrive.3

2. Leaders in Traditionalist Society.

(a) Ariki.

The apex of the leadership pyramid in the Maori traditionalist society is still the old time ariki.4 He is the paramount chief heading clusters of tribes and subtribes which have become, or are in the process of becoming, major tribes. The data show several of the confederation of subtribes paying varying degrees of deference to the ariki families in their midst. The acknowledgment may be

1. See pp. 254-263.
2. Ngata and Sutherland, pp. 360-361.
3. See pp. 226-224; Gouldner, Studies in Leadership; Ngata and Sutherland, op.cit.
Plate 10.

The Ariki greets his visitors.

Wiremu Te Waharoa
(Tumuaki of the King movement)

E. Timkatene, T. Ropiha
M.P. Ngatikahungunu

Koroki Te Rata Mahuta
(Maori King)
in the form of the genealogical references to senior descent; the affording of special opportunities and privileges in tribal ceremonials and general affairs, or only in nodding recognition of a sentimental and emotional kind.

The status of the *ariki* rests as of old upon superior, as distinct from general kinship. Primogeniture is the constructive principle, with the stress upon the male sex. The *ariki* descent moves down from the captain of one or other of the ancestral canoes, but the *ure tu*, or male first born line enhances the prestige of the *ariki* while interconnections with other lines of similar order also reinforce the *mana* of the *ariki*. Intermarriage among the *ariki* is still something to be talked about and discussed by the tribe with an eye to suitable alliances. With the greater sophistication developing among the younger people, sometimes because of the mutual physical attraction between them, they themselves have scant regard for background of birth, although the attitude of the older people within the tribe frequently checks such feelings from getting too far out of line.

Wealth adds to the prestige of the modern *ariki* position, though it is not necessarily the creator of social status in traditionalist society. Today wealth primarily means possession of money and control of economic resources to enable the *ariki* to carry out projects for communal welfare, the entertainment of visitors and the establishment of tribal marae facilities.

The personal qualities of successive members of the *ariki* families have always added distinction to the line - either through war, or in the arts of peace. On the other hand, weakness in this respect has given some other members an opportunity to come forward, illustrating the principles basic to the structure of leadership - specialisation of function and delegation of

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1. See section on the basis of status, supra. A distinction is made between superior and general kinship connections. General kinship is acquired through descent from a tribal ancestor and gives membership in a group. Superior kinship connections come through special senior lines of descent and may theoretically be superimposed upon general kinship; see p. i.
authority.\(^1\)

Formalisation and election are also factors that go to confirm the status of the ariki. The formalisation may not be legally constituted by European institutions, but created rather by the consensus of opinion among members of a tribe or of several tribes in accordance with customary practice, and perhaps assisted by the necessary procedural techniques of the European.\(^2\)

Inherent in the senior line of descent down to the present is the intangible charisma. This comes out in certain ritual roles of the ariki, in the tapu attributed his person, and the consequent comparative isolation imposed upon him. It may also be seen in the symbolic nature of the position.

The sense and feeling for history are strong in traditionalist society, and these factors weave an aura around certain ariki families whose positions were established in the past. It is interesting to note that not one of the present ariki lines are of recent origin, they are all rooted in historical times.\(^3\)

The internal organisation, too, of tribal confederations, the large numbers in its population and the strength of its cohesion contribute to the maintenance of the ariki. Population and cohesian stimulate the preservation and transmission of ideals, beliefs and sentiments, that in turn provide the ariki with a strong social background.\(^4\)

Then there are the semi-protest forces that intertwine themselves around the position of the ariki created by conflicts in the past with the European,

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3. See pp.25-26, 52, 177, 178; see section on Parliamentarians for tendency to succeed in families.
4. No relevant statistics are available to the Writer, but he has lived and worked among Waikato, Ngatituwhareto, Te Arawa and Ngatiporou and has been impressed with the solidarity of tribal life and the strength of the population; note that 73% of the total Maori population live in the Auckland province where these tribes are situated.
A. At Turangawaewae Marae, Ngāruawhia, today (strong social organization reflected in quality of craftsmanship)

B. At Whatiwhatihoe, 1870s. (Temporary shelter during Maori-European Wars)
or by the very fact that the ariki symbolises Maori values and institutions which are being threatened by the domination of European systems. The sense too of frustration and uncertainty ever present in Maori traditional society engulfed as it is with the overwhelming influences from European sources, compel members of the society to seek for some sense of security in the shadow of the ariki and other traditional leaders. All this adds up to making the ariki the focus of attention.¹

It is probably this embodiment of values, the focussing of Maori sentiment, the fixing and preserving of Maori culture, that summarises the principal function of the ariki in modern times. He is, by virtue of being the highest Maori sponsored type of leader, a logical conservative. Hei pupuri i te mana. To hold on to Maori prestige.²

The method paradoxically enough is to refrain from active participation in movements but rather to exercise a silent and passive, symbolic leadership. The strength of the ariki is in his isolation from the mundane affairs of the tribe. On the other hand his presence is necessary to add dignity to proceedings, although he may not speak. He may be the figurehead in diplomatic negotiations with the European or with other Maori groups, but he is usually hedged about by other leaders such as the kaumatua, the educated leader and the tohunga, sharing the duties the sanction of which come from the ariki.³

Perhaps illustrations from the raw material will make these points more clear:—

1. This is very evident in Waikato, where the ariki families represent to the people the bulwark of Maori ideals as contrasted to the civil servants, etc., who symbolise European values.
2. See p. 172.
3. In Waikato the approval of the ariki is necessary for the execution of any project among the people. A tohunga secures permission from the ariki to practice there. A Church organisation defers to his wishes in its mission activities. Maori adult education was introduced by the writer through the ariki family.
The best known ariki families today are, Koroki Te Rata Mahuta, the Maori King of the Waikato-Maniapoto Confederation of tribes; Te Waharoa of Ngatihaua; Hoani Te Heuheu of Ngatituwharetoa; Te Amohau of Te Arawa; the Reedy family of Ngatiporou and Rostana of Ngaterangi and Pahi Turoa of Whanganui.

In all cases superior kinship is the primary factor in status. Koroki Mahuta comes of the line from Hoturoa, the Captain of Tainui canoes. The present family is known as Te Kahui Ariki - the aristocratic family, but Koroki is also related to the senior lines of descent from the other ancestral canoes. Through Mahinarangi, who married Turongo of Tainui, he comes from Tamateapokaiwhenua of the Takitimu canoe. By the male line he descends from Tamatekapua, Captain of Te Arawa.1 Te Heuheu is ariki of Ngatituwharetoa and descends from Ngatoroirangi, the Tohunga and Navigator of Te Arawa. Some say that Ngatoroirangi, not Tamatekapua, was Captain of Te Arawa.2 By inter-marriage, the family has been linked with other leading families. Through his Mother, Makeroa Reedy, Arnold Reedy comes of the finest families of Ngatiporou, back to Tuwhakairiora, Te Kani-a-Takirau, and Hinematioro.3

Koroki Mahuta married his own cousin, Te Atairangikahu, as the person fitted for his mate. The marriage of his only daughter, Piki, is of importance to the people, and has been the topic of meetings of various times. The other members of the Kahui ariki, Te Marae and her sister, Hera, are carefully guided in their choice of husbands, not only by their parents, but by the kaumatua leaders of the tribe.4 The history, too, of these ariki families shows the contribution made by successive holders of the title to the prestige of the position. Te Rauanganga was a tohunga in Waikato; Potatau, his son, a warrior of renown, who led the forces of the tribe against Taranaki and Ngatitoa; Tawhiao, his heir, was a seer and wise man whose sayings provide the Waikato and Maniapoto peoples today with a spate of ready made philosophy. The first Te Heuheu and others that succeeded him were men of high fighting qualities as well as tohunga of influence, both at home and abroad. Te Heuheu held the centre of the Island and his mana was respected. Te Waharoa was also a fighting man of the calibre of Te Rauparaha and Hongi Hika. His son, Wiremu Tamehana, was in contrast a man of peace. He was one of the founders of the King movement — indeed he was the statesman behind the negotiations with the Europeans and with other tribes in the establishment of the Maori King. The present holder of title basks in that reflected glory.5

1. Records of the Tutuku Committee, Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaurawhia; see pp. 21-22.
2. Tapora Teia, Kaumatua, Tapuika subtribe, Te Arawa.
3. Reweti Kohere, Anne Ngata; Smith, S. Percy, Wars of the Northern, JPS, Vol. 9, p. 146.
4. Some kaumatua in Waikato object at the concentration of marriages in the Kahui ariki (Maori Royal Family) in the Ngatiwhawhakia subtribe.
5. Tame Reweti, Ngatimaniapoto.
Plate 12.

A. The Ariki and his marae - principal village and marae of the Waikato-Maniapoto Confederation of Tribes.

A Hui at Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia (open ground in front of meeting house). Mahinarangi Assembly Hall with Turongo King's Residence joined on to side. (Mahinarangi was Turongo's wife - ancestors of Maori King).

B. Entertainment on the marae. The Poi Dance. Kimikimi Dining Room in background, seating about 400 persons one sitting; communal kitchens, steam cookers, etc. attached. Hangi ovens at back.

C. Entertainment on the marae. The Canoe Poi Dance - journey from Polynesia.
King Koroki Te Rata Mahuta entertains the Queen at his Turangawaewae marae. Leaving Mahinarangi. (greenery and dark apparel worn by women symbols of mourning for Queen's father).
Without any doubt the formalisation imposed on the position of the Maori King, through his election from several candidates for this high position, marked him out for special attention. Though the Maori King was never acknowledged by law, there was a Maori Parliament set up by the people themselves with all the various institutions supporting it called Te Kauhanganui which reinforced the position. All the Maori Kings since Potatau's election have succeeded to the position by means of elaborate Coronation rites, commemoration of which is held annually. Supporting the King is a Council of twelve iakoatau leaders, while the Tainui Trust Board, a legally constituted body, is also regarded as a 'footstool' of the King. These help to formalise the ariki position. The principle of formalisation was also invoked recently when the question of a successor to the Tamaki, the President, the other hereditary position in the King movement, arose. The rightful heir from the Waharoa family predeceased his father. His son and a younger brother were candidates for the position, and Ngatihaua met to elect the new Tamaki. The brother was chosen on a show of hands, the voting being 75 per cent to 25 per cent (roughly). The grounds for the decision was that the deceased person had forfeited his anticipated rights through death, therefore the title should pass not to his son, but to his younger brother. (The older members were females and were therefore ineligible).

Waikato, Ngatiporou, Ngatituwharetoa, Arawa and Waikato-Maniapoto are tribes well integrated and settled with the social and cultural life centred in recognised marae. Maori values, in some cases intermixed with European ideals, are very real and meaningful. These, as we have stated, are important factors in nourishing the ariki positions. Then, too, Waikato was a centre of protest against the European, while Te Heuheu of Ngatituwharetoa opposed signing the Treaty of Waitangi, and for a long time turned deaf ears to missionary advances. Ngatiporou was more or less isolated from European contacts due to the situation of its territory. These features helped each tribe to maintain its comparatively strong integration centred in important ancestral descents.

Finance provides a necessary basis for the ariki position. The fulfilment of obligations incumbent upon an ariki is almost entirely dependent upon the availability of ready supply of money. The King movement has functioned largely through the donations of its people. Recently money for Koroki was obtained from levies placed upon the sale of whitebait caught in the Waikato River. The annual poukai feasts held in the main marae centres also brought in money from the donations made for the meals provided on these special days. The establishment of the Tainui Trust Board brought money into Waikato and Maniapoto, compensation for land confiscated in the last century. A set amount is put aside for Koroki to help him fulfill his obligations. Other tribes are not so financially sound.

1. The Kauhanganui as an active body no longer operates. However several Maori leaders like Te Hautanawhea, Ngatihaua; Ripe Hoapa, Waikato; Te Moana, Ngatimaniapoto advocate its re-establishment.
2. From Archdeacon Te Karira, stationed at Rukumoea, an authority on the Waharoa family. The writer has worked among these groups.
3. Over 70 per cent of the total Maori population is found in the Auckland province, where these tribes are located. They tend to live in large concentrations.
4. Karana Tamaki, member of the Tainui Trust Board.
A. The Assembly House and Residence of an Ariki, symbols of rank.

Mahinarangi Assembly House, Turangawaewae marae.
(Interior decorations and furnishings a blend of Maori and European.)

(Mahinarangi - moon glow of the Heavens)
(Turongo - I stand and listen to the word from afar).

B. Turongo King's Residence, Turangawaewae manae
(Blend of Maori and European features)
Banquet Hall for entertaining European visitors.
Ngatiporou is fortunate to have Trust Funds from Land Development schemes, and also to have in its territories some of the most wealthy Maori farmers in the country. From these sources the tribal funds are replenished to give hospitality to visitors, to donate to worthwhile causes in the name of the tribe, and its ariki leaders, or build worthy carved meeting houses.1

Some of the functions of the modern ariki may be illustrated from the following instances:

About eight years ago Maori rights in the King Country were threatened by the drive from liquor and other interests to break the pact which prohibited the establishment of licensed hotels in that area. Koroki led the deputation of some 600 people to Parliament as protest, but he uttered not a word. Tita Wetere and the writer presented the Maori case on his behalf.2

Te Heuheu, too, was responsible for the movement in the late 1940’s that despatched Lawyer Sampson to Britain to appeal for a consideration of the Treaty of Waitangi before the Privy Council. In both cases Koroki and Te Heuheu were symbolic leaders, acting as the mouthpiece of the Maori people as a whole in protest against encroachment in their rights.3

Pei Jones, a leader of the Waikato Maniapoto peoples, was very ill. The malady was diagnosed as cancer, and he was brought to Koroki for healing ministrations, because curative magic is associated with the position of the King. He recovered.

When the writer left New Zealand for the United Kingdom in 1952, he was brought into the presence of the King, and protective ritual was performed over him by Koroki as was customary.

When the Queen visited Turangawaewae marae, Koroki received her, though it was a Kaumatua who recited the welcome ritual and it was an educated person who translated his speech into English.

Te Heuheu is a chairman of the tribal timber mill; he presides at the meetings of the Company, and the reports are sent out under his name. But the brains behind the scheme, the hand that guides it all is Pei Jones, an educated leader. The educated person is the Managing Director of the whole concern - the ariki is the symbol.4

On the other hand, we do find men of high birth trained in the schools and skilled in both Maori and European matters.

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1. Hanara Reedy, Reweti Kohere.
2. Part of Waikato raised objections at the association of Koroki with the King Country Pact Committee. Rejection by the Government, it was thought, would injure the mana of the King. Others felt he was the Voice of the Maori people and should therefore identify himself with the protest against violation of Maori rights.5
3. From Claude Amaru, Sampson’s Clerk at the time.
4. Pei Te Hurimil Jones.
Te Paki-o-Matariki (The Report of the Plaidies)
Crest of the Maori King – symbolising
the mana of Maori aristocracy.

(By courtesy the King's Council).
Hanara Reedy is a Maori orator in his own right, while his knowledge of European matters is well illustrated by the fact that he was a member of the delegation to the United Nations Organisation, and he was also a valued member of a Royal Commission. Yet Hanara pays deference to his kaumātua, he joins with them in the ceremonies on the marae, but he does not supersede them. He does, however, lead the Ngatiporou on all major occasions, and his understanding of European matters is certainly a valuable feature in this leadership.1

The symbols of rank of the ariki are more communal than personal. These are found in his marae, carved meeting houses, and well equipped dining rooms. But there are personal signs. These may be material, such as a fine motor car, a worthwhile house, lands and a farm. Positions on organisations are also signs of his importance. In Waikato there are all these signs.

Koroki has the Guest House at Turangawaewae - one of the most beautifully carved buildings in the country; this is called Mahinarangi. Joining it is Turango, the King's residence. Both buildings blend Maori and European forms of architecture and decorative crafts.2 The most modern European amenities are installed. There is at the marae, the dining room, Kimikimi. Attached to this building are steam cookers, and large places for the preparation of food. Surounding the marae are sleeping houses and flower gardens and green lawns. These material aspects are symbols of the mana of Koroki.

Koroki has a crest, Te Paki-o-Matariki, the Report of the Pleides.3 This is worked into his standard which flies on important occasions. There is a newspaper, the King's paper, called Te Paki-o-Matariki.4 (The King has a fine motor car, he has a farm and he has servants in his house.) There are qualities of mind and spirit which distinguish him - he is hospitable and generous. He works with the people, drives a tractor, and is a keen farmer, but the focus of his work is the welfare of the tribe and the promotion of its good name.

1. Reweti Kohere, Hanara Reedy.
2. See Plate 13.
3. See Plate 13C.
4. Te Paki-o-Matariki is printed at the Offices of Waikato Times, Hamilton, when any special announcement of important meetings and policy matters require it. The King's approval is needed before Te Paki is issued. The writer edited several issues.
A. The Koroki Deputation to Parliament - on the King Country Pact.
(The Ariki is accompanied by Kaumatua leaders)

B. Kaumatua leaders of Waikato today.
Kaumatua. The Kaumatua is the most universal leader in traditionalist Maori society, and is found in all tribes and subtribes. Formerly, the kaumatua was the head of the extended family. Though the outlines of the extended family are less clearly defined than hitherto, it does exist, giving recognition to the oldest member, as the kaumatua. A qualification of the kaumatua for leadership within the tribe or subtribe is what we have termed, general kinship, in contrast to the superior kinship which characterises the Ariki. General kinship stems from the genealogical connection with the common ancestor of the group and is the initial badge of membership in the tribe or subtribe. The kaumatua is already head of his own constituent group, the extended family, and for that reason he moves forward as a potential leader in the subtribe and the wider tribe.

While superior kinship is informally recognised in the case of one kaumatua as compared with other kaumatua heads of extended families in the same subtribe, the actual effective leadership does not necessarily depend upon this superior kinship. The superior kinship may be crystallised by the application of the courtesy term, tuakana, to a specific kaumatua, as against 'teina' (younger). Such superior kinship cases are rarely free from some other neutralising factor. A kaumatua may be tuakana according to one line of the genealogies, but he is teina in another, so much are the genealogies confused by intermarriage within the group itself. Old age is also an important qualification for the kaumatua. The hina, or grey hair,

1. See pp. 43-44.
2. See pp. 261-275, 297-299.
3. The writer's father was a tuakana according to some genealogies in the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe, but he received no special deference on that account from the subtribe. He was a kaumatua leader for quite other reasons. Others again took a far greater leadership part than he did.
4. This deference to age was found in pre-European society. See p. 24.
signifies the possession of experience productive of wisdom and knowledge. There is also a feeling in traditionalist society that the kaumatua bridges the generations from the ancestors to the present. He was associated with the old people whose memory is hallowed today. Indeed something of the mystic touch is attributed the kaumatua, and one turns to him naturally in times of trouble. Age affects the status of other members in the family of the kaumatua. While a younger brother may participate freely in the activities of the group, the feeling is that the elder brother is the main person within the extended family, and he must not be superseded. This deference to the kaumatua is more marked in the relationship with his sons. No son of a kaumatua may speak in the assemblies of the tribe or subtribe in the presence of his father, or even if his father is absent. He will be told by the other kaumatua to fetch his father or consult him. This is regarded as a 'takahī', a trampling upon the mana of the kaumatua father.

The relationship between the son and father is the cause of many problems in the traditionalist Maori society. Training in kaumatua functions is no longer the responsibility of special institutions as in olden times, nor have people nowadays the time to attend to such matters. The only training ground is therefore, the actual ceremonials and gatherings of the groups where the kaumatua may be seen in action by the younger generation.

1. Frequently two brothers clash in competition for subtribal recognition as representative of a whānau on the komiti marae, etc.; however, age generally takes the upper hand. If the younger brother possesses speaking skills he may supersede the other. However, the respect for social status is still given the older person.

2. The writer had a somewhat similar experience. He spoke in an assembly in the presence of his uncle, the leading kaumatua of the subtribe, and was immediately told to resume his seat.

A fair measure of success can be looked for the course. After a two years' course, young men like myself have been able to take their place on the marae in the ceremonies, relating genealogies,6 discussing tribal history, and observing the rituals with critical eye. A sequel to the course was the increased interest in ethnological literature from libraries on the Maori people.
But young men have their families to keep, they have to go to work, and the system of education in the wider society does not cater for these special needs of traditionalist society. The result is that a young man does not get the guidance of his father in actual experience while he is living; the son then has to carry on waveringly after the father has passed away.¹

There are, however, other more important and essential qualities in the kaumatua which may be regarded as a sine qua non of leadership. These may be generally termed as Maori skills. The kaumatua who is also an effective leader in his tribe or subtribe, is expert in formal oratory, knowledgeable concerning the genealogies, is versed in Maori waiata (poetry), and is a repository of traditional lore and tribal history. The essential qualification is the ability of the kaumatua to speak at the gatherings of the group, mostly those connected with funerals, welcome to visitors as well as the more internal aspects of group administration, 'Me whai kupu te kaumatua'. (let the kaumatua be heard.)

The quality of his speech - formal oratory - studded with the proverbial sayings and adorned with the sung poems of the tribe on the big occasions of the group ceremonials, etc., is a significant factor in the making of the kaumatua leader today. He may be aged and a member of the tribe, or subtribe, by birth, but if he does not speak, or if he speaks erringly, then he is a kaumatua only in name and not in fact. Formal oratory is the real mark of the kaumatua.

¹. The writer, as Maori Adult Education Tutor, conducted classes in tribal history, poetry, genealogies, formal oratory and etiquette in Tauranga for the young men and women of his own tribe - the Ngatiranginui. Te Hare Piahana, the tribal Kaumatua, was the instructor and was employed as part-time Tutor by the Regional Council of Adult Education. The Adult Education Office, Auckland, cooperated by typing the material, which the writer had so arranged to stimulate its assimilation. A fair measure of success can be claimed for the scheme. After a two years' course, young men like Erueti Heke are able to take their place on the marae in the ceremonies, reciting genealogies, discussing tribal history, and observing the rituals with critical eye. A sequel to the course was the increased interest in ethnological literature from libraries on the Maori people.
**GENEALOGIES OF THE BRITISH AND MAORI ROYAL FAMILIES** (For Comparison)

House of Hanover:
- George IV: Caroline
- William IV: Adelaide
- Edward: Victoria
- Adolphus: Augusta
- Victoria: Albert
- Mary: Francis

House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha:
- Edward VII: Alexandra
- Alice: Louis
- Victoria: Louis
- Alice: Andrew

House of Windsor:
- Edward VIII
- George VI: Elizabeth
- Henry: Alice
- George: Marina
- Mary: Henry
- Margaret: William
- Richard: George
- Margaret: Alice
- Edward: Andrew
- David: Charles

Tainui Canoe
- ∆ Tuata: Te Kahurangi
- ∆ Te Rauangaanga: Parengaope
- ∆ Potatau: Te Wherowhero: Whakaawi
- ∆ Tawhiao: Hera Rereata
- ∆ Tawhia: Te Tahuna
- ∆ Mahuta: Te Marae
- ∆ Te Wherowhero
- Hera: Hema
- Te Ao: Tungia
- Te Puia
- Wanakore: Te Otaota
- Taipua
- Tumate
- Tonga
- Te Rauangaanga
- Te Rata: Te Marae
- ∆ Koroki: Te Atai: Tangikaahu
- Piki

N.B. Status in both cases originates from principle of primogeniture.

British uses female line, Maori transfers to nearest male.

Other factors - courage in warfare, personal ability.

*Genealogy 7.*
Within the ranks of the kaumatua group in the same tribe or sub tribe, one or more kaumatua, by personal study and long interest, may acquire a large repertoire of poems, genealogies, and historical knowledge both of the tribe and of other groups. The genealogies may extend over a wide range and may be linked with legend and mythology. The quantity of this knowledge, generally kept in well guarded manuscripts, all add to the prestige of the kaumatua.

Again one finds a series of specialists among the kaumatua group. One kaumatua may be well equipped by voice, manner of delivery, turn of phrases, etc., as a public orator. He usually takes the lead on ceremonial occasions. Another kaumatua may excel as a leader in the sung poems of the tribe, both by voice and the extent of his repertoire. Another still may be less vocal than the others, but he is equipped with a prodigious memory and is therefore an adept in genealogical recitals. In some tribes one may find kaumatua leaders who combine all these fields of Maori knowledge and skill. Their mana is very high. Another specialist kaumatua is the person who is an adept at rituals, such as the dedication of meeting houses, the lifting of tapu and the healing of sickness. This type of knowledge is still necessary in certain tribes, but in such cases we are bordering upon the bounds of another leader in traditionalist society - the tohunga.  

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1. The tohunga may be regarded in two ways. A kaumatua who performs rituals, such as dedicating meeting houses etc., is doing the work of a tohunga in the traditional sense. There are recognised kaumatua experts throughout New Zealand who are called upon for this purpose. The other kind of tohunga (in the modern popular sense) is the faith-healer found in Maori communities (see pp. 226-236). The latter is not, like the kaumatua acting as a tohunga, necessarily a male, nor an elderly person.
The kaumatua, in addition to possessing the Maori skills we have outlined, is also expected to show practical interest in the more material aspects of tribal and subtribal welfare. The kaumatua of renown backs what he says on the marae by the financial and material support he gives to group projects. For instance, he identifies himself with the group in attendance at funerals of distinguished members of other tribes, 'Kia kitea te kano te kaumatua' (let the face of the kaumatua be seen) on such important occasions. Today this requires the expenditure of time and money, but the true kaumatua is never uncertain about his line of duty. He may have a pig, a kumara patch, or a rua full of potatoes - these he donates towards the catering at group gatherings for the entertainment of visitors. Generosity and hospitality become a kaumatua leader in traditionalist society, not only at the meetings, but in the more private and domestic affairs of the tribe or subtribe. People turn to the kaumatua when in trouble, for he is the father of the group.

Of course there is rivalry among the kaumatua leaders in the tribe and subtribe. Personal jealousies, clash of personalities, and perhaps ancient family feuds are occasionally revived. There may also be a drive for leadership in the subtribe and in the tribe among individual kaumatua. Generally the conflicts are resolved by the undoubted possession of Maori skills in greater quantity and quality by one person, or by the process of distributing the functions among several specialists. One particular kaumatua may be regarded as the tuakana because of superior kinship, but unless this superiority is reinforced by the skills we have mentioned, then it has no practical and effective significance.

The nature of the activities within the life of the group which demand particular kinds of skills soon quietens the noise of conflict, for to all
the kaumatua leaders, the good name and the smooth functioning of the tribe
or subtribe with which each is closely identified, are the most important
considerations.

The statement concerning the qualifications of a kaumatua leader has
already given some pointers toward the kind of functions which he performs
in the traditionalist society. 1 The kaumatua and the ariki embody the
values of traditionalist society. Both are surrounded with the cluster of
ideals, beliefs, values and sentiments that make up the Maori way of life.
The kaumatua moves within this realm of social relations. He welcomes
the visitors on the marae at the funerals, he leads the group on visits to
other tribes, he represents the group in the relationships with the European,
particularly in matters touching the group as a whole, when such matters are
given a formal setting. He speaks in Maori, using the formal language of
oratory, and the educated leader in the tribe translates this into English.
The kaumatua may use English quite competently, but it is proper that on
such occasions he should revert to Maori. He is therefore the diplomat
directing the external relations of the tribe.

In the administration of the internal affairs of the tribe or subtribe
the kaumatua may supervise if he has the necessary skill so to do.

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1. The kaumatua leader under discussion will have appeared already as
the most important person in traditionalist society. In the absence
of the rangatira he has now assumed those functions formerly performed
by the rangatira. Kaumatua superiority depends not on superior
kinship as such, but on possession of Maori skills. Then, too, the
functions of the kaumatua, as formerly, are patterned on the same
scheme as those of the ariki, except that the kaumatua tends to be
more politically active than the ariki.
However, he is in any case the main initiator in projects, or at least he should be consulted early in any such undertaking. He may be elected to the leadership of the various committees that look after internal administration of group affairs, such as tribal or executive committees, etc. He may be a member of a trust board, etc., or even of the local school committee. As such he represents the Maori viewpoint as focussed in his group values, and if he has not the skill needed then he is still significant as the symbol of the subtribe or tribe.

This symbolic function of the kaumatua is important and renders him an essential person in both the internal and external affairs of the group. He gives dignity to the proceedings, he adds formality to the occasion. The discussions are therefore correct and valid. A younger man, for instance, may apologise to a visitor 'Ehara ahau i te tangata e tika ana hei karanga i a koe' (I am not really the person that should give you this welcome) - the implication is that the kaumatua who may be absent is the rightful person to extend the welcome, to give it the dignity and rightness the occasion deserves.

Connected with this symbolic function is another of like character, namely the defence of the subtribal or tribal reputation and good name. The relationship between one tribe and another is often one of conflict. Rivalry is expressed in such things as derogatory remarks against a tribe's background, the condition of its senior lines, past defeats in war, etc. Inter-group conflict may also be seen in sports competitions, in rivalries for European patronage, as well as direct abuse.

2. Ibid; see p. 204.
The intergroup meetings for funerals of distinguished persons are generally the occasions for these verbal conflicts. The outstanding kaumatua will defend his group. He is well equipped with skill in debate, knowledge of history and gift of oratory to take care of the reputation of the group. A kaumatua who is able to do this graduates from the leadership of his subtribe to the leadership of the tribe as a whole. It is this defence of the tribal name that is frequently the best means of moving forward from the subtribe into tribal leadership. The crux of the matter is concern for the name of the tribe.1

As the head of an extended family, the kaumatua guides and advises the members on the hundred and one matters that arise from the interaction of the smaller group with other similar groups in the subtribe and tribe. For instance in marriage, migration, choice of a career, disputes between members of the family, questions on land transfer and succession, agricultural lore and knowledge, etc., the kaumatua is called upon by members of his own family. They keep the old books. It is necessary at this stage to look at the data for some further clarification of these aspects of the kaumatua position in Maori leadership.

The Waikato and Maniapoto Tribes are the main supporters of the Maori King Movement, and the organisation of the kaumatua leadership in this alliance will provide the illustrations we need. The principle of formalisation evident in the whole structure of the King Movement is also seen in the King's Council, an institution evolved during the history of the movement, to act as adviser to the King.2 The King's Council is made up of kaumatua.

Many of these men would have been regarded as rangatira in olden times because they were recognised heads of subtribal groups. They possess superior kinship status according to the genealogies.

1. See pp. 263-265, 269-270.
2. See p. 170.
Today, however, they are all on the same level though the kaumatua with the senior descent are well known. One of these is Ngapaka Kukutai, whose grandfather was Chief of the Ngatitipa sub-tribe in lower Waikato. He was a Magistrate in the Runanga Movement of the last century, and was opposed to the King Movement at first.\(^1\) Ngapaka is Chairman of the King's Council. He is an expert on history and tradition. He is also a Minister in the Methodist Church. This position in the church reinforces his standing in the tribe. However, orthodoxy is no obstacle to his performance of Maori ritual, mostly in connection with the dedication of meeting houses, etc.\(^2\) He accompanies the King in all his journeys abroad among other tribes. Hemi Himiona is another kaumatua close to the Maori King. His forte is oratory of the old style, while his singing voice is much sought after for the unison chanting of the poems at the end of the speeches on the marae. He is also an expert on etiquette. On all ceremonial occasions Hemi welcomes visitors to the King's village on behalf of the King.\(^3\)

There are three recognised experts on genealogies - Peehi Tu from Ngatimaniapoto, Te Kanawa, also from Ngatimaniapoto, and Roore Erueti from Waikato. These men are the principal repositories of genealogical knowledge which is closely interwoven with tribal history and tradition. They are called upon when there is any dispute concerning the identity of an ancestor in the line. Te Arawa claimed that a certain tupuna (ancestor), Tukehu, came on the Arawa canoe, but Tainui canoe descendants also claimed this same tupuna as theirs. A meeting was held in the Arawa territory and Te Kanawa, Roore and Peii Tu were among the experts who represented the Waikato and Tainui case. They also form an inner circle of learned men, the Tutuku, whose main function is to correct the genealogical tables and produce the authoritative versions especially in connection with the King's relationships with other tribal leaders.\(^4\) They keep the old books in which this material is recorded.

Karena Tamaki is a cousin of Te Puea Herangi. However, this fact of superior kinship does not necessarily add to his status. On the other hand, it helps to place him on the inside. Karena has travelled extensively and is therefore possessed of a good deal of general information. He is an acceptable and intelligent debater in matters relating to interaction with the European such as land deals and the like. He is also quite well versed in specific matters touching the

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2. When the Turangawaewae Sawmilling Company's mill was opened, a special dedication ritual was performed by Ngapaka Kukutai and Te Kanawa Haershuka under the aegis of Te Puea Herangi.
3. In 1950, King Koroki entertained Empire Games Athletes at the Turangawaewae marae, Heemi Himiona opened the welcoming speeches in Koroki's presence.
4. The writer sat with the Tutuku in 1949 in the preparation of genealogical material for a National Gathering at Ngaruawahia in 1950.
political aspect of tribal life. He has made a study of the Treaty of Waitangi and the effect of that arrangement on the status of the Maori King. He reads current world news with intelligence, especially the developments of nationalistic aspirations among Colonial peoples. This information he uses in the discussions on the function of the King Movement in the wider New Zealand society. He is a member of the Tainui Trust Board, representing a subtribe of Ngatimaniapoto.

Another kaumatua is Tame Reweti. His strength lies in his specialised knowledge of committee procedure. With the growth of the committee pattern of routine in the organisations evolved in traditionalist society, men like Tame Reweti are valuable to a group. In his own right, he is a farmer on a large scale, and his association with Europeans has been important in tribal discussions. He is, for instance, chairman of the Maniapoto Tribal Executive, and also Chairman of the over-all District Council of the Tribal Committees and Executives in his area. He was also Chairman of the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Development Committee, and Chairman of the Board of Directors, of the all Maori Turangawaewae Sawmilling Company.

Now these men are all acknowledged kaumatua in Waikato and Maniapoto especially in close linkage with the King Movement. They are by superior and general kinship connections, members of these tribes. This fact gives them the right to participate in all activities and sets them on the way to effective leadership. They are also specialists in the various Maori skills and this added feature gives them the leadership, authority and opportunity which they need. In their own subtribal and family groups, their leadership is acknowledged, and this function is carried over into the wider tribal field because of their interests and their ability.

When, for instance, the question of the Queen's visit was being considered, these were the men who assembled and drafted the request to the Government, and Tiaki Hira, one of the kaumatua mentioned, performed the

1. At a meeting to discuss the Maori Purpose Act, 1950, (whose purpose was to stimulate Maori efforts to develop Maori idle land), Karena Tamaki represented the views of the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Development Committee, opposing the Act. A European lawyer, O. Cooney, an expert on Maori land matters, was so impressed with Karena's handling of the case, he wondered why Karena had not become a lawyer.

2. The writer was secretary to Tame Reweti on the various committees.
ritual karakia incantation in the presence of the Queen at the Turangawaewae marae.¹ When the King went to Parliament to present the petition for the King Country Pact on the liquor licensing issue, many of these kaumatua attended him on the journey. On the introduction of the Tribal Committee Organisation being proposed for Waikato, these were the men who considered the role of the King Movement in the whole scheme.²

(c) Kuia.³

As the counterpart to the Kaumatua are the Kuia, elderly female leaders. They feature mostly as do all these traditionalist leaders within the intensely felt circle of sentiments, ideals and value systems of Maori communal life. The Kaumatua takes charge of the external affairs of the group, or speaks on behalf of the extended family in the subtribal circles and represents the subtribe in the wider activities of the tribe. The Kaumatua is the public figure. The Kuia, on the other hand, also participates in the domestic affairs of the family, where she is given full control. Her authority in catering arrangements may supersede that of the Kaumatua, to become a strong force in the domestic life of the subtribe. The domestic nature of her functions, the lack of oratorical display, the confinement to the social, in contrast to the political activities of the subtribe and tribe, are the main reasons why the leadership of the Kuia is not given prominence in studies of Maori traditionalist society. But of her importance, there is no gainsaying. General kinship brings the Kuia into the subtribe and tribe. The descent from the ancestors in the traditionalist society comes both through the male and the female. The Kuia is therefore, as much a

1. The Writer presented the views of these Kaumatua in the negotiations with the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, Lord Bledisloe (former Governor-General of New Zealand) in Britain, and the Queen's Private Secretary. The Queen visited Ngaruawahia.

2. In both the King Country Pact delegation to Parliament and the Tribal Committee Organisation discussions, the Writer worked with the Kaumatua concerned. On the latter issue they proposed a scheme to the New Zealand Premier, who was also Maori Minister, whereby the authority of the Maori King would receive recognition by law as head of Maori Tribal Committees under the Maori Social and Economic Advance Act, 1945.

3. The Kuia is an aged female, wife and counterpart of the Kaumatua. Her status and functions are more clear today than in traditional society where she seems to have been overshadowed.
significant descendant of the common progenitor of the tribe or subtribe as the Kaumatua. Her descent line may not always be as qualitatively important as that of the Kaumatua, but nevertheless through it she is given a place within the subtribe that enables her to take a lead in those matters in which her special kind of service to the group is needed.¹

Many subtribal groups attribute mana to a group of Kuia, who lived a few generations back, while at the same time regarding the Kaumatua originators of the subtribe as of less importance.² Special affection for the mother from a son or a daughter found in many Maori communities, tend to cast an aura of special prestige about a group of matriarchs whose position is enhanced with the passing of time. Today, especially when the Kaumatua has died in an extended family, the Kuia automatically assumes a matriarchal leadership that takes her from the smaller group of the family into the councils of the subtribe. The Kuia stands and acts in the place of the deceased Kaumatua, her husband, though other Kaumatua relatives may assume the actual public and more political roles. The point is the Kuia easily moves into the position of her dead husband the Kaumatua, and exercises some of his authority and the roles inherent in it.³

The Kuia is also important because of her age. The term is really the feminine equivalent of the masculine Kaumatua or Koroua. The primary meaning has an age reference, but the secondary sense in the term gives it its social significance. Again in Maori thinking the association of the present Kuia with those who have gone on before, that is with the leaders who have made the tribe or subtribe what it is today, is an important factor in bringing to the Kuia position the respect and awe which it undoubtedly holds in the community.⁴

2. See pp. 266-267.
4. The Writer has noticed that after a prolonged absence from his own village, on his arrival the Kuia are fetched to be present at his welcome home. The Kuia Ngawhetu and Ngawaikakau are the Kanohi or faces of those who have died since he was last there.
Younger women may associate with the Kuia, working in the periphery of the kuia circles. They may also aspire to membership in the Kuia group. The Kuia themselves watch their younger confreres and assist them through an apprenticeship stage until they too graduate in later life to Kuia leadership.

As with the Kaumatua, so with the Kuia there is a set of skills the possession of which adds to their prestige. These skills are linked with the catering and accommodation arrangements of the marae at the group gatherings and may also include knowledge and skill in the tangi apakura (the lament at funerals), the mortuary etiquette, the karanga (call), and the waiata (sung poems). These skills are complementary to those exercised by the Kaumatua leader at communal ceremonials and gatherings and may be classified as practical, domestic and ceremonial.

A Kuia who is an adept at literary and musical abilities, has a place of honour in any tribe. But she may also be a repository of the genealogies, though not to the same extent as the Kaumatua, and she may be an expert on the history of the tribe. All these extras add to her prestige.

Like the Kaumatua, the Kuia shows an interest, and displays generosity in the affairs of the group. Her cultivations are usually made large because she knows that in the event of tribal gatherings her food stores will be called upon. Often a Kuia gives of her own substance, such things as sheets, pillowslips, mattresses, etc., for the accommodation of visitors at the tribal meeting house. This personal interest in the domestic affairs of the subtribe, which merges into sacrifice on her part makes and characterises the Kuia. Such action is expected of

1. See section on Mortuary rites, pp.92-95.
2. Both Pekeraangi and Ngawhetu are such repositories of tribal poems, whom the Writer has frequently consulted.
3. Ngawhetu at Huria always grows more kumara and potatoes than she needs - to supply the needs of the marae at ceremonial gatherings.
A kuia leader, at Pikirangi marae, Rotorua

(Plaiting a whariki or mat for the Wharerunanga)
The symbols of rank of the Kuia today may vary. But she may still be adorned with the moko, the tattooed chin and lips. She may also wear the ear pendants - mako, shark teeth and the greenstone. At mourning ceremonies she has the green chaplet of leaves folded about her hair, and perhaps she wears the black silk frock, and a large handkerchief of similar colour hooded over her head. Personal adornments and dress mark out the Kuia in the public arena on ceremonial occasions.

The qualifications of the Kuia leader are general kinship connections with the common ancestor or ancestress, and also age which links her with the illustrious ancestors, association with whom gave experience and wisdom. To these must be added a goodly meed of Maori skills, strengthened by interest and a display of generosity in upholding the good name of the tribe or subtribe.

When we turn to the functions of the Kuia, we find that these are inextricably bound to the qualifications of her position. In catering she is usually in charge of the cooking arrangements. The Kuia looks after the feeding of the visitors, laying the tables, etc., and she directs the younger women, who act as waitresses. She (the Kuia) cleans out the meeting house, again with the help of the younger women; she lays the whariki, the decorated mats on which the mattresses are stretched out. The whariki she has woven herself. She watches by the body of the deceased person at the tangihanga - funeral ceremonies - and tends to the body during the lying in state period. She stands on the marae to give the initial call when the visitors arrive.

1. When visitors come to Huria, the young women Te Uru and Hinemaaua, know that the Kuia Pekerangi has a set of clean sheets and pillowcases that they can borrow for the occasion. There is little formality in asking for permission to use them. Even if Pekerangi is not at home, Te Uru would take the sheets. It is right that she should.

2. See Plates.

3. Marama Koea, Gay Rikihana and Anne Ngata stress that in their districts the heavy work in cooking is done by men.
at the entrance, or leads the haka of welcome, lined up in front of the meeting house. She performs the mourning tangi itself, raising her voice in the well known laments of the tribe or, indeed, she may improvise and a new lament is born. She may accompany the Kaumatua in the unison singing after he ends his oratorical display; she takes the very high part in the song, the reo irirangi, or the spirit voice that gives such an eerie tone to the choir singing at tangihanga.1

Sufficient has been said to show the importance of the Kuia leader in the group. She is a complement to the Kaumatua - in a process in which the duties are shared between them. The Kaumatua depends upon the Kuia and vice versa, for together they maintain the smooth running of the tribe and subtribe on the important public occasions.

While the stress here has been on the Kuia leader, as it has been on the Kaumatua leader in an individualistic sense, by implication the collectivity of both the Kuia and Kaumatua leadership is noted. From the corpus of the society there rises a group of potential leaders called the Kaumatua and the Kuia, and the possession of extra qualifications gives the status that places one in advance of the others, in the affairs of the group.2

As with the Kaumatua, so here there is personal conflict among the Kuia leaders. This conflict tends to raise the standard of service to the group through rivalry and competition.3 The uniting factors are the kinship relationships which tie the leaders together, in a patterned differentiation of specialised tasks performed by each one according to the respective skills each possesses, for the purpose of promoting the good name of the tribe or subtribe.

1. Marama Koea, Gay Pihihana and Anne Ngata tell me that the Kuia in their districts perform this function at Tangis.
3. Ngawhetu, at the Huria Village, threatened to build a hangi for her own family separate from the communal one during ceremonial gatherings. This was unthought of, but, though the threat did not eventuate, it was based on allegations of laziness among other Kuia leaders. The effect was to stimulate a high standard in subsequent efforts.
We have mentioned in passing, the existence of the younger women placed on the outskirts of the Kuia group of leaders. The two women groups tend to undergo a division of labour based on generation levels in what might be termed the modern and the traditional requirements of the subtribe. Such tasks as raising finance for communal meetings through the running of dances, holding of euchre parties, etc., are sponsored by the younger women with the Kuia providing the background support. They supply the leadership needed in these activities. In such instances when the younger women form committees to organise work associated with their modern undertakings, one notes the stress upon greater degree of formalisation in the structure of the committees in contrast to those organisations which the Kuia control in carrying out their more traditional tasks. Among the former, formal organisation add to the authority of the young while the older women are vested with the mana of old age, and of their natural positions in the subtribe. But all these activities of the young and the old contribute to the welfare of the group and the maintenance of the values of the traditionalist society.

At the Turangawaewae marae of the Maori King, there is a recognised corps of Kuia. The most obvious feature of the group is the differentiation of functions among them. Certain ones, like Mrs. Paki, are in charge of all the money brought into the marae in the form of donations and gifts for the catering costs. She has a small notebook in which she notes the amount of the gift and the name of the giver. Many of the gifts have to be returned later on similar occasions at the marae of other donor tribes. Her son-in-law, Tuwhakaririka Patena, writes out the receipts and hands these over to the persons concerned. There are also a number of Kuia who are well equipped by manner, voice and knowledge of etiquette, to lead in the call to the visitors.

2. Maori groups are cautious about receiving gifts of money offered on these occasions, for thereby a strong obligation is imposed on them to return the gift of the same value and kind (approximately). Mrs. Paki, who is known to the Writer, is charged with the responsibility of keeping the records of gifts.
When the Queen recently visited the Turangawaewae marae, these kuia were on the marae properly clad to wave the welcome, and to
give the karanga to the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh. They
also went to Waitangi to the National Welcome there, to perform
these functions. Then, serving the tables, are such persons as
Mrs. Aukurakura, who has had long experience in this kind of work.
Supporting her is Mrs. Rangitaua, a younger woman, well known for
her knowledge of the European culinary arts. She works with a
Mrs. Pickering, a European woman who provides the more sophisticated
touches to the decoration of tables when people like the Governor-
General visit the Maori King. Behind the scenes are other kuia
who tend the hangi, clean the potatoes and kumara, etc. and do all
those tasks connected with cooking meals on a large scale for
visitors.

This pattern can be found also at smaller places like Huria, at
Tauranga. There the village community, which is described more
fully at the end of the section, has a group of kuia leaders.¹

Ngawaikaukau is head of her extended family since the death of
her husband, Karora. She is training her eldest son, Joe, to
assume leadership. But Ngawaikaukau comes to the fore in providing
labour from her daughters and granddaughters for the work on the
marae, in waiting on tables, etc.

Ngawhetu is also another kuia who, with her daughters, provides
large hangi arrangements for a hui (meeting). She is also a
recognised repository of waiata, etc. and the history of the sub-
tribe, Ngaitamarawaho. Ngawhetu is the source of the mats for
the meeting house, as she is the local expert. Her daughter is
also learning the craft.

Te Uru's mother, Te Amopo, has died; she, too, was a kuia of
renown. Te Uru is taking over her functions, mostly in looking
after the accommodation arrangements of the meetings.

Hinemaua and Hiria are younger women who, with Teti and others,
form the nucleus of the younger women leadership in the finance
committees, etc., holding dances and other entertainment for the
raising of funds for the communal projects.

Again there is differentiation of functions as at Turangawaewae. The
women concerned are all members of the group by kinship, and they are leaders
because of the possession of some special ability.

¹ See Chapter 10.
(d) The Tohunga.

The Tohunga of today is essentially the faith-healer, diagnosing and curing the "māte Maori", caused by the sins of omission and commission in the realm of Maori medicine. The general pattern of dealing with sickness is fairly universal, the diagnosis following three stages. First, by questioning the patient and his immediate family closely, the probable cause of the ailment is discovered. Frequently dreams are examined for they tell of hidden causes of trouble. When the initial cause is discovered, which may be the violation of a ritual prohibition, the patient is asked to make a confession and apply for forgiveness. After this acknowledgment and repentance, the healing formula is uttered by the tohunga, accompanied by certain acts on the part of the patient. Many tohunga use apparatus including intoxicating liquors, money and water. Others also use herbal remedies. There are, however, some individual variations.

Tame Moke was slightly intoxicated when he was brought into the bedroom of the sick Kaumatua, Te Ti. A crowd of relatives had already gathered. In a loud voice Tame Moke asked if anyone knew the reason for the sickness of the patient. There being no reply, he asserted that he knew. Then, addressing the sick person, he repeated the phrase 'Kia mārama' (have light). He then stretched at full length over the old man with arms spread wide, and his mouth over that of the other. The tohunga apparently was exhaling healing properties into the old man through his mouth. An informant told the writer that this particular technique was borrowed from an action of the prophet Elisha in the Old Testament. II Kings, 4/34.

The prophet Ratana, employed a different method. He sat with his secretary at a table at the back of the meeting house. Those who were seeking healing stood in a queue waiting to file past the table. As a person did so, his name, tribe and district were asked for by the secretary and noted in a book. Then the tohunga took over and, speaking alternatively in Maori and English, asked what the trouble was. By a series of questions the cause of the sickness was revealed. The patient was asked to repent, then the tohunga in no uncertain tones confined the sickness and its cause to the eternal fires where it would be consumed.

Following this, the healing formula was uttered: 'Kia piki te kaha, te ora, te maramatanga, ki a koe' (May strength, health and light ascend upon you).

1. See Blake-Palmer, G., Some Beliefs and Practices of the Present-day Maori, 17th Science Congress, R.S.N.Z. (Anthropology Section) May 1951; Ngata and Sutherland, pp. 36-361; Fitt, A.B., in Maori and Education, pp. 220-221.
2. II Kings, 4/34.
3. The writer witnessed this procedure in the meeting house, Huria Vill., Tauranga.
4. Both the sickness and its cause were thus cast into the fire (Kia pungarehu kia pakapaka atu).
Epeha sat on a mat in a meeting house. Beside him was a half consumed bottle of whisky and a basin of water in which had been placed a threepenny bit. A hymn from the Methodist Hymnary was sung as an opening to the proceedings and people came forward from the congregation. Epeha sprinkled water over them. An informant told the writer afterwards that the threepenny bit was symbolic of the Trinity and that the water contained healing properties.

Several tohunga have connections with an orthodox Christian church. The Prophet Ratana, who had been a Methodist, received Methodist Maori workers at his village to do social and Sunday School work among his followers. Mohi, leader of the Nakahi Cult among the Ngapuhi, was a lay reader in the Methodist Church, and the association, though unofficial, was loosely maintained. Mohi used the Methodist Hymn Books in his services. Epeha, too, and Te Ru in the Kawhia District, kept a loose connection with the Methodist Church. They were not recognised officially by that Church, but the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission took a very tolerant line toward them, much to the disgust of other members of the Church.

The tohunga may practice locally or at the national level. The local tohunga generally keeps his or her identity hidden from the prying eyes of the European, but such identity is known to the Maori members of the community. The local tohunga may claim his followers from a family or numbers of families, from a subtribe or even a tribe. Or a tohunga may grow in stature and importance to claim a national following.

Tame Moke, Te Ru (woman), Kaka (woman), Epeha, were local tohunga personally known to the writer. Tame Moke was the son of a well known family. He moved freely among this small group. His mother was a powerful personality, and she stood at the back of her son. The tohunga position of her son, and the demand upon his services in the community, added prestige to her and her family.

Te Ru lived not far from Tame Moke, in fact there was rivalry between the two groups supporting each tohunga. Te Ru was acknowledged head of a

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1. The writer attended this service conducted by the tohunga Epeha, at Marokopa, West Coast of the North Island, N.Z., on a Sunday.
3. The writer met Mohi at Otahuhu, Auckland. But information about his movement came from George Marsden and Rev. R. Rogers, both of North Auckland. The present leader of the Cult is Ihaka, a friend of the writer and an ex-Home Missionary of the Methodist Church.
4. See Blake-Palmer, op.cit.; Alpers, O.T.J., in Maori and Education, pp.147, 150; for legislation suppressing the practice of tohungaism see Maori Councils Act, 1900, Tohunga Suppression Act 1908, Maori Purposes Act 1949 (Section 14).
subtribe, living in the village of Okapu. Her sphere of influence was
the subtribe. Kaka belonged to the East Coast. She was also only a
family tohunga. All these tohunga were below 30 years of age. Epeha,
however, was about 60 years old. He was the acknowledged tohunga within
a range of some three village communities, a section of a tribe, though
he was known to go further abroad. Rapana was a tohunga who worked in
a tightly knit community of subtribes, only beginning to merge into a
tribe. But the kinship core was supplemented by elements from other
tribes, who had heard of his work. He was located in a village which he
himself had built up.

Wiremu Tahupotoki Ratana is the most important nationally known tohunga
of modern times. He professed to have had 40,000 Maori followers, as
well as a scattering of Europeans.

Whether local or national, the outlook of the tohunga tends to be totalitarian.
His skill in healing arts tends to attract to him powers that enable him to move
about freely in politics, economics, etc. He becomes a national figure in the
broadest sense, while at the same time projecting his controlling powers into all
aspects of the activities of his followers. Wiremu Tahupotoki Ratana entered
politics through his representatives, and in time captured the four Maori seats
in Parliament.

It was right that he should take up politics because his mission was
all embracing material, as well as spiritual. God would give him
the necessary wisdom to confound the knowledge of this world. The
divine wisdom was to be meted out to his koata, or quarters, because
symbolically it was the prophet himself who was divided up among the
candidates. They would then know what to do in parliament.

Ratana followers voted not because of the personal merits of the can-
didate, but because of the influence of the tohunga. A trading bank
was started at the Ratana village in which the followers lodged their
money. Land was bought for the people, and the title was vested in
the Board of Trustees. The aim of the leaders was to invest the money
in the form of loans to Maori people and also to use it in the develop-
ment of the land.

Tribal members from all over New Zealand were encouraged to reside at
the Ratana village in private residences, clustered around their own
meeting houses and the miniature marae erected for them. At its hey-
day the village was a self-contained township with its own commercial
centre, a post office, cinemas, and a railway station.

1. Tame Moke and Te Ru were known personally to the writer, in connection with
social, educational and tribal matters in the Kawhia district. Kaka was a second
cousin of the writer.
2. Information on Rapana came from Charlie Barrett at Pakekohe, a relative and
follower of Rapana.
3. Wiremu Tahupotoki Ratana was known personally to the writer, whose father
joined the Ratana movement because he believed Ratana was the long-awaited
successor to Te Kooti Rikirangi.
Plate 16.

Tiaki Omana (standing fourth from left) (M.P. original Koata)

Paraire Paikea (seated second from left) (M.P. original Koata)

Prophet, Wiremu T. Ratana (seated fifth from right)

Tokouru Ratana (standing extreme right) (Son of
Prophet, M.P. original Koata)

The Prophet and Tohunga Wiremu Tahupotiki Ratana with the famous Ratana Brass Band and his original members of Parliament (Koata), on a visit to Mt. Egmont to perform the ritual of neutralising the tapu prohibitions surrounding the foot of the mountain, violation of which had caused many deaths.
Many Ratana followers changed their ways of life very radically, following an ethical code of conduct that was the envy of the orthodox churches. They gave up drink and other undesirable habits and devoted themselves to intense religious exercises.

The whole thinking processes of the Ratana followers were controlled by the policy and teaching of the tohunga. Their attitude to the European, to the World War and recruitment for the fighting overseas, to the Land Development schemes promoted by Sir Apirana Ngata assumed a conservative and non-cooperative form.

Rapana established his people at Te Ti, on land owned by the local tribe. Social Security payments and all monetary dealings were controlled by the tohunga and his immediate assistants. The work life of the people was directed toward the breaking in of land, and the promotion of a market gardening project in which the tohunga Rapana was an expert by previous experience. He banished intoxicating liquors from his followers, stopped rugby football and other games alleged to be concessions to the world and the flesh. At the last elections his followers at his behest voted for the Government, thus reversing their former political allegiance to Labour.

Even a small sized group like that of Te Ru was tightly knit in her support. This included relations with the Europeans, interests in social activities and relations with other tribal and subtribal groups. When teachers wanted to discuss the school attendance of the children from the village, Te Ru had to be consulted. The forming of a dance band, or of a choir, and the more serious pursuits like accepting Government loans for the development of their land and the promotion of dairy farming, all received the attention of Te Ru.

As a leader, the tohunga is nowadays set within the framework of formal and informal organisations with varying degrees of integration. The character of the system may also vary. The local tohunga may draw his support from small kinship groups, while the national or semi-national tohunga leaders may head a closely organised movement cutting across tribal bounds. In both cases, however, one finds a defined hierarchy of positions, written or unwritten codes of behaviour, and statements of the rights and obligations of the members. The ideologies of such movements may range from vague inferences to clearly enunciated theologies.

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1. Fitt, A.B., Racial Contact, in Maori and Education, p. 228.
2. From Revs. R. Rogers and Eruera Te Tuhi, Methodist Ministers from that district.
3. The writer was a temporary member of Te Ru's Dance Band, and assisted Te Ru in the organisation of social functions during the war.
The Ratana movement\(^1\) is a recognised religious organisation in New Zealand today. It has a clergy, theological doctrines, sacraments, feast days, and a hierarchy of positions. The administration of the movement is exercised by a properly constituted Board of Trustees in which the property of the movement is vested. The four Maori members of parliament sit on the Board. The Chairman of the Board since the death of the prophet, T.W. Ratana, has generally been a member of his immediate family. At the Ratana village, which is the central headquarters of the whole movement, is found a police force, a corps of secretaries, and office staff, a newspaper with its Maori editor, etc. The local branches of the movement scattered throughout New Zealand are under the control of an Apokoro (Minister) assisted by an Akonga (Disciple) and a Naahi (Nurse). Local members of the Ratana Police take care of law and order at the church services.

Rapana originally came from Waikato and established himself in the Ngapuhí territory of Te Ti. His movement is also administered by a Board of Trustees of which the tohunga himself is Chairman. An educated member is secretary. Both this movement and the former one hold special festivals at set days during the year.

Mrs. Ihaka is a woman tohunga, who from among her followers, constituted an incorporated body called the Kai Iwi Society. It is also regarded as a religious organisation, and like Rapana at Te Ti, Mrs. Ihaka professes that the basis of her organisation incorporates the original and unadulterated doctrines of the Ratana movement.\(^2\)

Mohi is leader in the Nakahi cult. The cult, which is centred in the concept of the serpent in the Book of Genesis,\(^3\) also has a hierarchy of positions supporting that of the leader. There are special meeting days. There is a fine choir of young people. The movement has a well organised course in Maori culture, the study of genealogies being a speciality. Many of the meetings take place in huts at an isolated position in the bush, while some of the services are held in the dark. The consumption of intoxicating liquors at meetings is an important feature of the movement.\(^4\)

The tohunga, as part of the traditional category of leaders, tends also to draw to himself the protest elements found in traditionalist society within the situation of social change. There are very definitely features within the movements led by the modern tohunga which champion Maori values against those of the European.

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1. For documentary data on the Ratana movement see: Williams, Herbert W., The Ministry of Healing and Ratana and his work, Herald, Gisborne, 1921; Park, R., Maori Miracle Man, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, Sydney 1946; Rongopai, Ratana the Maori Miracle Man, Auckland 1931; copies of Te Whetu Marum, magazine issued by the Ratana Movement, Wanganui; Ngata and Sutherland, The Maori People Today, pp. 364-366.

2. The writer met Mrs. Ihaka at a gathering in Wanganui, information about her movement came from Heeni Wharemanu, a Church worker from that area.

3. Genesis 3/1-5.

4. From Rev. R. Rogers, and George Marsden.
The Nakahi cult is partly motivated by the desire among the Ngapuhi people for a revival of aspects of indigenous culture so widely destroyed by the early missionaries. This is shown in the intensive study of genealogies and the sayings of famous ancestors like Aperahäma Taornñ and others.1

The Ratana movement, both in its religious and political aspects, took on a strong protest attitude. The prophet stated that the European, through his blasphemous use of the name of Christ2 and his commercialisation of religion had forfeited the right to the religious leadership of the Maori people.3 Anyway, Maori adherents of the orthodox churches, he added, though nominal members of these churches, had been seeking spiritual satisfaction from other less adequate sources.4 His primary aim was to restore the people to the pure worship of the true God in a church of their own. He also claimed that the European Government had killed the mana Maori embodied in the Treaty of Waitangi. This was the reason why there were delays in the adjustment of Maori land grievances. Another part of his mission, te taha tangata - the human side as contrasted to te taha Wairua - the spiritual side, was to resurrect the mana Maori by seeking the incorporation of the clauses of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Statute Books of New Zealand.5 It was to get support for the ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi that he visited the headquarters of the League of Nations in Geneva, that he sought an interview with the British Sovereign in England, and that made him send representatives to Parliament.

The authority of the modern tohunga stems from the ability or professed ability to heal. This gift of healing may remain for a short or for an indefinite period of time depending upon the fulfilment by the Tohunga of certain recognised conditions.6 Immoral behaviour, pride, and the acceptance of monetary reward for healing services comprise some of the tohunga pitfalls. The power to heal comes from supernatural forces that transcend the limitations associated with human agencies. Involved in the healing powers of the tohunga is the charisma expressed not only in the healing gift but in the mystic powers, the symbolic actions, the comprehensive and totalitarian programmes.

Of all the modern leaders in traditionalist society the tohunga has the least need for status based on kinship, whether of the general or of the superior

1. George Marsden, who has attended many of these gatherings, gave the account on which the summary here is based.
2. Reference is to the use of the divine name in oaths.
3. The payment of stipend to the clergy is condemned by the Ratana church as a commercialisation of religion. Ratana apotoro are not paid for their work.
4. Ratana doctrine vaguely distinguishes between the true and false worship of God. Ratana ritual belongs to the former.
6. See Blake-Palmer, op.cit.
kind. The power to heal, the charismatic qualities that derive from supernatural sources, these transcend all other limiting factors.

Epeha was from Taranski, but he worked among the Maniapoto people at Marokopa. Rapana is a Waikato man but he practiced in the Ngapuhi country. Tukotahi belonged to Tuhoe but he was hailed as tohunga leader on the East Coast by the Ngatiporou. John Bennett (son of Bishop Bennett) is an Arawa, but he tours today among the tribes of the Hawkes Bay. Te Kaporangi was of the Ngatitawhaki subtribe of Tuhoe, but he lived, worked and died among Te Arawa. Wiremu Ratana, though of Whangamui and Taranaki, spread his net into the tribal districts of both Islands.

The status of the tohunga was maintained in various ways. The formal organisations crystallised his authority and fixed it firmly. The tohunga often had a bevy of wives. Ratana had a senior and junior wife. Rua Kenana was alleged to have 12 wives. Epeha was a much married individual.

Legends gather around the person of the tohunga in terms of miraculous healings, outstanding personal skills, and other abilities that serve to maintain his authority.

At the peak of the Ratana movement people gathered on the Ratana marae at nights to watch the moving lights over the hills, or directed their gaze upon the door of the temple in the village to catch a glimpse of an angel said to appear periodically. During the services in the temple the prophet himself would appear from a side door unseen by the congregation and suddenly stand before them. All these, the lights, the angel, and the sudden appearance were signs to the faithful of the mana of the tohunga.

The nationally based Ratana movement possessed all the symbols that maintained the status of the prophet even after his death. His name was linked with that of the deity in the prayer formulary of the church. He was Te Mangai, the mouthpiece of God and the fifth member of the Godhead. The other members were the Father, Son, Holy Ghost, and Holy Angels. But all his deceased sons were given places in the pantheon, much in the same way as the saints are used in the prayer formulary of the Roman Catholic Church. In the Ratana Village stand certain buildings bearing symbolic significance to all Ratana followers. One is the Temple, the spiritual shelter of the Ratana adherent, the architecture of which is reproduced

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1. From Anne Ngata, Ngatiporou.
2. Personally known to the writer. A school teacher and an undergraduate at the University.
3. Te Kaporangi is related, through his mother, to the Ngatiranginui Tribe, and is therefore a kinsman of the writer.
in the local church buildings. The other is the Aaka, the Ark, again to shelter the Ratana people from the floods of worldly troubles. The movement also has brass bands which lead all the processions on Feast Days.1

These symbols function today also as identifications that promote solidarity and cohesion. The leadership, formal organisation, clergy, specific centres, special forms of prayer, a collective name and even membership cards, serve this definite purpose.

The boards controlling the Ratana and Rápána movements have already been mentioned, also the Society with Mrs. Ikeaha at Kai-Iwi.2 The Ratana followers were called Te Morehu, the remnant of Israel, the Europeans were the T_auiwi or gentiles. The Ratana movement had a flag emblazoned with the crescent moon and the star. Membership cards were issued to all members regularly, while Te Kawenata, or Covenant, containing record of members, was often on display. Te Ru was quite easily distinguishable from her neighbours both by her speech and by the horse she rode. She had a choir which she led and also a dance band; these organisations marked her movement. Each tohunga also had a particular technique of healing practice, followed in detail by his assistants. Brass Bands were other means of identifying members of the group. Special hymns, too, were used by the tohunga as a kind of theme song in the different movements. Appropriate words were composed by the tohunga.

The sociological explanation of the modern tohunga as a leader takes note of a variety of factors in traditionalist society and in the situation of social change, resulting from the interaction between Maori and European. The persistence of ideals, values and patterns of thought characteristically Maori form the context for the modern tohunga.3 The belief in Maori sickness beyond the scope of western medicine gives the tohunga a necessary role to perform. The Maori observes that people attended by European doctors do not always get better, in fact they very often die, thus the quality of infallibility usually attributed a healer, fails to apply in such cases. On the other hand, people who die after the tohunga ministers to them, have violated some tapu or in other ways failed to fulfil the necessary conditions required of them. Then, too, the set of Maori ideas, far from being ousted by Christianity, is actually reinforced by the belief in the power of prayer held by the churches.

1. The writer was a frequent visitor to the Ratana village. See Plate, for the Prophet and his Band. The N.Z.Herald, 25.1.53, reports a gathering at Ratana on the 25th, the prophet's birthday, and the largest since his death in 1939. 3000 visitors attended. One meal took 4 bullocks, 8 sheep, ½ ton potatoes. 80 Bandsmen from Nth.Auckland, Tauranga and Ratana headed the quarter-mile procession - Maori leaders and Cabinet ministers were present.

2. The boards have been legally incorporated, The Ratana Trust Board, by Sec.14, Maori Purposes Act 1941; see also Maori Social and Economic Advancement (Amendment) Act 1947 (Section 5.)

Of importance in this regard is the whole background of social change in New Zealand. The discrepancy in the standards of education and cultural attainment between the two groups, the existence of protest elements in Maori society, the measure of disorganisation there, the increasing complexities in European society in which the Maori is trying to find a place, all create confusions in Maori thinking, uncertainties in his attitudes and inhibitions in his reactions. ¹

Modern sociologists have referred to the social phenomenon of alienation in technically advanced societies in which the individual awakens to the fact that his grasp of social realities is very much limited to his immediate environment. ² The vast areas of social processes stand over against him and in these he is lost and is frustrated. Something of this sense of alienation exists among members of Maori society as they survey the system and institutions which the European have brought. Crudely put, the Maori does not know whether he is standing on his head or on his feet. The modern tohunga embodying the transcendental and omniscient character, whose knowledge, mana and power are not restricted by the canons of ordinary human action, gives the kind of leadership required in the present situation. In other words the tohunga focuses the values of Maori society and offers at the same time the means for vicarious mastery over the mystical and social processes in modern society.³

¹ Uutta, The Maori People Today, p.170: 'Though it has its distinctive features, fundamentally the Ratana movement is similar in character to those Maori movements already mentioned. Beginning as a faithhealing movement fundamentally it represented resistance to European encroachment, Ratanaism gathered many of the detribalised who were feeling the need for a Maori social background, it gathered the humble, the distressed and especially the bewildered, those unable to cope with the complex social environment in which they found themselves'. Keesing in his early work on culture change in New Zealand (The Changing Maori, p.62, etc.) also show deep insight when he stressed the lack of adequate communication between the two peoples as basic to problems of transition. cf. Firth, Elements, pp.117-121 concept of the dual frame of organisation and the psychological problems implied. Elements, pp.117-121.

² The concept of alienation is discussed in Marcuse Herbert, Reason and Revolution, New York 1941. Fromm, Erich, Escape from Freedom, New York 1941, suggests that identification with 'the magic helper', the 'impossible He', gives modern man vicarious escape from his frustrating limitations, Gouldner, Studies in Leadership, pp. 5-7, 577. 645.

(e) Educated Leader.

The educated leader is the eye - to kōnōhi - of traditionalist society as it looks outward toward the European. The function of the educated leader lies in the field of interaction between the two societies. Here general kinship is important as a preliminary basis for status for it brings the educated leader into the circle of the tribe or subtribe. As a descendant of the common ancestor, he inherits the rights as well as the obligations encumbent upon his membership in the group. One of these privileges is leadership of the kind for which his particular skills fit him. Here too may be found the reason for a certain sense of compulsion that brings him to offer his services to the group, but membership in the group through general kinship is necessary to initiate him on the path developing toward leadership status. Superior kinship adds to the prestige of the educated leader among certain of the tribes and subtribes, though not in all. In the main though superior kinship may add to status, it is not indispensable to the construction of leadership.

While kinship of the general initiatory kind is necessary, what one might call ethnic affiliations may admit an educated person into a tribe that is not his own. Ethnic and cultural characteristics are often attributed the initiatory role usually given to kinship. There is rather a thin line of identification in Maori thought between Maori physical features and Maori interests or cultural values. The remark is often heard concerning an educated person with only the slightest Maori physical features; 'ko wāho he ma, ko rōto he Maori!' (Outside might be white, but inside him is Maori.)

1. This descriptive phrase is heard in Maori communities, used by kaumatua or kuia leaders, when they speak of an educated member.
2. For historical and social reasons, with few exceptions shown in the data, ariki families have not made full use of educational facilities. This is generally true of Waikato. King Koroki did not attend school, though Te Puaa Heranri was for a time a pupil at the primary school at Te Paina, Mercer. Recently there has been a change among the ariki families of Waikato. King Koroki has been taking special classes in adult education while his adopted son is enrolled as a student at the Mount Albert Grammar School, Auckland.
However, ethnic affiliations often admit into a temporary status only. The person concerned is not fully and absolutely accepted. He is still made to feel that he is after all a member of another tribe, and in the case of disagreement his 'foreignness' becomes quite definitely emphasised. His strength lies in the validity of his ideals and the close approximation of his pattern of values with that of the tribe in which he is serving as leader. Persons of this kind too are often given a special genealogical connection with the tribe of adoption, for it is possible to find obscure interconnections in the now greatly intermingled genealogies that relate a person with practically any canoe line in New Zealand. Ascribed such a genealogical background an educated person may find a leadership niche in most tribes of a temporary but quite useful character. Similar associations may be provided by common church membership, or common political affiliations, etc. The utility value of the educated person to a tribe stimulates all these rationalisations to give him a position in the tribe, from there he may be able to move forward to a status of leadership.

The significance of personal interest, sympathy with Maori ideals, sentiments and values has already been mentioned. This forms the crux of leadership status in the traditionalist society, and is emphasised in the case of persons whose interests seem to lie in European spheres of activity. Given entry into the group the circumstance of an existing sensitiveness in the relationship between Maori and European societies demands from the educated leader the fundamental features of sympathy and sentiment that will identify him with the Maori, as against the European group. Interest in Maori things, sympathy with Maori aspirations, appreciation of Maori values, are essential constituent elements in the status foundations of the educated class of leader.

1. The writer's tribe, Ngatiranginui, has always had close connections with Waikato; when the writer came to work in Waikato he was received on the basis of tribal association during the inter-race wars; however, this was reinforced by a delineation of aspects of genealogical inter-relationships that made him a tupuna, or grandfather, to Te Puea Herangi - his senior by several decades - but he was accepted on those grounds.

2. Educated men like Jack Rogers, B.A., Clerk of the Maori Land Court, are received in Waikato and Maniapoto because of his identification with Maori sponsored welfare movements.
The educated leader implies a certain standard of education, training in the schools and experience in European society. There are, of course, varying degrees of educational ability and achievement that mark out the educated leader, and that give him authority in the tribe. It is not the symbols of learning that are meant in the definition of the educated leader. It is sufficient for the person concerned to effect an inter-communication between Maori and European society whether or not he holds a University degree or other European derived symbols of status. The emphasis in this class of leader is really in the possession of what we might call European sets of skills, such as a sound command of both the Maori and the English language. Many Maori persons today are bilingual and bicultural. Often, however, the appreciation of European cultural values may not be as complete as that of Maori values, though among this class of leader are found persons who have reached a high degree of bilingualism and biculturalism. Such a high standard, while valuable, is not necessary to enable a person to take a leadership part in the interaction between the two societies.

The roles of this class of leader are easily seen. The tribe and subtribe deal with the European in a variety of ways. The educated leader's task is to effect the connection, to advise the kaumatua, to act as intermediary and interpreter. For instance, when European visitors are welcomed on the marae, the kaumatua will make the speech in Maori, but the educated person will interpret the speech into English, even though the kaumatua understands and uses English quite competently.2

1. Persons with the necessary degree of mastery of procedure and affairs may be included in the classification of educated leaders.

2. The kaumatua in this case assumes the symbolic position associated with the ariki. As a High School student the writer was called upon to interpret his father's speech of welcome to the Australian airman, Kingsford-Smith; throughout the process his father continued to whisper the most suitable English word for the Maori one he had used.
He may work from behind the scenes, advising on etiquette where the European is concerned, instructing the European on Maori procedure, etc. He explains the latest land legislation, etc. to the tribe, or the amendment to the Maori Affairs Acts and Laws. Most educated persons are regarded by the tribe as lawyers, whether or not they have any such interests. They are found on committees performing an administrative function in the Maori community, acting as secretaries, or in some other way generally looking after the writing of letters, etc., or the recording of minutes. They may write petitions or some such document of interest to the tribe and subtribe as a whole. The educated class of leader form a specific group within the community, assisting the ariki and the kaumatua in those parts of their duties which touch the European.

Usually the educated leader makes the policy toward the European, which the tribe follow. He is therefore an important personage in the tribe.

At the Turangawaewae marae again where one finds a clearly defined series of leadership classes, one will meet the educated leader. For the last fifteen years the affairs of the King movement touching its relationships with the European have been in the hands of several men of outstanding intellectual ability and educational achievement. Two of these are the Jones brothers, Mick and Pei. Both by education and experience these men have built up a body of knowledge that has helped to steer the King movement through the maze of its modern devolutions. They have helped to shape its policy toward a closer alliance with European values and institutions. For instance, during the recent visit of the Queen to New Zealand, there was a great deal of controversy about a visit to the Maori King's village at Turangawaewae in Ngauruwhia. The educated leaders carried out the negotiations with the Government; the latter was reluctant to add to the burden of an already overloaded itinerary for the Queen. When the Queen did visit the King's village, the welcome was translated into English by Pei, as also was the illuminated form of expressions of loyalty.

1. Generally speaking, the Maori is unable to distinguish between the various standards of educational achievements, neither is he able to separate the specialized courses in educational institutions. A person who has attended school for any length of time becomes master in all fields!
There had been traditional feeling previously among some Waikato kaumatua that the Maori King should continue along a parallel line to European institutions. The educated leaders have advocated closer liaison, which meant a lessening of the title of the Maori King to one very much subordinate to the British Sovereign. The expression of loyalty drafted by Pei and other educated leaders expressed this viewpoint and was therefore a distinct gain for the educated leader in integrating the Maori King movement as a cultural entity within the wider European society.

Pei Jones is also Chairman of the Tainui Trust Board. He was indeed one of the main leaders responsible for turning the Waikato from an attitude of opposition to that of acceptance to the proposals by the Government on compensation payments for confiscated lands in Waikato.

Pei crystallised the policy of the Board. With him on the Board are other men who may be classed as educated leaders and who are affecting the adaptation of Waikato Maori policy to fit into the modern European setting. These men are correctly related to the Maori King according to the genealogies, and this fact helps them to move freely in and out of the area.

In other areas the educated leaders advise their tribes on educational matters, for instance in Tauranga, and in Kawhia, educated young men are members of School Committees and tribal committees. On the East Coast and among Te Arawa, the educated leaders stand together with the kaumatua not in opposition but in support. All over the country educated Maori leaders are found working quietly in their own village communities, leading deputations to the local body organisations (European), on behalf of the tribe or subtribe, introducing European sponsored reforms, and altogether making life in the Maori community more amenable to the demands of European society in which traditionalist society is set.

(f) Rangatahi.

The term rangatahi is used here to indicate the class of leader involved in youth activities. The reference of the term, like that of kuia and kaumatua, is to age and generation strata. While the term is not as widely used for a class of leader in traditionalist society, as ariki and kaumatua, nevertheless...
the idea, the opportunity, and the facilities exist there. A proverb indicates the contrast between youth and age: 'Ka pu te ruha ka hao te rangatahi'. The old net is worn out, and put away, behold a new net goes a-fishing. Here rangatahi defines youth as the young people with an implied sense of leadership by persons in the younger generation.

The youth leader is important in Maori society for various reasons. First, there is a recognition among the kaumatua and the kuia that there are different activities in the community in which they have no right to interfere - these are in the realm of youth. Second, the overwhelming number of young people in Maori communities demand some special attention to be made to meet their interests. Third, youth organisations so formed are fairly definitely formulated according to European patterns and thus give the leadership positions in them firm and easily recognisable features. Fourth, leadership of the rangatahi class generally serves as an initiation into the more serious administrative activities. For instance, a youth leader who proves his ability in, say, a sports club, may find himself being elevated into other organisations in the tribe. Status gained in one organisation leads to status in another.

The main basis for youth leadership is the possession of specialised skills, whether in sports, general recreational, or Maori forms of entertainment. A young man may be a skilful Rugby Union Player - he is elected as captain of the subtribal or tribal team. He becomes eligible for other positions in the activities of the tribe, perhaps on a tribal committee or executive. Another young person may be an expert saxophone player, then he is a band leader, and in tribal discussions touching his field of interest he may be asked to advise the kaumatua, etc.

A leader in a Women's basketball club may find herself being taken on to the women's finance committee, etc. The expert haka leader, or poi dance leader, gains status in the group as a whole and such status may transfer over
into other organisational activities in the group.

Kinship of a general kind is always an acceptable qualification to have in order to bring a skilled person into a leadership position. The team may represent the tribe or subtribe, a member of the tribe is therefore a suitable captain, if he has the skill. An outsider without the necessary kinship qualifications is generally not readily accepted into leadership in the youth activities. On the other hand, such kinship qualification may be manufactured on very slender grounds. If the person involved is a member of another tribe remote associations between the tribes are utilised to place the membership and the leadership in order. Superior kinship is helpful and may supersede the necessary high skills to elevate a person to the position of leader in the youth activities. In the main, however, the person of superior kinship assumes the position of patron rather than that of active and practical leader in the field.

The functions performed by the youth leaders are obvious, for these are not so different from those found in European communities. The youth leader advises on relevant matters when required by the kaumatua and the kuia. He is also given the duties of organiser of entertainment and sports gatherings, and in this way he becomes linked closely with the kaumatua class of leaders. The matter might be put like this:

1. Tame Rikirangi came from an outside tribe and married Hinemanā from the Hiria Village Community. While he was recognized in the Ratana Church circles as a leader, because of the common interests, he was barred from any elevated position in the subtribal string band, in spite of his skill as an instrumentalist. Koi Tarawa, an outsider, felt that this fact disqualified him from leadership position in subtribal youth activities.

2. There are exceptions. Charlie Tonga of the Waikato Royal Family, is the organizer in youth activities for the promotion of tribal ceremonial gatherings. Hanara Reedy plays an important part in Rugby Union administration on the East Coast: he was manager of a Touring Maori All Black team.
Many of the large tribal meetings for ceremonial purposes or for objects in which the whole community is involved are catering more and more for the interests of youth. For instance at the annual Coronation celebrations of the Maori King held on the 8th October, sports and entertainment have always held a significant place on the programme. Inter-tribal rugby and basketball competitions take place for trophies of special significance to the Coronation ceremony. The real motive of the meeting however, is the commemoration of the Coronation itself, and this takes the form of a Church service and a feast, as well as the oratorical display on the marae. There is therefore, an intermingling of the more serious and the lighter aspects of tribal activities, each under its own type of control. Naturally there is need for proper co-ordination between the types of programmes organised so that there is no clash. To this end the kaumatua and the rangatahi work together, _Kia tika aite_ ra, so that the day might function smoothly. In actual time expended in the two types of interests only a few hours are given to the Coronation ceremonial, while two days may be given over to a sports programme. The catering and the organisation of the competitions begins months before the meeting, and all these are run by youth committees under the leadership of the rangatahi.

Another reason for the contact between the old and the young with their respective spheres of interests is the fact that much of the money to meet the costs of communal gatherings come from admission fees charged for attendance at the sports, and the dances that are held by the youth leaders during the course of the gathering.

Further the youth leaders themselves, do not view the games as mere competition between individual teams, but as contests between tribal and subtribal groups.
The whole meeting is a unity in which the youth of the tribe add their need toward the promotion of tribal welfare and the maintenance of the good name of the group.

At the Turangawaewae marae in Ngaruawahia from where much of our illustrative material has come, there are several youth organisations catering for sports and entertainment. The TPM Dance Band is under the leadership of Nelson, a member of the Maori Royal Family. The leading saxophonist was at one time Taui from another tribe, but he left, as he said he was not fully accepted. The kaumatua with the group is Tumokai, Princess Te Puea Herangi's husband. He plays the double bass. The band is not merely a dance combination, but it is also an institution in the Maori King movements - its name Te Pou o Mangatawhiri (TPM) refers to the boundary which the European troops crossed in the Maori-European wars that started the fighting in Waikato. The band is therefore not only a practical and necessary group, but it is an integral part of the total community. Leadership in it is usually a passport to other organisations in the tribe. All the players are conscious of the symbolism represented by their group, and the leadership in it is not dependent merely on skill alone, but upon sympathy with ideals and values of the entire group. In this community also there is a youth organisation for sports. One of the heads is another member of the Maori Royal Family, Te Marae, an expert Basketball player. Her father, uncle of the present Maori King, was patron of the local Rugby League Football Club. Jim Kirkwood married another member of the Maori Royal Family and he is one of the main organisers of the Sports programme for the Coronation Day celebrations. His skill is in organisation and administration. He is a member of the tribe. Bill Eketone is another leader in sports, not so much as player, but as organiser. His kinship association is a help to him. But all these leaders, to name only a few, recognise the high degree of integration between youth and kaumatua activities. One helps the other, and they all aim at sound co-ordination.

We may look around at other Maori communities and we see the same pattern - youth leaders with skill, interest, the right kinship connection all recognising that what they are doing is only part of a totality - the life of the community. Co-ordination is the policy of youth leaders - with the other administrative leaders in the tribe and subtribe. Youth leaders make their contribution to the common leadership of the tribe or subtribe in their own way and according to their own talents.
Conclusion:

We have now reviewed the classes of leaders technically defined as Maori sponsored because they exist in the modern traditionalist Maori society. These leaders are the Ariki, the Kaumatua, the Kuia, the Tohunga, the Educated Person, and the Rangatahi. The contemporary shifts in the bases of authority, the alteration in the patterns of leadership, the differentiation of functions become quite clearly outlined when we compare the present situation, with the background of pre-European society.

Of importance are, first the absorption of the old time Rangatira into the Ariki position, and the consequent elevation and universalising of the Kaumatua. The burden of leadership in traditionalist society today is borne by the Kaumatua. The term, Rangatira, is used as a courtesy title applied to the Ariki, but sometimes also to the Kaumatua. While the position of the Rangatira as stated above, is merged into that of the Ariki, the responsibilities formerly exercised by the Rangatira have now been assumed by the Kaumatua. The reason for this division is found in the weakening of the political constitution of the subtribe and the retention by the extended family unit of a fairly intensive system of social relations. The Kaumatua whose former position was subordinate to the Rangatira, stands at the head of the extended family group, while the Rangatira has gone out of existence.

Second the Kuia has become more vocal, as the recognised complement of the Kaumatua. In her case too sanctions which previously restricted her movements are now lifted, and she is therefore more free to move forward.
Third, the tohunga self-consciously lingers on with the stress upon healing functions that often give him a passport into the political and economic fields. Though condemned by the European, he nevertheless influences Maori society, because of the uncertainties created there in the process of interaction. The ability of the tohunga to rise above kinship restrictions and assume a position of national importance, makes him a threat to the ariki. because

Fourth, the educated person and the rangatahi are important traditionalist society is a subsystem of the wider life in New Zealand and demands their services to affect suitable communication.

Fifth, all classes of leaders operating in traditionalist society coordinate their efforts to promote the smooth functioning of the tribe or subtribe of which they are members. With the exception of the tohunga, who may rise above the bounds of the kinship group, the leaders are drawn together into a single unit by the kinship relationship delineated in the genealogies.

1. See Maori Councils Act, 1900; Tohunga Suppression Act, 1908, Amendment to the Advancement Maori Social and Economic Act, 1949 (References in the section on Tohunga, supra.)

2. In spite of several attempts to combine the Ratana and King Movement there has not been much success. Ratana, the tohunga and Te Rata, the ariki, were said to have gone through a form of symbolic marriage to signify their unity. In 1951 two leaders of the Ratana movement from Ngatimaniapoto traditional supporters of the Maori King presented an illuminated address to the ariki Koroki alleged to have been signed by over a thousand Ratana followers. The framed address rests in the King's Guest House, Mahinarangi, at the Turangawaewae marae, Ngaruawahia. The Ratana-Labour member of Parliament, Mrs Iriaka Ratana has also endeavoured through her patronage of meetings of the King movement to bring the two groups together. The two movements while friendly are still poles apart in ideology and aims. In Waikato itself local tohunga leaders are subordinate to the Maori King. All tohunga of any importance secure permission to practice from the King. It is said that the mana of these local tohunga come from the King who may withdraw such power if he so desires.
CHAPTER 10.

The Leaders and their People in the modern Village of Huria.¹

The macrocosm of traditional society today is tightly packed in the dynamic microcosm of the Modern Maori Village Community. While in the foregoing chapter we have abstracted Maori leadership classes from their context for purposes of analysis, the description of the village community will place some of the leadership classes right in the core of their natural setting.

The Huria Village Community.

Modern Maori villages are of two kinds. In one, the residences are scattered away from the social centre, in another the inhabitants live in houses more or less concentrated about the centre.² The social centre is termed the marae complex, and consists of physical units with a social significance. Even when residences are scattered, there is generally one family living near the social centre, 'kia mahana ai te marae!', to keep the marae warm.³

Huria, which is Maori for Judea, belongs to the concentrated kind. There are three geographically separated settlements which comprise the Huria Village Community. These are Huria proper, Te Reti (also known as the Lent), 1 ½ miles from Huria, and Matahoroa, half a mile from Huria and separated from the latter by a swamp across which a road is formed. There is constant communication between the three settlements. The people resident in them are members of the

1. Cf. Surveys of Maori communities may be found in Reports of Maori Welfare Officers in the Files of the Maori Dept., Wellington; Sociological Studies of Village communities are few; Hawthorne's Study, The Maori, in A.A., was the first full socio-anthropological analysis of Kahikura, North Auckland; Beaglehole's Some Modern Maoris, gave an account of a community close to a European township; also see Beaglehole, E., Anthropology in N.Z., JPS, Vol.47, for suggested programme of research, p.159; also, ibid, The Study of Maori Life, JPS, Vol.54, pp.235-237.
2. Buck, Coming, p.156 - accumulation of houses due to acceptance of Christianity - homes built around the Mission House.
3. As caretaker. Personal feelings toward the marae characterise the attitude of subtribal members.
same kinship group and recognise themselves as such in contrast to other village communities in the neighbourhood. The term settlement is applied to a clustering of Maori residences whether or not there is a social centre.

Hurla Settlement.1

Hurla was founded about 1830. It is the parent settlement, for the social centre of the kinship group is situated there. Hurla stands on a finger-like promontory jutting out into the Waikareao Estuary separating Hurla from the back of the Tauranga township to the East. There is an elevated flat area of land about 400 feet above sea level which, together with the slopes on the three sides roughly north, east and west, forms the site of the village residences and the social centre. The greater part of the land is swamp, mud-flat and European-owned farms.2 Hurla is joined to the township of Tauranga by a road that runs along the boundaries of the European-owned farms.

The Marae Social Centre.3

The marae complex consists of a meeting house, an open area of ground immediately in front of the meeting house, a dining hall, a communal baths and sanitary building,4 and two church buildings. The meeting house stands at the southern end of the Hurla settlement, near the entry, and it faces northwards toward the bulk of the residences. The name, Te Kaponga, an ancestor of the group was given to the meeting house. The only traditional aspect in the architecture is the shape, though ancient ritual still governs its use.5

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2. Lot 452, Parish of Te Pana, containing total of 43 acres, 3 roods, 24 perches, of Maori-owned land. (Files of the Waikato Maori Land Board, Rotorua).  
3. The Study of the Hurla Village Community should be read in conjunction with the account of the traditional Village of Poike, Chapt.10; see Maori Social and Economic Advancement Amendment Act 1952, for definition of Modern Marae.  
4. Built with a substantial donation from the President of the Mormon Church in gratitude for the hospitality given by the Hurla people to Mormon Elders. Other denominations, Ringatu and Ratana, rather tend to regard this building as part of Mormon Church propaganda; though built on communal land, is not fully accepted as part of the Marae complex.  
5. Visitors are seated on the right side (going in), the hosts on the left.
The ancestral name given the meeting house shows the attitude of reverence displayed by the people toward it. During the gatherings and ceremonials the people assemble in the meeting house, and there they talk and sleep on mattresses covered with sheets, spread over finely woven mats. When the people of the village community recline with their guests, the door is closed and they feel secure in the bosom of their ancestor, Te Kaponga. Directly in front of the meeting house, lying at right angles, is a hall used as a dining room. It is appropriately called Turongomate, wife of Te Kaponga, for its function is to offer food and hospitality to visitors to the village. In between the dining room and the meeting house lies the open space of ground, to which strictly the term marae is applied. It is sacred to the inhabitants of the village. Together with the meeting house and the dining room it forms the essential constituents of the marae complex without which a village community does not exist.

The sacredness of this ground was impressed upon the writer a few years ago. The Ngawai_kau extended family proposed the erection of a tennis court on the ground. They stressed the need for the money which Maori tennis tournaments would bring to augment the depleted communal funds. But the old people strongly objected. A kaumatua emphasised the tapu nature of the marae ground, and considered the playing of games there as desecration.

There are two church buildings at the Huria settlement. One is a modernly-constructed Mormon chapel, standing on privately owned land close to the marae centre. The other is the Ringatu Church building. This is built like the meeting house, gable roofed with corrugated iron. It is called Te Koha-a-Rikirangi, the gift of Rikirangi.

In other village communities church buildings and the school are usually considered part of the marae complex. At Huria, however, where there is more than one church denomination supported by the people, the church, though a public institution really, stands apart from the marae. The Maori school attended by

1. The term marae may also be applied to the village as a whole.
2. Built by American Mormon carpenters and mostly with Mormon finance, on land donated by the Ngawai_kau family.
3. Te Kooti Rikirangi, the founder of the Ringatu church; it was shifted from the Matahora settlement when the people there left the Ringatu Church and joined the Ratana movement. Stands on land belonging to the Ngawai_kau family. The Mormon chapel is European, unnamed, Ringatu church, Maori and named.
HURIA VILLAGE COMMUNITY AND EDUCATION

Education

1. Primary - Bethlehem Maori School (1952).
   A. Children from Te Reti Settlement
      Boys  Girls
      25    30
   B. " " Huria and Matahoroa Settlements
      14    16
   C. Classes represented Primer I to Form II

2. Secondary Education - Tauranga College (1952)
   (From the whole community)
   1950  2  9
   1951  7 10
   1952  3  8

3. Populations at Tauranga College Compared.
   1950  468  43
   1951  530  50
   1952  555  56
   1953  683  61

   A. Total number of members: 15
      European - 4  Maori - 11.
   B. Villages of origin
      Bethlehem - 2
      Wairoa - 5
      Te Reti - 3
      Huria and Matahoroa - 1
the younger children is attached to the Peteroha village, a few miles away.

The cemetery, or Urupa, may also be regarded as an integral part of the village community. About three-quarters of a mile to the north-east of Huria is a small island shaped like a whale, with its head facing the sea and the tail pointing toward Huria. This is Motuapae, the stranded island, and the sacred burial place of the dead from the village. According to legend, the island was a hillock standing in a gully to the west of the Huria settlement, known as Te mimi-o-Te Tuhi (the Urine of Te Tuhi). The hillocks in the neighbourhood, as is the case in legends, quarrelled over the hand of a maiden. In a fit of anger at being jilted, one of them ran off one dark night, to drown his sorrow in the open sea beyond. But again, as is the custom in legends, the runaway hillock did not move fast enough and soon the sun came up and fixed him to the spot where he now stands. With such a history the stranded island can be fit for only one purpose - a repository for the sacred bones of men, for this reason Motuapae is tapu.

To the people of the village community, Motuapae is an integral part of the marae complex. Wherever the members of the group die, be it in the city of Auckland or in some other distant part, they must be returned for the mourning at the meeting house and for burial at Motuapae. The dead are laid out in state at the marae, mourned and farewelled in the manner Maori and placed beside their ancestors at Motuapae.

The physical units we have described have a strong social significance to the group. They promote the cohesion of the community, and therein lies the reason for giving ancestral names to the meeting house and the more modern dining room. Here the ceremonial, the political, and the administrative gatherings of the entire group take place. Such meetings may not be held in private dwellings.

In this regard, though additions have been made to the marae complex in the form

1. Considerations of tapu in the people's attitude to Motuapae vary according to Church affiliations. The Ringatu are very strong on this point; they must wash their hands before they leave Motuapae after interments. The Mormons are more casual; members have been known to use the wood from the burial ground for cooking, while Mormon children, unlike the more cautious Ringatu, help themselves to the peaches that grow on the island.

2. Two sisters, Te Ruakawhena and Te Amopo, received their names from such an incident. Te Ruakawhena, two coffins, in which the body of their father was contained on the way home, Te Amopo, carried at night, telling of the long journey with the body made at night.

3. Cf. Mortuary Rites for Tahuriwakanui, pp. 85-105; the stages described are roughly followed, with less elaboration, at the Huria Village Community today.
of new buildings, modern facilities, and European derived conveniences, the social significance of the marae remains as in the past. And because the network of social relations focussed in the marae includes the dead members of the village community, as well as those who are living, the urupa (cemetery) at Motuapae contributes to the solidarity of the village community. The community's life revolves around the day-by-day activities of the living as well as around the memory of the ancestors lying at the sacred burial place.

The Inhabitants and their Land.

The land tenure in the village community are of two kinds. Using the terminology of the people themselves, one kind is whenua huíhui, or whenua topu, (land owned together and land consolidated in one lot) communally owned land, and the other is whenua wehe wehe (land partitioned) or land that is separated out. The site of the marae, meeting house, baths and dining room is whenua huíhui, made up of contributed shares from the interests of the main families in the community. There are also two other areas in the settlement regarded as whenua huíhui. These sections were formed by the consolidation of shares left over after the greater part of the flat land adjoining the marae had been partitioned into building sites. Here any member of the group may grow crops. The rest of the land in the three settlements is whenua wehe wehe, partitioned out in extended family holdings.

The increase in population and the restriction of land space has led to prolonged and bitter conflicts and periodic legal adjustments of boundaries, as between one extended family and another. The dispute between extended families over land boundaries intensified by the limitation of space and the increase in population, have produced a kind of leader, educated or at least possessing European skills of a sort and eager to adjust partitions on behalf of its own group. The following opposing leaders have come from families more intimately interested in the size and position of building sites:

Matiu was an energetic person supported by a well-educated wife, Rihi. They originally lived at Te Reti, although they had a house at Huria.

1. Any Maori greeting, whether at mortuary rites, political or religious gatherings when strangers are present, must open with formal references to the dead. These are conceived as being present.


3. See Plan of the Huria Village; also Smith, op.cit., Chap. 4.
Matiu was keen to get a section near the marae. He applied to the Native Land Court for partition to be made of the land at the Huria settlement. With the assistance of a European lawyer he worked out the scheme which resulted in the present partition. Some families suffered from this new partition - families who had always been at the Huria settlement but who had no leader of the calibre of Matiu to state their case.

Te Hare Piahana was another person skilled in court procedure, etc. He had been a Native land agent. He looked after the interests of some of the families at Huria, representing them in court. His main emphasis was for all the families to gain equal access at the front of their sections to the road through the settlement linking the sections to the marae. Though at first there was a clash between Matiu and Te Hare, in the end the conflict was resolved through compromise.

1 The Households.

There are fourteen main sections in the Huria settlement regarded as extended family holdings. On twelve of these sections there are twenty-one houses. In all three settlements there are two types of households - that occupied by a nuclear family group consisting of husband, wife and children, and that in which are three or four tiered generation groups of grandparent, son or daughter with spouse and their children. The nuclear family household is in the majority at all the settlements. The only three tiered family household group exist at Huria. This contains a widowed mother and her two married daughters, one of whom has children. The other four cases live in separate households built close together on the same extended family land holding. This latter arrangement is the trend nowadays because of the desire of the newly married couples to get out on their own, while at the same time retaining some connection with the extended family homestead.

The houses at Huria are built European bungalow style, with board walls and corrugated iron roofs. The rooms vary from two to four in number, consisting of kitchen, dining room and bedrooms. Furniture includes a kitchen table, chairs and forms used for seating, chest of drawers, clothes trunk and wooden and iron bedsteads. The kitchen may be equipped with an open fireplace or a stove where cooking is done. There is a cupboard for storing the crockery and the food, while occasionally a safe for meat hangs on the outer wall. All the houses have

1. Cf. Sutherland, The Maori Situation, pp. 58, 94-95; Hawthorn, The Maori, p. 25 - the "household is the present best defined social unit among the Maori, has emerged within the past century from the whanau..."
electric lights and water laid on from the Tauranga township supplies. Three houses at Huria have telephones, while the majority have radios and two have radiograms purchased on the hire purchase system. The walls boast few photos or pictures except family snaps or pictures from calendars and magazines of the Royal Family and other well known personages.

Outside each residence are flower and vegetable gardens, a patch of kumara, onions or lettuce for the use of the household. A fence made of wire or a hedge separates each family section from the other. A gateway leads into the main road that runs down the middle of the settlement. Often another gate may lead from one section into the adjoining one, if none exists unauthorised tracks are cut through the separating fence or hedge.

The households at all the settlements exercise little restriction with regard to admission. The household is literally open night and day to visitors from the various families. Further, there is little privacy as between members of the household in methods of dress, etc., or in sleeping arrangement. This contrasts very strongly with the more marked individualism of the European home.

Alex Tata and his wife sleep in the kitchen on a wooden bedstead. His sister and an adopted child sleep in the only other room in the house—the bedroom proper. Alex Tata hangs his clothes over the bed and he may undress for bed in the presence both of his sister and his wife. He sleeps in his shirt and singlet. His sister and his wife undress openly in the same way, and no one bothers or passes any remark.

After the husband Paora goes to work at the Timber Mill in town, his wife Arani takes her children to visit Mokai, a neighbour. She walks in while Mokai, her daughter and her father are having breakfast. She may join in to feed her baby with some tea in which bread has been soaked. The children play outside after breakfast and Arani and Mokai gossip inside while at the same time listening to the Light Z.B. Programme on the radio. They have lunch here and continue to yarn. About 4 o'clock Arani gathers her brood and returns home. The same procedure may occur next day.

Matahoroa Settlement.

The Matahoroa settlement is separated from Huria by a swamp and lies to the north-west. The land lies on an area faced by the Waikareao Estuary and flanked on one side by a swamp and on the other by European owned farms. The area stretches back, tapering away to be stopped by more European farms as the swamp

---

1. Allotment 116A, No.2. Te Papa Parish, containing 31 acres, 3 roods, 72 perches; small portion in swamp and mud-flat. (Files of Waiariki Maori Land Board, Rotorua.)
widens out and upwards to take the best part of the Matahoroa settlement.

The land is sectioned out among four extended family groups, three of whom descend from the old man Piahana, to whom the area was returned after the confiscation. The four extended family holdings support eight nuclear family households. The pattern of households is one in which nuclear families live in different houses on the same extended family holdings. The separate houses are occupied by sibling members of the same family with their children. Two households are occupied by two men and their nephews. All householders are married and have children.

The average acreage of holdings at Matahoroa is larger than those of both Huria and Te Reti, owing to the substantial landed property owned by the Piahana family. This means that there is less quarrelling over land boundaries and also that there are larger cultivations of kumara, potatoes and maize, etc. The housing furniture, etc., are the same as at Huria.

Te Reti Settlement.

Te Reti has taken the surplus population from Huria. It has a far greater population than that of either Matahoroa or Huria. The people here are also more sophisticated and European in their outlook and interests. Te Reti stands on a triangular piece of land bounded by a main road at the front, a swamp at the back, and European residence on the other sides. The settlement is set within an area of European farms and homes, and fully exposed to the close scrutiny of Europeans from the main road in comparison with Huria and Matahoroa.

The land was owned by the antecedents of the present population before the Maori-European Wars. Confiscation, however, transferred the ownership to the crown. The people stayed on after the wars as squatters, and though Huria and Matahoroa were returned early to the people, Te Reti's title was left undefined.

When word came to the inhabitants to vacate the land subtribal leaders moved into action.

1. See Reserves out of Confiscated Lands, November 1884. (Files of Maori Land Court, Rotorua.)
2. Lot 80, Te Waha-o-te-Marangai, Block X, Tauranga Survey District, containing in all 59 acres, 0 roods, 12 perches. (Files of Waiariki Maori Land Board, Rotorua.)
3. Statistics for Te Reti received by letter - only approximate,
George Hall was an educated member of the group. His father was an Irishman and his mother one of the leading matriarchs of the group. The kaumatua of the community at that time was Nepia Kohu. The threat of ejection of the people at Te Reti caused Nepia Kohu to call in George Hall. Money was raised to despatch George Hall, accompanied by Nepia Kohu, to Parliament in an effort to stay the order to vacate. George Hall stated the case so convincingly that an Act of Parliament was invoked to confirm the ownership of the Maori people to the land at Te Reti.

One of the results of this agitation by George Hall was to establish his brothers, sisters and himself with other families upon the land at Te Reti. The other was a typical example of the coordination between the leadership of the educated person and the kaumatua. The kaumatua stimulated the support of the group by appealing to their interest along the traditional lines, while the educated person, with his command of English and knowledge of European ways and means, placed the matter before the European authorities.

There are 34 nuclear family groups at Te Reti occupying about 15 extended family holdings. The nuclear families live in separate houses, each situated on their respective extended family land acquired through both male and female connections. A visitor to Te Reti is immediately struck by the better quality houses, the more adequate facilities inside them, the better standard in the layout of gardens, and the generally forward looking attitude of the families.

Jimmy Foster, one of the leaders at Te Reti, and his wife Jennie, live in a four-roomed, well-furnished bungalow which Jimmy built himself. It differs little from the houses of the European round about except in size. The inside is got up like the ordinary European house. There are electric lights, a telephone, a radio, carpets, table, chairs, curtains and beds with spreads over them. The routine of the house is also after the style of the European household which is not the same at Huria nor, with a few exceptions, at Matahora. Both Jimmy and his wife are part Maori. Jimmy is local, Jennie belongs to another tribe. They have a great deal of experience among Europeans, both through schooling and work. Jimmy's father was European and his mother Maori, and he was therefore brought up the European way. Jimmy has been an employee of the Public Works Department for several years. Jennie has had domestic work with Europeans in the township of Tauranga. Jimmy holds certain responsible positions in the community. He is chairman of the School Committee, he is warden of the Huria Tribal Committee and Honorary Child Welfare Officer.

1. Hall, George R., Letter to the writer, 25.2.53; further details - letter to writer from Registrar, Maori Land Court, Rotorua, 20.3.53.
2. Within the last 10 years the families at Te Reti have received Maori children through the Child Welfare Dept. These children are those who because of unsatisfactory home conditions are taken by the State. The Dept. pays the foster parents for their upkeep - under 12 yrs of age, £5.19.2 per mth, over 12 £7.0.2., with all clothes supplied. There were 29 Welfare children up to 20.4.1953, 16 of which were legally adopted by the foster parents.
He is very strong on the matter of the adoption by Maori families of European standards. Jennie is leader in women's organisations in Te Reti, and is also very progressive.

This person is fairly typical of the residents at Te Reti. With few exceptions the average age is about 30 or 40. The general standard of education and familiarity with European ideals is also higher than at Huria or Matahoroa. There is better attendance from the children here at the schools, both at the primary and secondary levels. The women folk are more amenable to new movements such as Adult Education classes and women's welfare organisations. The men, too, are willing to try new ideas in regard to horticultural projects under the supervision of the Maori Department. Comparatively young and virile, the nuclear family groups at Te Reti are very keen to emulate the techniques and procedures in the average European home. Progress and sophistication are important matters to the people at Te Reti.

Te Reti is close to the main road and comes under the prying eyes of other Maori people and also of Europeans. Very high prestige and status are attributed to European standards and amenities in the home. Other Maori people passing on the Bus or Motor cars talk about the people of Te Reti - either in praise or in criticism. Europeans do the same. This exposure to public gaze stimulates the people here to strive after closer approximation to the European norm. There is less visiting between extended families as at Huria. One woman said 'We mind our business more here.' With a few exceptions frowned upon by the rest of the women, the wives here either go out to work or busy themselves in looking after their homes.

The closer association with Europeans too helps in assimilating ideas for the house arrangement and for the setting out of the garden outside. Tata said that her European friend gave her hints on suitable flowers and also gave her samples. She watched the layout of her friend's lawn and flower beds and she put down her

1. Statistics from Headmasters of Bethlehem Primary School and Tauranga College.
2. Writer started Adult Education Classes at Te Reti and Huria - the attendance at Te Reti was better.
own garden, etc., in the same style.

Rangi said that most of the women folk at Te Reti were keen to outdo each other in the layout of flower gardens and also in the amenities in the house. There was keen rivalry between the nuclear families in improving their homes, keeping their children at school, and in many other ways.

The visitor to Te Reti will also be impressed by the leadership of certain men and women. Jimmy Foster is a case in point. Another is a woman – the widow of Matiu Kohu-Rihi. Rihi says that the sooner places like Huria are eliminated the better for the Maori people. She openly opposes the excessive dependence of married children on their parents, the settling of nuclear families in extended family homes, and she doubts the value of the marae social centre. The positive side of her attitude is the adoption of European sponsored ideas and schemes. She is President of the local branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League; she was also local representative of the Adult Education movement. Being much older than the others she is much sought after as an adviser and counsellor. Her ideas are carried into effect by very capable sons.

Another influence in this settlement that imparts a progressive viewpoint is the Mormon Church. Rihi and her family are members. The ideology influences the whole settlement and dispose the people to the reception of new movements that take them further along the way toward the adoption of European methods.

There is some evidence of closer cohesion developing among the people of Te Reti. The rivalry to achieve European standards in the home, etc. is a factor in stimulating movement towards cohesion. The influence, too, of the Rihi family is important. There is a large membership in this family; they work together on various group projects, and they provide a leadership in the settlement. This family has built a Hall, open to all the people, though erected on their own land. ¹ Here dances, church services, adult education classes, and women's meetings, etc.,

¹ Called the Matthew's Hall, built by Rihi's sons and son-in-law in their spare time.
are held. The compactness of the settlement at a distance away from Huria, is creating a feeling of apartness and also a feeling of unity. The youthfulness of the people at Te Reti, the possession of ideas that are theoretically opposed by the more traditional background of Huria, tend to draw them together and make them stand over against Huria and Matahoroa. Extended family clashes with others at Huria, for instance between the Rihi family and the Ngawaikaukau family, also contribute towards the trends for Te Reti to harden into a social core.

On the other hand the kinship bonds are too strong to allow an absolute break from Huria. There is developing a differentiation of functions as between the two settlements - Huria is the home of traditional values, Te Reti is the home of the newer ideals - but both are necessary in the life of the people of the community.

The village community and its surroundings.

The people of the three settlements - Huria, Matahoroa and Te Reti - are one. They belong to the same kinship group. While each settlement tends to have a life of its own, relationships exist with outside groups.

Three levels of interaction may be conceptualised between the people of the Huria Village Community and the outside world, the relationship with the European groups, with the other major tribe in the district, and with the other village communities of the same tribe.

The Huria Village Community is situated in the Bay of Plenty on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. It is three miles to the West of the European township of Tauranga. The township of Tauranga is the centre of the Borough, and is a self-contained commercial, social and administrative centre. Maori and Europeans obtain their foodstuffs, their clothing, etc., from the township, and they all attend the local cinemas, the secondary school facilities and the hospital services, without discrimination. However, few Maori people from Huria have free access on an equal footing into European homes. As workers and
Villages of the Ngatiranginui Tribe.

- Modern Village
- Ancient Village
- Township of Tauranga
- School
recipients of the patronage of the European, they are welcomed - but the feeling of difference and distinction is still evident.

The writer was asked to address the local Rotary Club on Maori Problems. He was welcomed as an old boy of the town, who had achieved a certain academic position in the outer world. But the attitude was one of patronage. One said "We knew your father. He was a friend of my father's." Another was pessimistic about the future of the local Maori people. "They can't stick at anything. Their mental capacity is low and you can't rely on them."

The same attitude is displayed in the religious organisations of the town. The Maori people are welcomed to the services, but here too one feels that the attitude is still one of saving the native. The spiritual gifts are showered upon the Maori, but the same willingness is not always forthcoming to draw the Maori people into the more concrete and practical fields of association.

One of the girls from Te Reti passed her examinations very creditably. Her adopted father, who had a European name, searched the town for a position. At one office she was accepted over the phone. When she appeared to take the job she was told it had been filled. She was seen to be Maori. Her present position was secured on probation. The manager asked his staff if they had any objection to working with a Maori girl. There was hesitancy at first, but when they found out who she was - a colleague at College and a member of the local representative Basketball team, they readily accepted her. She has now been in her position for some years.

For national politics the Maori people at Huria are situated in the Eastern Electorate and vote for the Maori Member of Parliament, while the European citizens elect the Member for Tauranga. The majority of the people at Huria support the Labour Party, mostly because they belong to the section of the community for which Labour policy and programmes appeal. There is a core of Labour Party active supporters in the village, while the leader in the district for the National Party also lives there.

There is therefore a very lively dependence of the Huria Village community upon the facilities and amenities provided by the centres in the township of Tauranga. The economic, social, educational and to a limited degree, the
religion life of the people dovetail in with that of the European community.
The lower standards of education and economic levels of the Maori, as compared
with the European, tend to create prejudice expressed in the form of patronage.
The Maori, on his side, feels the superiority attitude of the European and
resents it. As far as this village is concerned, the historical event of the
land confiscation, leaving the people practically landless, has governed the
attitude to the European. Today, however, with the increase in communications
between Maori and European and the increase in opportunities in work offered the
Maori citizens, the new outlook may be described as positive rather than negative.

The other major tribe in the district with which the people of Huria are in
constant interaction, is Ngaiterangi.1 The Ngaiterangi tribe occupies village
communities situated on the south, the west and the Islands to the North of the
Tauranga Harbour. Ngaiterangi has social centres of its own situated within
its villages. The two Maori groups meet mostly at ceremonials when visits are
paid to the Ngaiterangi villages and return visits are paid to Huria. Points
of contact are also found in the football, and basketball competitive games
arranged by the European authorities in the Tauranga township, or arranged by
the Maori people themselves. In these ceremonial visits and in the games the
two groups meet as representatives of village communities and also of tribal
groups. There has always been tension between these two tribes. Battles
fought before the coming of the European still form topics for argument and the
source of tension between the two groups to this day.2 Because of that fighting,

1. For statistical details concerning Maori population in Tauranga village
communities in 1864, see Mair, Gilbert, The Story of the Gate Pa, Tauranga,
1886, pp. 36-37; about 1828, see Gifford and Williams, Centennial History
of Tauranga, Dunedin, 1940, p.23; see Table
2. Gifford and Williams, op.cit., pp. 13-17; Wilson, J.A., op.cit., p.6.; oral
traditions current among Ngaiterangi and Ngatiranginui: Te Hare Piahana,
Ngatiranginui, Te Karehana, Ngaiterangi.
Ngaiterangi contends that the name for all the peoples of Tauranga should be Ngaiterangi. The implication is that Ngatiranginui was wiped out by the defeats at the hands of Ngaiterangi and therefore the name Ngatiranginui should not be used. The other cause of the tension is more recent in origin. When the land in Tauranga was confiscated after the inter-race wars, certain adjustments were made to demonstrate the generosity of the Governor toward the Maori rebels. This involved the return of some Maori land which the Maori people here had given up to pay for the guilt of rebellion. The land which was returned, however, was mostly that belonging to Ngaiterangi, while the more convenient areas from the point of view of the European were retained, despite the fact that these belonged mostly to Ngatiranginui. This unevenness in confiscation created a grievance among the Huria people and their tribe against both the Ngaiterangi tribe and the European.\(^1\) While there is a degree of intermarriage, and association in sports and ceremonials, between Ngaiterangi and the people of Huria, beneath the surface are embedded these factors which not only govern the relationship between the two Maori groups, but also supply the motivation for leadership in the village community of Huria with respect to the outside world.

Very close to the Huria Village community are five village communities with which the people of Huria associate freely. These other village communities form, with Huria, the constituents of the Ngatiranginui Tribe. The Ngatiranginui Tribe descends from Ranginui, son of the Captain of the Takitimu Canoe, which the people here allege landed in Tauranga 600 years ago.\(^2\) Ngaiterangi descend from the Mataua Canoe.\(^3\) This common descent, the opposition against Ngaiterangi Tribe, the sufferings of the group in the confiscation of their lands, tend to

\(^1\) From Te Hare Piahana and George Hall; see A to J, 1928, G-10; Ngatiranginui case for compensation before the Royal Commission,(A to J, 1928, G-10) based on this fact.

\(^2\) Tribal records kept by Te Hare Piahana and Riki Paraone, Tauranga.

\(^3\) Genealogical Records kept by Te Karehana, leading kaumatua of Ngaiterangi, Tauranga.
POPOPULATION OF TAURANGA (31.3.1953)

(Letter from Town Clerk) (1951 Census Returns)

1. **COUNTY AREA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maori</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Proportion.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3,913</td>
<td>12,087</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tauranga: 1 Maori to 3.08 Europeans.

New Zealand: 1 Maori to 12 Europeans.

2. **MAORI IN COUNTY AREA: INCREASES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>2,883</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>3,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>3,913</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Male - 2,014; Female - 1,889)

3. **HURIA VILLAGE COMMUNITY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maori Males</th>
<th>136</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Females</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Males</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION.**

(a) **Ngatiranginui - Village Communities.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maungatapu (Marginal - Ngaiterangi, Ngatiranginui, Rangataua.)</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Puna</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimapu</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wairoa</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huria</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Including 5 Europeans) | 450 | 447 | 897 |

(b) **Ngaiterangi.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matakana Island</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matapihi</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aheuree</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katikati</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kairua</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|             | 417  | 374  | 791  |
### (c) Rangataua.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maungatapu</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papamoa</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Maunga</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitao</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>181</strong></td>
<td><strong>167</strong></td>
<td><strong>348</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (d) Te Arawa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maeketu</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manoeka</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pukehina</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangituru</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Kahika and Te Matai</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitangi</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>463</strong></td>
<td><strong>453</strong></td>
<td><strong>916</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The groups in the village community are the background context for the operation of leadership. Whether the field of operation is the wider world we have described or the more confined limits of the village community, leadership assumes status and performs roles by virtue of positions held in the groups.

The main group systems consist of kinship, church, administrative and sports and recreational.

1. The concept of kinship is one of the most basic and important social institutions in Maori society. It is a system of descent and membership that orginates in the Ngaiterangi tribe.

2. The term social structure is used throughout this study to refer to all formal and informal groups and organizations.

3. The process of formalization has been used in other sections of the study. The process referred to in the present instance is the clear tendency in village organizations to adopt regular procedures in the conduct of business (i.e., doing things the European way). Such procedures and regular routines give the organization an appearance of authority and importance in contrast to the informal and casual nature of Maori groupings.
draw them together. Ceremonial events held at each of the village centres are
shared by people of the tribe. Intermarriage also helps to maintain the rela-
tionships. On the other hand, there is not the strength of unity between village
communities as in former times. The leadership tends to be more localised
rather than universal, and each village community is a compact unit existing over
against other village communities.1

Leadership and the social structure of the village.

The social structure2 of the modern village community is most clearly
reflected in a series of both formal and informal groups. The groups which form
around traditional interests tend to remain fairly loose and informal, while those
of more modern and specialised character assume the features of strict formalis-
ation following patterns derived from European sources.3

The groups in the village community are the background context for the oper-
ation of leadership. Whether the field of operations is the wider world we have
described or the more confined limits of the village community, leadership assumes
status and performs roles by virtue of positions held in the groups.

The main group systems consist of kinship, church, administrative and sports
and recreational.

Kinship groups.

The largest kinship group in which the Huria village community is included,
is the Ngatiranginui Tribe. There are five other village communities which,
with Huria, form the Ngatiranginui Tribe.

The people of the three settlements - Huria, Matahoroa and Te Reti - make up
the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe. In former times Ngaitamarawaho was confined to
Huria, and Te Reti was settled by Ngatimatepu and fragments from other Ngatirang-
imui subtribes.4 But the sudden influx of 'colonists' from the overcrowded Huria

1. Rivalry between the subtribal villages expressed in sports, in the establish-
ment of marae facilities, etc.
2. The term social structure is used throughout this study to refer to all forms
and degrees of social organization.
3. The concept of formalisation has been used in other sections of the study.
The process referred to in the present instance is the clear tendency in
village organisations to adopt regular procedures in the conduct of business
(i.e. doing things the European way). Such procedure and regular routine
give the organisation an appearance of authority and competence in contrast
to the informal and casual ways of indigenous organisations.
4. Letters, Hall, 25.2.1953, and Registrar, 20.3.1953; oral tradition, Te Hare
Piahana.
settlement virtually turned Te Reti into another stronghold of Ngaitamarawaho. Matahoroa was occupied by the Ngatiruhine subtribe of Ngatiranginui. Inter-marriage, lack of a separate marae centre at Matahoroa, fewer numbers and the community of interests and kinship connections with the people at Huria have affected an assimilation into the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe. Ngaitamarawaho claims primacy for itself in the Ngatiranginui Tribe. According to the genealogies and the seniority in terms of descent, Tutereinga, the subtribe at Te Puna village community, has stronger claims to priority because of the senior descent.

There is little force in such superior kinship nowadays, though seniority has courtesy significance.

At the Coronation of King Koroki, an invitation was sent to Ngatiranginui to attend. At the actual ceremony two representatives from Ngatiranginui were chosen. One was a kaumatua from Tutereinga at Te Puna and another from Ngaitamarawaho, Winista Piahana. The latter was an orator of note, and he was also in the taakana line in his own subtribe. His oratorical gifts on this occasion were his main qualifications for the honour of taking part in the Coronation Ceremony. The kaumatua from Tutereinga was half-caste and in many ways was European in outlook, but he was chosen because he was of the senior subtribe in the Ngatiranginui tribes.

As a generalisation, one may state that the superior kinship in the Ngatiranginui Tribe accords a courtesy and symbolic leadership status. Active leadership however may or may not be identified with superior kinship, the deciding factor is the possession of the necessary qualities and skills required in the situation. On the other hand Ngaitamarawaho's claim to primacy at least in tribal leadership has to be taken seriously. Conditions of an economic nature exist within the Huria Village Community which tend to breed the qualities of agitation among its leaders that bestir them against the European and the other major tribe, Ngaiterangi.

3. Confiscation and Tribal Leadership.

The confiscation of lands of Ngatiranginui has been referred to. This event
left Ngaitamarawaho and Ngatiranginui very poorly off as compared with Ngaiterangi in respect of ownership of land. For various reasons Ngaitamarawaho suffered even more than the other subtribes in Ngatiranginui. This landlessness resulted in a tightly compacted integration of Ngaitamarawaho at the Huria Village Community, a lowering of the standards of living, and the prevention of economic expansion. A sense of inferiority is expressed in agitation for improved conditions. Protest movements like the Ringatu, the Ratana and the Labour Party, have always made an appeal to, and have offered another means whereby leadership from Ngaitamarawaho is lifted to a tribal level.

While the confiscation was a tribal matter, the more severe effect upon Ngaitamarawaho tends to make the latter group in the tribe the most active for its adjustment. This identification with tribal interests gives Ngaitamarawaho greater measure of responsibility and a chance to assume tribal leadership. Once at the helm of active tribal leadership in one matter a subtribe soon accumulates to itself other causes such as defence of Ngatiranginui reputation against the jibes of Ngaiterangi.

While the confiscation provided the motivation and the occasion for tribal leadership, other personal qualities such as possession of Maori and European skills, general concern for tribal welfare, etc. have substantially augmented the factors making for leadership in the tribal field.

The two following kaumatua of Ngaitamarawaho subtribe gained acknowledgment as leaders of the Ngatiranginui Tribe:

Nepia Kohu.

Nepia is now deceased, but his family group is still at Huria and Te Reti. Nepia was very widely known for his leadership in Tribal Affairs. He was first of all of a senior line in Ngaitamarawaho. This seniority was indicated by the fact that his personal dwelling place was situated at the back of the meeting house. He was the recognised caretaker of the meeting house and the marae. He was also the eldest male in his family - and he was quite a young man when the land of Ngatiranginui was confiscated.

1. Not possible to secure accurate statistics, but this fact is recognised by the people in the district. The Ngaitamarawaho owns other land at the back of Teuranga but it is too inaccessible and poor to warrant settlement without substantial state assistance (see A to J, 1886, D-6, for these blocks.

2. General effect of Confiscation of land: see Sutherland, The Maori Situation, pp. 30, 33, 435; Keesing, op. cit., p. 64; Ngata, The Maori People Today, p. 173; the specific effects on the people at the Huria Village Community were: (a) Retention of compact type of village, (b) low economic and educational standards, (c) resentment against other groups, (d) limitation on expansion, (e) unity in suffering.
This close association with the old people who suffered at the hands of the European gave him special standing in connection with the agitation over the matter of land claims. It is said that when old men died they sent for Nepia and bequeathed to him the heritage of the people's grievance. So, therefore, he was equipped with all the stories and the documents about the Ngatirangimui case.

He gathered together the information concerning the history of the tribe. He knew the genealogies, the traditions and the history of the group. When he grew older and the older people died, his association with them and his possession of the lore, gave him standing in the tribe.

He was also a man with many cultivations, and his family was a large one. He had sisters and brothers who acknowledged his seniority and his leadership on that score. His voice was mana when the visitors came to Haria for special gatherings. His hospitality was lavish because of the support of the members of his immediate family, and this augmented his standing. There was rivalry to his leadership; personal and family jealousy from brothers-in-law. (This is a feature in Maori communities, the tensions between members of families marrying into each other, especially among the men who marry sisters.) But not only was Nepia old in years, he was also skilful in the Maori arts. He was a sound speaker, well versed in the ceremonials and the etiquette of the tribe. In addition, the ideals of the tribe - the protest elements, found their focus in him. The conflicts with the European and the arguments with Ngaiterangi were led by him. Nepia, through his interest, stimulated by the need in his own group for land, represented the tribal case to Parliament.1 This action had the support of the subtribe, although there were rivals who also wanted to present the same case under their name. In the main, however, it was Nepia who presented the tribal case.

Ngatoko Rahipere.

Ngatoko belonged to another family line in the subtribe - that of Rahipere. Ngatoko was at one time a strong leader in the local Ringatu movement. This demonstrated his involvement in protest tendencies and also his saturation with Maori ideals and attitudes. He had very little schooling. But he was certainly learned in Maori lore, tradition and genealogies. With the gradual subsidence of Nepia, owing to old age and senility, he forged ahead until later on he was an acknowledged leader of the subtribe and also the tribe. His forte was his oratory. Ngatoko spoke with vigour, using the formal speech, that was studded with the proverbs of the subtribe and the Maori prophets. Later on he moved away from the Ringatu movement and joined the Ratana movement because he believed as did many more Maori leaders, that Wiremu Ratana was the leader prophesied by Te Kooti, the founder of the Ringatu. This entry into the Ratana movement took Ngatoko further afield in Maori affairs, and his speaking ability made him a welcome advocate of the Ratana cause throughout the country. In this way, too, his affiliation with Ngatirangimui tribe as a leader became better defined and more universally known. Abroad he was not the leader of Ngaitamarawaho,

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1. Reference to Nepia's petition to Parliament against wrongful and excessive confiscation made in A to J 1228, G-7. The Royal Commission dismissed the claims for compensation on the grounds that Ngatirangimui were technically in rebellion when they assisted the Maori forces in the Waikato and Taranaki Wars, and that sufficient land was returned after the fighting. The plea on the matter of wrongful confiscation of Ngatirangimui land was considered to be beyond the Commission's jurisdiction.
but of Ngatirangimui. The tribal name was known abroad and those who
associated with national movements were regarded not in terms of subtribal,
but of tribal affiliations. So Ngatoko was regarded as a Ngatirangimui
leader. When the Ratana movement became politically oriented and active,
this spread his fame still further abroad as the advocate of Ratana politics.
Thus he grew in stature as a Ngatirangimui leader through those movements
of national importance which he joined. When Ngatoko spoke the audience
asked the question - "Who is that?" The answer always came back - "Ko
Ngatoko no Ngatirangimui." - (It is Ngatoko of Ngatirangimui.)

Ngatoko also had around him the aura of his family's influence in the tribe.
He was the son of Te Rahipere, a learned repository of the lore. His
brother had died many years before - Te Taawhi, also a man whose counsel
and advice were sought for in the tribe. When Te Taawhi died the vacancy
became more evident. The feeling that someone should fill it naturally
turned the eyes of Ngaitamarawaho to Ngatoko. He therefore grew up con-
scious of the subtribe's expectations of him. (This is important in the
selection of a leader from a family. The one on whom the eyes of the people
rest may be young or old, but he does become aware of the gaze and the ex-
pectations of the group. He usually responds, as did Ngatoko.)

Ngatoko also became a thorn in the flesh to Ngaiterangi. In the national
gatherings which were attended by both Ngatirangimui and Ngaiterangi rep-
resentatives, the tensions experienced at home were often transferred.1
One of these was, the persistent statement among the Ngaiterangi leaders that
Tauranga had only one tribe - and that was Ngaiterangi. To be told this
was of course anathema to a member of the Ngatirangimui tribe. It was
tantamount to saying that Ngatirangimui was a mere nobody. They did not
count.2 They were slaves of Ngaiterangi. Ngatoko used his energies and
deating skill to confound Ngaiterangi on this issue and the tribe sheltered
under his mantle.

Extended and Nuclear Families in the Ngaitamarawaho Subtribe.

The Ngaitamarawaho subtribe is constituted of a number of extended family
groups, though within these again are nuclear families which are patterned very
much after the normal European model in New Zealand.3 The accompanying genea-
logical chart shows the tribal connections of the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe and the
internal subdivisions into extended families.4

Though the subtribe regards Te Kaponga as the main progenitor of the group,
(the name Ngaitamarawaho comes from another ancestor) and the link through to
Rangimui the tribal ancestor, it is customary for the main extended families to

1. The writer witnessed an occurrence of this kind when the two Tauranga tribes
attended first a Church meeting at the Ratana village and a political meet-
ing in Wellington.
2. For ancient feuds between Ngaiterangi and Ngatirangimui see Gifford and
Williams, a Centennial History of Tauranga, pp.13,14,15,16,17; oral
tradition from Te Hare Piahana and Te Karethana.
3. Cf. Hawthorn, The Maori, A.A., No.46, 1944, pp. 25,44,45; also Firth,
Economics, pp. 96-98, for a theoretical analysis of the nuclear or biological
family in the whana; Sutherland, The Maori Situation, pp. 94-95.
4. Also see Genealogy Descent from Canes, p.16.
GENEALOGIES OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE HURIA VILLAGE COMMUNITY.
(Subtribal Records, Te Hare Piahana)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Takitimu Canoe</th>
<th>Matatua Canoe</th>
<th>Te Arawa Canoe</th>
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<tr>
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<td>(Tutereina)</td>
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<td>(Te Kaponga)</td>
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<td>Te Papawhakairi</td>
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Tahuri wakamui

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<td>Homai</td>
<td>Rahipere Maora</td>
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<td>Te Reoheu</td>
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<td>Te Hare (Hinenui)</td>
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<td>(Te Reoheu) Katersina (Winiata)</td>
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<td>Rahiopere</td>
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<td>Mateskino</td>
<td>Mateskhi</td>
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<th>Auetu-Tewi (European) (David Hall)</th>
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<td>(Horii) Mere William Jimmy (Rihi)</td>
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Genealogies of the Inhabitants of the Huria Village Community (continued).

who lived six generations

whakapapa: (7) O Rangiwhakarewa-Ataiti

the family of

the direct descendants

time lived

tone of chronological

kinship seniority (9) Rauhea-Riripeti

leadership

(8) Ngakumama-Reweti

Mokohiti Rangitoaka

(9) Rauhea-Riripeti

(10) Original heads of families (9) Te moko

Te Kiriwhakarewa and Waikohua marked (A) to (C) (Link with Poike Village)

(2) Heads of families held in regard by the present generation numbered 1-9

(3) Some of the names of persons mentioned in the text are placed in brackets.

...
look with special affection upon two sets of ancestors. The first are siblings who lived six generations back, two brothers and a sister, Te Moko, Te Kiriwhakarewa (sister), and Waikohua. Today clusters of families may be known as the family of Te Moko, the family of Te Kiriwhakarewa and the family of Waikohua. The direct descendants of the first born Te Moko are the Piahana family who at one time lived at Matahoroa. This background makes the Piahana family, regardless of chronological age, the tuakana or seniors in the subtribe. But this kinship seniority has no political significance today from the point of view of leadership. The title tuakana is a courtesy one applied to members of the Piahana family by the descendants of Te Kiriwhakarewa and Waikohua. Then, too, in actual practice there has been so much intermarriage between the descendants of these ancestors that the lines of demarcation are very much confused as between juniority and seniority. The Piahana family may be tuakana according to one line of descent but teina according to another.

Te Reohau was the eldest son in the Piahana family. He was well versed in the genealogies of the subtribe. All the other families called him and his brothers tuakana, but Te Reohau was never involved in tribal leadership concerning the Confiscation land controversy, neither was he prominent in the welcome ceremonies to visitors on the marae. Nepia and Ngatoko, who addressed him as tuakana, were far more taken up with tribal and subtribal representation. Nepia and Ngatoko were equipped with the necessary skills and possessed the requisite incentive in that their families suffered greatly from limitation of land.

The other group of symbolic ancestors revered by the present generation, who are gradually replacing the more remote ones, are Te Homai, Maora, Hikowai, Ngawhetu, Araetu, Rangiwhakarewa, Ngakumama - all women, and a male, the youngest, Te Rauhea. They lived some four generations back. With the exception of Te Homai they were sibling members of a family whose father died while they were still young. The hardship experienced by the family after their father died and the

1. See Genealogy: Tahuriwakanui, p.75, also Descent from Canoe, p.16.
2. The writer has heard Ngatoko (From Te Kiriwhakarewa) speaking at an assembly. Kua korero taku tuakana etc. "My elder brother has spoken" (referring to Winiata Piahana, see pp. 23,24, for kinship terms.
Plate 17.

A. A Kaumatua, his Kuia and friends. (Mataboroa settlement). The Kaumatua holds the tribal heirloom, Te Kaponga.

B. Family from Te Reti Settlement.

C. Family from the Huria Settlement.

Nuclear family groups - Huria Village Community.
fact that they were women, tend to surround them with mana and affection. The most important extended families in the village stress their descent from these matriarchs. Their importance is reflected in the location of their households close to the marae complex, and the energy which they display in the affairs of the subtribe. Families with less direct connection to these matriarchs are not only placed on the outskirts of the village land but they also show less concern in the ceremonial life of the group.

The leading kaumatua in the village were Nepia Kohu, Peri Kohu, Karora Kohu and Matiu Kohu, all sons of Te Hikuwai, while Ngatoko was a son of Maora, and Winiata Piahana of Te Homai. Te Hare Piahana the present kaumatua of the subtribe is a grandson of Te Homai and married a daughter of Te Hikuwai. Among the Kuia, Riki Matiu is wife of Matiu Kohu and daughter of Te Auetu, Ngawhetu daughter of Ngawhetu, and Ngawaikaukau was widow of Karora Kohu. Though living in another village at present, Riki and Tame are recognised kaumatua because they are sons of Te Rauhea. The manuscript containing the subtribal genealogies is in the care of Riki, indicating his standing in Ngaitamarawaho.

Internal Organisation of the Whanau.

The internal organisation of extended family groups reveals varying degrees of integration and formalisation that affect the leadership in them. There are three types of extended families considered in terms of integration. One may be called the dispersed type, where the nuclear families constituting them have been reduced in numbers either through emigration or assimilation by marriage into other extended family groups. Another type may be termed the emergent extended family. In this case nuclear families which had been dispersed are beginning to come together again around the memory of a progenitor of the extended family now regarded as symbolic head. In both instances the internal organisation is blurred and the leadership confused.

The family of Peri Kohu has been bereft of both the kaumatua and the kuia, deceased. The present family consists of married brothers and sisters. One brother has left the district, two others married wives from another tribe and are only recently returned to the village. Two sisters married men from other tribes, but are now living at the family homestead in Matahoroa. Another brother married a wife from the Tuterenga subtribe at Te Puna; they live at Te Reti. The oldest son and the brother next to him live at Te Reti and are the only ones who take an active interest in the affairs of the subtribe. The oldest, Jimmy, married a daughter of the Kuia, Ngawaikaukau and seems to be drawn in as a member of the Ngawaikaukau family. Except for the two oldest sons then, this family counts for very
little at Huria. Two more sisters married local men but they are absorbed into their husbands' extended families. The subtribe still tries to keep a place for the family of Peri Kohu in the village affairs, for instance, Jimmy is usually taken into the tribal committee as representative of his father's family, and the other brothers and sisters may consult him for advice and guidance when in any difficulty. Apart from this the family is quite dispersed.

The Mikaere family is made up of some five nuclear families who have only just recently returned from another district. Old Ngaruna the kaumatua of the group, died some years ago. One nuclear family lives at Huria, the rest at Te Reti. The members of this family have more older ones among them than that of Peri Kohu. The older ones are uncles and aunts, the younger ones are their nephews, all are married, with their own families. Two nephews, George Mikaere and Jimmy Foster, are in the tribal committee. Two women are recognised kuis - Ruta and Ngawhetu - who play their part in the entertainment of visitors during the ceremonials. Rotoru, the oldest male and brother of Ngaruna, the original kaumatua, is gradually assuming the kaumatua leadership especially in the subtribal projects and ceremonials. He takes his place as a speaker on the marae as representative of the family, though he is quite new to oratory. George, son of Ngaruna, keeps some of the books belonging to his father containing the genealogies, this possession giving him a certain amount of prestige in the group. Ngawhetu, for some things, is looked on as a leader of the Mikaere family. There was an occasion a short while ago when the family required an amount of money - dances were held for the purpose, all under the supervision of Ngawhetu. But Ngawhetu is head of her own family in her husband's group. At present the leadership in the Mikaere family is not very clear.

The third type of extended family is one in which the internal organisation is closely integrated and the leadership is strong and certain. In many of these ideal family groups the outlines of the extended families are superimposed upon by other organisations, thus giving them extra firmness.

Both the families of Rihi Matiu and Ngawiaikaukau are instances of this kind. They are members of the Mormon church, and there is coincidence between leadership in the extended family and the church. To a lesser degree is this true also of the family of Ngawhetu who are the main supporters of the Ringatu church.

The structure of the family of Rihi Matiu illustrates the internal organisation of the integrated type of family.

After the death of her husband, Matiu, Rihi assumed the leadership of her extended family group. This consists of five married sons, and a married daughter, all with large families. All the married children, except the married daughter, occupy separate households on the same extended family holding at Te Reti. The Kuia, Rihi, lives in a house of her own, with adopted children from the Welfare Department. Though she is on her own, she is never alone, her sons, their wives and above all their children, are in and out of the old lady's house. The leadership of Rihi is
recognised by her family. The rest of the family come to her for advice, she admonishes them when they do wrong. She decides who the boys should marry, and even when they do not heed all that she says, they listen to her and agree that she is right and they are wrong. The family has a loosely formed committee including all the members. Rihi is the chairman, Clifford, one of the sons, is secretary. Rihi suggested that the family establish a communal fund, the rest approved the idea. Each nuclear family pays in so much a month from their wages; Rihi is the treasurer. From this money the family has built a hall, and a tennis court. Rihi also suggested that the family cultivate some spare land at Te Reti and grow maize, kumara and potato. The work is done by all the family members, the produce is placed in a common store house. Surplus produce is sold and the money is lodged in the common fund. Throughout, Rihi is the supervisor. Aiding her are her two sons, Roy and Clifford, who are men with College educations. Both Roy and Clifford represent the family in the relationships with other groups in the village, though preference is given to Roy. Rihi herself discourages any great association with the social centre at Hare, though the boys feel that they cannot altogether break away because their father was one of the kaumatua of the group. Thus Rihi is the internal administrator of the family, and Roy and Clifford are the external representatives-members of the tribal committee, the komiti marae, etc.

The strong leadership given by Rihi and her elder sons is a significant factor in integrating the family group. The clear cut ideas of Rihi also serve the same purpose. She knows what she wants and she goes ahead and does it.

But behind the family also stands the name of the kaumatua, Matiu Kohu, and the link back through him and through Rihi herself to the matriarchs of the subtribe.

Another extended family in this category is that of Te Hare Piahana, probably the most influential one in the group today.

Te Hare is the oldest member of his family and there are four generations in the family. The family of Winiata Piahana and that of Te Amopo are dispersed and tend to rest under the mantle of Te Hare, because of the close kinship ties. The members of the family turn to him for advice on all sorts of questions. Disputes among themselves or with other family groups over land boundaries, genealogical connections and tradition and history. He is consulted when members of the group marry, or when they leave home. During the second world war members of the family went overseas, Te Hare was the one who farewelled them. But in the dealings with the European, too, such as buying timber for housing, taking positions in employment, he has been called upon. Behind Te Hare stands the Ruia Pekerangi supporting him in all he does. He speaks for the family in the councils of the subtribe whether in the komiti marae or in the tribal committee. But Te Hare Piahana is more than this today. Since Ngatoko and the others died, Te Hare has become the leading kaumatua in the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe. He comes from the senior line of descent from Te Kaponga through Te Moko and later Te Homai. However, this is not the basis for his leadership in the subtribe, it is rather the possession of
skills. He is the most able orator in the subtribe, and therefore invariably opens the speeches on ceremonial occasions. He is learned in the genealogies, subtribal and tribal history and tradition and the poetry of the group far above any one else in it. This knowledge fits him as defender of the good name of Ngatiranginui against Ngaiterangi, which he does on all occasions. He is also well equipped in land matters, being at one time a land agent. He was responsible for the latest petition sent to Parliament for a re-hearing of the Tauranga land confiscation. The subtribe never does anything nor goes anywhere without Te Hare.

His age, knowledge and possession of skills give Te Hare a strong position in his extended family. The family revolves around him and he gives it strength. But, owing to a dearth of kaumatua and the fact that his ability is quite outstanding, he is also at the head of the subtribe.

A Discussion Among Whanau Heads.

The affairs of the subtribe is in practice discussed by the adult members of the extended families meeting together both in agreement and often disagreement. The interaction between kaumatua heads of families in the assemblies of the subtribe is well illustrated in the following account of a meeting that took place some years ago. The data, though over five years old, nevertheless indicates the relationships between leaders in the subtribal councils, even today.

'Hui mai tatou ki te marae i Huria, ki te korero i te take whakahou i to tatou tupuna whare. Heci na Ngatoko.' (Let us, the subtribe, gather together at the marae at Huria on Sunday to discuss the matter of renovating our ancestor, the meeting house. This is all, Ngatoko.)

Such was the note that Ngatoko sent out to all the kaumatua heads of the families in the village community at Matahora and Te Reti by his son. No time was mentioned in the note, only the day, Sunday, when it would be certain to get all the people together. The actual time of the meeting depends on the arrival of the people. In this case the meeting started about three o'clock in the afternoon. Besides the kaumatua from the Huria village, several also came from other subtribal villages.

Gathered in the meeting house Te Kaponga were men and women, and a few youths and children who had nothing better to do. Ngatoko stood up and asked Jimmy Kohu, a Mormon leader, to open the meeting with prayer. Forms had been placed around the walls of the house, on which sat most of the men, while their kuia sat at their feet on the floor.

Again Ngatoko stood forth, as the kaumatua who initiated the matter of the meeting. His main qualification for raising the question of renovating the meeting house, in addition to his general kinship connections with the common ancestor, was the fact that he was the
kaumatua residing close to the meeting house. He was regarded as the caretaker of it. He began by reciting the history of the successive buildings which had been erected on this site. He mentioned that the leading men of the subtribe had given as their ohaki 'Kia manaaki i to koutou tupuna whare' 'Be kind to your ancestral house.' He said the meeting house was the kohanga or nest of the subtribe and it should be looked after well. He showed where the foundations were giving way, where the walls had been eaten away by the borer. Then he went on to say that the subtribe was too numerous to be contained in the present building and therefore it should be enlarged. He had already discussed this whole matter with other kaumatua in the subtribe and it was suggested that timber for renovating the house can be got from the whenua huihui at Te Akeake. (Communally owned land and bush). At the end of his speech he sang the song of Matatu (an ancestress of the subtribe). The whole assembly joined in.

The next speaker was another kaumatua from Matahoroa, Winiata Piahana. He expressed agreement with Ngatoko, and jokingly added that his family wanted to make some material contribution to the project because he had been reminded that the Piahana family had no shares in the site of the meeting house, which was quite true. His family owned substantial shares to the communal land at Te Akeake where there were some Rimu and Kahikatea. He had discussed this matter with his nephews, his wife, Te Rua, the Kuia, who was present, and they all agreed to give as many trees from their bush as required for the construction. He had also seen the manager of the Mill, and he was told that a large amount of sawn timber could be got from the trees without any charge for their cutting and sawing. The necessary costs would be taken by the miller in the form of timber. There was applause from the meeting at this announcement. Some of the kuia were apparently emotionally affected by this generosity and they began to cry.

Matiu Kohu stood up and told the meeting to be cautious. He pointed out the need for a large sum of money to be raised before the actual work was to start. He told the meeting that he had had wide experience in contracts of various sorts and that this project would have to be planned well before things were begun. He proposed that a list of the total population be taken and that each person, young or old, be asked to contribute a pound a head. When he sat down his sister, Te Amopo, one of the kuia in the village, stepped forward without a word and placed a £10 note on the centre of the floor.

Te Rohu, another kaumatua, said he would also like to give timber from his share of the communal land at Te Akeake. Without waiting for him to stop speaking, his wife, the kuia Ngawhoutu, came forward and placed two £10 notes on the money lying on the floor.

Ngatoko then asked Te Tuhi, one of the younger men in the meeting, who

1. The sung poem was composed by Te Mono, father of Matateu an ancestress of the subtribe. It is sung on those intimate occasions when members die, when they return home or, as in this case, when there is discussion on the ancestral meeting house. No true son of Ngaitamarawaho can fail to be impressed when such a sentimental poem is sung. It was originally an oriori - a lullaby - the father's reply to the allegations that his daughter, Matateu, was not really his child.
was a carpenter, if he had anything to say. Te Tuhi suggested that he and Matiu should draw up suitable plans for the new building, find out the amount and cost of the timber needed and bring the matter forward to the next meeting of the subtribe.

Te Hare Piahana said he had not spoken previously because his uncle, Winiata Piahana, had said everything from their family. But, as chairman of the Tribal Committee, he would like to say that it is possible to get a £ for a £ subsidy from the Government for a project such as that of renovating the meeting house.

Other speakers were Riki Paraone, Tane Potaua and Mokohiti, kaumatua from other subtribes of Ngatiranginui. Each donated £5 toward the project, saying that they had the right to attend this meeting and to contribute to the renovation of the building because it was as much their tupuna as that of Ngaitamarawaho. They were returning to their own village communities to discuss this matter further with their own people.

At this stage word came from the dining room that tea was ready and inviting the people at the meeting to come and have it.

Ngatoko suggested that the meeting now adjourn until such time as Te Tuhi and Matiu were able to work out plans and find out the cost of the building. In the meantime he suggested that Te Hare find out more from the Welfare Officer concerning the procedure of getting subsidies from the Government. He also proposed that the money already donated be handed in to the treasurer of the Komiti Marae, his own daughter Hinemanu, to lodge in the Post Office Savings Bank and that the list as Matiu had suggested should be made out and the people asked to contribute £1 per head. He closed the meeting with prayer and thanked the kaumatua leaders from the other village communities for attending the meeting.

The notes of the subtribal meeting give a good example of the way in which the extended families, through their heads and adult representatives, conduct the affairs of the subtribe. We note: 1. The underlying rivalry between the heads of the extended family groups in endeavours to push forward the subtribal project. The offers of contributions of timber, and donations of money are stimulated as much by rivalry as by positive concern for subtribal welfare. The name of the extended family must be brought to the fore. 2. The support of members of the extended family for their kaumatua and kuia. Matters had already been discussed and a well defined policy was expressed through the leaders at the subtribal council. 3. The need for cooperation and coordination of leadership functions between the traditional kaumatua and the more sophisticated members of the community is also obvious. Te Tuhi, Matiu and Te Hare were all men with
European experience and knowledge. On this occasion their advice and guidance were required by, and offered to, the group. There was really the minimum of conflict between the educated leader and the kaumatua. The fact was that both classes of leaders, kaumatua and educated, were bound together by kinship, and shared the common values and ideals of the group. Each made his own contribution in his own way to the smooth functioning of the subtribe. Generally, as in this case, the educated leader was the technical adviser while the kaumatua was the initiator, and the leader around which the community revolved. A great deal depend upon the nature of the project. If it was one in which substantial negotiations with the European were required then the role of initiator would be taken by the educated person, the kaumatua in such cases carried out the major task of stimulating the group into action to support the project.

4. The cooperation between the kaumatua and the kuia was also significant. The kuia stood behind the kaumatua whether the latter was a husband or a brother. The kuia on such occasions said very little, but her deeds and acts were both eloquent and symbolic. She gave the material means to support the statements made by the kaumatua. 5. The interest of other subtribal leaders was inspired by common kinship connections. The name of the ancestor Te Kaponga gave rights as well as imposing obligations among leaders and people from the other subtribes of Ngatiranginui.

Relations between the extended and the nuclear families.

The whanau or extended family group was the most pervasive force in the village community. At Huria the nuclear households are built on sites at the extended family holding. The nuclear families acknowledge the leadership of the kuia or kaumatua and have a share in the work and products of communal cultivations. They tend to move in to church systems as an extended family group. They join together in the assemblies of the subtribe. The genealogies linking nuclear family groups to the ancestor of the subtribe are in the keeping of the kaumatua or kuia head of the extended family.

1. See pp. 270-272, 274, 278-279, 293.
There is a closer, more intimate and more frequentative set of relations between members of the nuclear families belonging to specific extended family groups, than with similar groups outside.

Ngawaikaukau, the head of the extended family, is the widow of Karora Kohu. She has three married daughters with families down to great-great-grandchildren, also two married sons with their children. One of the married daughters lives in the city of Auckland with her children and grandchildren. The nuclear families in Auckland pay regular visits to the old lady at the Huria settlement. When one of these visits is missed, the old lady becomes agitated and wonders what the trouble is. The folk in Auckland use the term old lady showing the affectionate regard for Ngawaikaukau. They come to Huria to help the old lady harvest her kumara crop. When there is any marriage or confinement, the old lady is consulted. The nuclear families nearer home behave in exactly the same way. They live, move and have their being within the framework of the wider kinship extended family group.

The Nuclear Family.¹

On the other hand, the nuclear family is assuming a role of its own. The newly-weds desire to establish their own homes, where they can incorporate the new amenities and facilities without objection from the older people. The question of numbers also compel families to build separate houses. This problem is solved often by clusters of cottages being built close to the old family homestead. The meals continue to be taken together in the family homestead, and this sharing may extend to money and to clothes. Social security payments² received by a young mother often give her more independence, thus making a separate household possible, convenient and desirable.

Ben Nuku and Hiria, his wife, have a large family of married sons and daughters. Two sons and a daughter, all married, live in cottages a few yards away from the parents' house. They cultivate one plot of kumara and potato and share the harvest. They eat in the parents' house, while money and clothes circulate very freely among all adult members.

The leadership in the nuclear family is shared between the husband and the wife. The latter, if experienced and educated, may take charge of the children's schooling, plan their social activities and generally discipline them. The external relations of the family are taken over by the husband, who will represent the group in the contacts with other families in the village. While the general

¹. Best, Vol. 1, pp. 341-344; Buck, Coming, pp. 333-335; Firth, Economics, pp. 96-98; Hawthorn, op.cit., pp. 25, 44, 45.
². Family Allowance under the Social Security Act, is paid at the monthly rate of £2.3.4d. for each child.
distribution of control is made in this way, several wives because of superior education assume many of the functions attributed to the male. Tata was well educated. She was the wife of Charlie. Charlie was building his own house, but he had very little idea of how to do it. His wife practically told him how to build the house, and she certainly determined what rooms should be built and where they should be placed. Haumarino was the wife of Wi. She shared with her husband the control in the external relations of the nuclear family. She was the one brought into the discussions on the genealogies. She was interested in such matters and she was very well versed because of the training given to her by her kaumatua father and kuia mother.

Church Groups.

Next to the extended family, the influence of the religious organisations is the most pervasive in the village community. There are three religious organisations, the Mormons, the Ratana and the Ringatu, distributed throughout all the settlements. The Mormons, however, are in the majority in all of them. From the angle of social change the Mormons are the most potent, the Ringatu tend to be conservative, while the Ratana accept European ideas with theoretical protest. These ideological characteristics appear in the programmes and policies as well as in the philosophy of the respective church leaders. But the structure, too, of the organisations has an obvious bearing upon the kind of leadership created.

(a) Mormons.

The Mormons are dynamic, progressive and very forward looking. Ideals are well defined and stand as guides to conduct for adherents. The Mormons sum up some of their beliefs in short texts that are widely publicised:

'As man is God once was, as God is man will be.' This statement embodies the Mormon view of progress or evolution which began in another world, continues through this vale of tears, and so on in the next stage of development, until human beings reach the state of perfection already attained by the deity. The effect of this belief simply told and naively held, is to give an added premium to getting on in the spiritual and moral realms. The Mormons are confident and self-assured almost to the point of arrogance. The European, according to them, is white because he has

1. This family consists of Charlie and his wife, 5 daughters, including a set of twins, one son at home, another living with Charlie's married sister. In addition there are two adopted children - a boy and a girl. They live in a single house at Te Reti.
progressed further than the coloured peoples in the arts of civilisation - the special talent which God had given him. Progress, therefore, is conceived of in terms of the arts of civilisation and many Mormons believe that they are already getting lighter coloured because of the way they are adopting European manners, etc.\textsuperscript{1} Then, says the Mormon, 'The Glory of God is Intelligence.' Intelligence is not only a major trait in the character of God, but in the evolution toward such a goal of perfection. Intelligence must also be sought after by man. Intelligence is put into more concrete terms by being identified with a high standard of education. Thus the Mormons advocate education for their children. The effect of this doctrine, even if not fully attained because of economic limitations, is to create an attitude that predisposes the people toward the agencies of change which are offered. It is no accident that Mormon parents are among the strongest advocates for movements from the European which aim at the dissemination of knowledge and information.\textsuperscript{2}

The examples quoted above, which can be multiplied, show the crystallised body of teaching on which Mormon families are brought up, helping to guide Mormon thinking and practice, even though a gulf sometimes exists between the ideal and the practice.

The whole situation in Huria, also true for the Maori people throughout, is one of varying degrees of confusion and clash of values. Social change brings a state of bewilderment, and a simply stated philosophy, whether true or false, resolves many of the difficulties confronting the Maori people by suggesting a clear line for conduct.\textsuperscript{3} Because of its logical consistency Mormon ideology fits the conditions of the times and therefore helps in the incorporation of customs, habits, and ideas that ease adjustment to the new social and economic environment. Thereby, too, leadership in the church is given a programme and a policy. Of more practical application is another Biblical text which summarises a key ideal of the Mormons:

'Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost.' From this text the Mormons derive a code termed 'The Word of Wisdom.'

\begin{enumerate}
\item The writer as a youth participated in the cultural and educational activities provided by the Mormons, in which these ideas were current.
\item The only boys to attend Boarding School about the 1930's were Mormon lads. Statistics from the Tauranga College show the predominance of Mormon children among those who stay longest at College; 2/3rds of the holders of the School Certificate from the College are Mormon boys; the greatest response in Adult Education classes started by the writer was from Mormon people.
\item See pp. 234, for statement concerning the phenomenon of alienations in Maori society.
\end{enumerate}
discourages smoking, and the drinking of intoxicating liquors, and encourages the physical care of the body. While the bulk of the Maori people is overwhelmed by social, economic and health problems arising from excessive intemperance, the Mormons find fewer difficulties because of the clear line of conduct inculcated through the sanctions of their religion.

The structure of the church is well-adapted for the training of leaders and the education of church members. There is a series of organisations, clubs and Committees in the Church, each leading in easy stages of progression from those for the young to those for the older people. The result is that a member is born into the church, learns in the church, works in the church, plays in the church, and worships in the same place. This framework is equipped with facilities for the training of leaders through experience, in the conducting of meetings, the initiation of discussions, the recording of minutes, speaking and debating. What is probably of greater significance is the way in which real meaningful responsibility is absolutely delegated to Maori personnel vested with the full ecclesiastical ceremonial by the Presidency of the Mormon Church in New Zealand. This makes the members feel the church belongs to them, thus giving them a sense of self-expression and the leaders a knowledge that their prestige not only comes from an important European institution but also from the will of the people themselves.

The groups begin with the Kindergarten, followed by the Primary section for the young ones. The adolescents are catered for in the Mutual Improvement Association. Singing is a feature of church services and a choir of young people meets regularly for practice. Adult organisations include a Bible class, a Sunday School, the Hui Atawhai (Women's Welfare Committee), a genealogical board for men and priesthood meetings. The programmes for each organisation are based on the interests of people at that stage of life, it is attractively presented according to the latest psychological methods. For instance, the Primary children learn their stories in the play way style, while in the Mutual Improvement meetings, Drama, Dancing and Debating may take up the evenings. As the children grow up and progress through the various organisations, they assume a specific leadership position. Generally, the pattern of leadership in each organisation is similar, consisting of a President, who controls the meetings, and his assistants, the First and Second Counsellors. Office rotates among the young men and women of the church, each position being held for limited periods.

The link between the church organisation as a leadership training ground and the internal structure of the village community helps to transfer leaders from one
to the other. The situation at Huria is one in which experience and training in European methods are required for certain administrative positions. But further, there is also a need for people with some insight into the changing circumstances in the relationships of the group with European organisations. Both needs are met most adequately by persons brought up in the Mormon organisations.

The chairman and secretary of the tribal committee are Mormons. The tennis clubs, football clubs, basketball clubs, the school committee and the finance raising committees recruit their leaders from the more sophisticated Mormon people. Adult Education committees, too, and the Women's Welfare Leagues, as well as the groups interested in market gardening and agricultural projects under the supervision of the Maori Department, benefit from the leadership of men and women who first received their experience in Mormon organisations.

The peculiar relationship between the church and the extended family is also relevant to our discussion. Generally speaking, the church runs in families. One is born into the church as one enters an extended family, and as far as the Mormons are concerned the two groups are synonymous. Another aspect of this relationship is seen in the matter of inter-church marriages. Marriage of Mormons with non-Mormons invariably means the absorption of non-Mormons into Mormon families, particularly if the husband is a Mormon.

Rangihioia was the daughter of Ngatoko, head of the Ratana Church. She married Roy, eldest son in the Riihi Matiu family of Te Reti. (He is a Mormon leader) Rangihioia is now an enthusiastic worker in the Mormon Sunday School.

A Mormon wife, marrying a non-Mormon husband, usually retains her connection with the Mormon church, or at worst, if her husband objects against her doing so, she may remain neutral in the matter of religion or attend the services of her church in secret.

Te Ruhi, daughter of the Mormon family of Peri Kohu, married Nahari, tohunga of the Ringatu Church, at Matahorae. She and her children regularly visit Huria on Sunday mornings overtly to see friends, but it was strange that these visits always corresponded with the times of the Mormon services at the Mormon Chapel at Huria! (Te Ruhi actually attended the services.)

The strength of the Mormon Church as a proselytising agency on behalf of the church and the extended family, primarily lies in the deep conviction among Mormons of the rightness of their church, literally to them the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The missionary zeal that emanates from such a belief is strong in Huria. On the other side, the Mormon status is high, because of the
extensive range of its interests, the efficiency of its organisations and the glamour associated with its American background.

The identity of the extended family and the church organisation has the effect of reinforcing the leadership in each group.

In the Ngawai family, Joe, the eldest son, stands beside his widowed mother as the diplomatic representative of the extended family. But then he is also a foremost leader in the Mormon Church at Huria, where the majority of Mormon members are comprised of the Ngawai family. The church creates an attitude of obedience and loyalty towards the leaders that is transferred over to the relationships between the people and heads in the extended family. One position reinforces the other.

The other side to the particular relationship between the extended family and the church system is that of the transfer of conflict from the family into the church.

The families of Rii and Ngawai again provide examples, because they represent the two main supports of the Mormon church in the community. A variety of causes created the tension between these families. One was personal, another was a clash of values. The result is a split in the Mormon Church, with one branch based in the Huria settlement at the Mormon Chapel built on Ngawai land, the other is at Te Reti, meeting in the Hall erected by Rii and her family. The conflict intensifies the competition for positions in the church and the attempt by each group to produce superior results when their own representative is in office.

We may review the features of the Mormon group: 1. That its ideology predispose the group to the forces of social change, and provides leaders with a philosophy on which definite programmes and policies are based. 3. That the totalitarian and well-formulated organisations of the Mormon church make it a fertile training ground for the kind of leaders skilled in European methods and techniques which are needed in the Huria village community. 4. That the close identity between the church and the extended family strengthens the leadership in both groups - one adds, to the foundations of the other.

(b) Ratana.

The Ratana ideology is less clear cut than that of the Mormons, neither is it as well related to the needs of the moment. On the other hand, the alliance between the Ratana and the Labour Party has given the Ratana church in Huria a strongly political bias. It stands in the Huria Community for a particular economic programme and policy which are derived from the Labour political

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1. At least here in Huria; see section on Tokunga for further references.
platform. In terms of relationship with the European, the protest tendencies in Huria, arising from the historical and economic background of confiscation, are inclined to be focussed in the framework of the Ratana Church.

The Ratana Church is identified with the family of Te Atatu Nepia and the remnants of the Ngatoko family. Ngatoko, now deceased, was a kaumatua of the subtribe, a leader in the tribe, and an advocate of Ratanaism. His family is at Te Reti and while they acknowledge membership in the Ratana movement, they do not take a very active part in church services. The Ratana services are held in the home of Te Atatu Nepia most Sundays, but only a few attend in addition to Te Atatu Nepia's immediate family. Te Atatu is the Apotoro and the acknowledged head of the church here. During ceremonial meetings, Te Atatu is sometimes asked to hold prayers in the meeting house, and officiate at funerals, assisted by Ratana ministers from other village communities.

Although there is not the same attention given to Sunday services as with the Mormons, Ratana people, in common with the Ringatu, tend to practice their religious exercises in family groups frequently under the leadership of the father of the nuclear family. Grace before meals, morning and evening services and prayers for the sick, are usually taken by these persons privately.

One does not find among the Ratana the same tendency as with the Mormons to influence the leadership of the subtribe. For instance, Te Atatu Nepia is senior member in an extended family. Logically he is the head of the extended group and is regarded as a kaumatua in the subtribe by virtue of his descent and his age. But within his own extended family group there are conflicts. These are caused by rivalry for extended family leadership and also by the fact that the other members are adherents of the Ringatu church and therefore look rather to Ringatu leaders for counsel and advice on many matters. There is not the same compactness in terms of extended family loyalties to a church as with the Mormons, although the tendency of family and church synonymity is evident, but in intermarriage of Ratana women with Mormons, the wives join their husbands' church.

The organisation of the Ratana church is not as strong, and well articulated as that of the Mormons. There is no church building around which to build cohesion, while the present membership and leadership are weak. Two other reasons account for the weakness of the Ratana church at Huria. First there is no attempt to recruit and train leaders from the youth as is the case among the Mormons, and to a less extent, the Ringatu. The means to do this do not exist, neither apparently is there any intention to achieve such a purpose. The other reason lies in the nature of Ratana doctrine and the associations such doctrines have in

1. See Section on Parliamentarians.
2. See Section on Tehunga.
3. The Ngatiranginui tribe through the instrumentality of Winiata Piahana and Ngatoko, succeeded in having the Ngatiranginui (Raupatu) Confiscation in the forefront of the political platform of Ratana-Labour members of Parliament.
4. At funerals for Ratana members of the community.
the minds of the people, especially when these are contrasted with those of the Mormons.

A sense of inferiority characterises the Ratana people and their leaders. Their theology describes the deity as comprised of four persons - the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Angels. To this hierarchy is added the name of Te Mangai - the Mouth-piece - who is Ratana, the prophet. This doctrine is criticised by the Mormons and others, as being puerile and blasphemous, because of the attempt to place a human being on the same footing as deity. The Ratana hymns, too, have strange words, the tunes are not always melodious. When these are sung by people who have had no previous practice in them, the net result is to make the members quite ashamed of their efforts. The high standard of the Mormons in all these activities also further emphasises the contrast.

We may sum up our brief reference to the Ratana church by stating:

1. That in the Huria village, the Ratana church is not well-organised; the members are compelled, therefore, to worship in the smaller groups of the order of the nuclear family. In such cases the leadership of the church is concentrated in the hands of the heads of nuclear families - namely the husband who takes family prayers and offers grace at meal times, but active coordination among these leaders rarely occurs.

2. The head of the Church here is the Apototo, Te Atatu Nepia, but his own personal deficiencies, intensified by the lack of organisation to support him locally, rather mitigate any attempts on his part to lead.

3. Like many more Maori sponsored churches, the Ratana organisation is not well-equipped to train leaders or educate its youth in Ratana doctrine. The whole focus is on the interests of adult members from whom leaders are recruited primarily by virtue of their age and only secondarily for any specialized knowledge they may possess concerning Ratana doctrine, policy or procedure. The Ratana stress kaumatua leadership, the Mormons stress the educated kind of leader.

1. See reference to the Ratana movement in the Section on the Tohunga.
4. The Ratana is greatly overshadowed by the Mormon system. There is a distinct feeling of inferiority among the Ratana adherents because their beliefs are so peculiar and because what they believe is so much at variance with the more modern ideas which they would like incorporated in their system. On the other hand the political association of the movement, the healing capacities alleged to reside in the Apotoro1 - though not widely practised here - and the fact that the Apotoro is a kaumatua in the group, still help to create some place for the Ratana Church among the important groups within the Huria Village Community.

(c) Ringatu.2

Where the Mormons promote social change, and the Ratana embody protest elements, the Ringatu stand for the conservation of Maori values. The protest tendencies on which the Church was founded at the beginning are assuming a very abstract form today. The positive features of its ideology rather directly emphasise traditional values with less of the aggressive political aspects of former times, a role that is being taken by the Ratana organisation in the village community. Yet, in the attempt to conserve traditional values, the reaction toward European things is often of a negative, protest nature.

The doctrines and practices of the Ringatu Church are well defined and understood by the people of the village. History has given the Ringatu Church a tradition, and its Maori background a recognised function and a status in the community. It is well set, like the Mormons, where the Ratana is still in a very fluid state, at least here in Huria. The Ringatu worships regularly in a proper church building on the property of its sponsoring extended family, that of Ngawhetu. Long established feast days connected with the history of the church and reminiscent of seasonal changes in the traditional Maori calendar stimulate cohesion and give the members experience and training in the procedure and theology of the church. The hierarchy of leadership centred in the Tohunga has both a traditional and a modern sanction. There are also other officers in the community, such as Pirihimana, for keeping law and order at festivals. Each position is well stated and seriously held. With the Ringatu, and to a lesser degree with the Ratana also, the healing of sickness is

1. See Section on Tohunga.
2. See pp. 185-194. (Reference may be made to these pages for details of Ringatu ideology.)
surrounded with ritual. The ritual has been practised over the years, thus giving it extra weight. Then there are such customs as that of tapu - ritual prohibitions that regulate the conduct of the members in specific situations. All the members of the Ringatu Church, both old and young, participate in the services and the ritual. They chant the hymns, extracts from the Bible, etc. By this means the people get to know the content of the beliefs even if they do not understand them fully.

The extract quoted shows several important features. There is a degree of formalisation in the Ringatu church that is more noticeable than with the Ratana. This organised feature of the Ringatu stems from regularised practices which have become well established. The more recent history of the Ratana movement has not allowed for the same development to take place. From these regularised practices also come reinforcing factors for the leadership in the system. The tohunga clergy and the pirihimana, who keeps law and order, perform their functions in a system and an organisation. The existence of a church building with a history and tradition as a central worshipping place is also an element in maintaining the cohesion of the Ringatu. The regularised practices and the beliefs inherent in them belong to Maori traditional ideals, and these tend to harden Maori values. The effect upon the Ringatu leaders and their followers is to make them less amenable to changes, or at least to make them question European things that are brought to them and also to create an attitude far less enthusiastic for European ways than that found among the Mormons.

On the other hand a close link is built up between the Ringatu and the ceremonial life of the marae social centre. While all the people of the sub-tribe help at the ceremonials and participate in its activities, the Ringatu leaders are particularly fitted to move into the more traditional activities of the group because of the nature of their church practices. Comparing the Mormons and the Ringatu leaders therefore, it may be accepted as a generalisation that where the Mormons become leaders in the more modern groups within the community,

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1. In 1951 a case occurred of a Ringatu leader - a woman - who would not accept medical assistance for a very sick adopted son, who later died, on the grounds that this was unwarranted interference with the divine purpose. The same woman refused to collect social security payments because such "free" European derived monies made her less dependent upon the bounties of the Creator.
the ceremonial life of the subtribe – reciting genealogies, chanting poems, dealing with witchcraft, etc. is the appropriate sphere of activity of the leader with a Ringatu background.

The three leading men from the community who gained status as tribal leaders were all men who were originally Ringatu tohungas. One remained a Ringatu until his death, the other two had changed over to the Ratana movement, but their Ringatu background had come through in the leadership they rendered in the traditional kinds of activities and ceremonies.

Like the Mormons and the Ratana, the Ringatu runs in families. The Ngawhetu extended family at Muria is the bulwark of the Ringatu church, supported by branches at Te Reti and Waimapu (Waimapu is virtually a Ringatu settlement a distance away from Muria. See section on the Poike traditional village – the Waimapu River.) The families of Ngatoko and Winiata Piahana were once members of the Ringatu church, but they turned to Ratana recently. However, Winiata Piahana's two eldest sons returned to the Ringatu faith after the death of their parents. Another Ringatu family is that of Nepia Kohu represented by the old man's daughter, Te Kahu Hepia, and a grandson, Ihaka Hepia.

The leadership of the Ringatu comes from these families.

Wii, son-in-law of Ngawhetu, is a tohunga of the Ringatu. He assists in the organisation of services at the feast days. Paora, his son and grandson of Ngawhetu, is a Pirihimana and keeps order at the gatherings for worship. Tiaki Harihana, married to Ngawhetu's niece, is a tohunga, alleged to be an expert in healing practices. Nahari, son of Winiata Piahana, is another tohunga whose main task is the registration of marriages, births and deaths.

Although women are not given official positions in the church hierarchy, Ngawhetu is regarded as Te Pou o Te Haahi (Pillar of the Church) in the district. This title is ascribed to her because she is the widow of the leading tohunga (the late Te Rohu Ranui), the oldest person in the extended family and the recognised kuia, leader of the group. Acknowledgment of her position was made by the General Assembly of the church when they agreed to her request for the important annual conference to be held at Muria in 1949, attended by representatives from all over New Zealand.

Summing up the brief statement on the Ringatu:
1. The structure of the church, both in its organisational pattern, its techniques of worship, and its ideology, is far more conducive to the development of the kaumatua class of leader than that of the Mormons. 2. While the Ringatu teaching has less modern features about it than that of the more sophisticated
Mormons, the traditional background and history of the Ringatu have added to the formal patterning that helps the Ringatu leader and member to gain some kind of definite guide for conduct and thinking, in the confused situations of the present day.

3. The comparatively rigid framework of Ringatu hierarchy, in comparison with that of the Ratana system, provides an opportunity for some training in leadership of the kaumatua class.

4. Coincidence of extended family and church organisations reinforces both the kaumatua and the kuia leadership.

Despite the clear lines of demarcation between the membership and the tensions between ideologies of the church organisations at Huria, there is really the minimum of conflict. The meeting of the Ringatu church mentioned above showed the fundamental unity of the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe, that frequently appears through the domestic subdivisions.

Although this was a Ringatu church meeting, the Ratana and Mormon kaumatua leaders turned out to welcome the Ringatu visitors to the Marae, the Mormon young men helped in the cooking and the young women in waiting at the tables. The foodstuff too was partly contributed by members of other churches.

However, whether a church conference is Ringatu, Ratana or Mormon, when held at the marae at Huria and in the ancestral meeting house, the gathering becomes a subtribal one and Ngaitamarawaho unite to entertain the visitors that come to their marae.

Administrative Groups.

The intense subtribal life of interaction between constituent extended family groups is tightly compacted. The totality revolves around the physical symbols of the marae complex, thus giving it a solid cohesion. Over and about this is the environing social and political framework of the European and other Maori communities. There is therefore a measure of segregation imposed upon the Huria village community by the special kind of relationship with outside groups. The Huria village is part of the Borough Council of Tauranga, part also of the general judicial and political systems of the country as a whole. While the national judicial and political institutions enter the Huria village community, the local Municipal organisation of the Tauranga Borough Council does not to the same extent intervene with the inner workings of the village community. The effect of an inwardly oriented village community, when combined with limited intervention from European controlled local government authorities, is to leave large areas of activity in the village community not catered for from the point of view of
administration. It is to fill up this governmental and administrative vacuum that the groups which we are to discuss here have arisen.

The authority of these administrative groups comes ultimately from the will of the subtribe. The administrative groups are rooted in the community and they give expression to the ideals and ambitions of the group. Then, too, a measure of authority also comes from European legal sources, but even here the effectiveness of such authority as exercised by a type of administrative group in the village derives from intimate connection with the will of the subtribe.

The functions of these administrative groups are clear. They provide the machinery for the internal administration of the village community such as the promotion of semi-welfare programmes, and the maintenance of a system of local government.

The more important administrative groups in the Huria village community are:


The administrative groups in any village community possess some common characteristic features. Most of them are spontaneous. The Komiti Marae, Komiti Wahine, Bill Committee, Marae Improvement Committee, develop because of a need in the community; the Tribal Committee is superimposed by an Act of Parliament but the structure of it is closely related to the form of the subtribe, and it also caters for a need in the community. Some groups are temporary, others are more permanent. For instance, the Bill Committee goes into operation during the ceremonial gatherings and disappears until it is called into being again at the next ceremonial meeting. Some groups take life very actively for a short period and are then cast aside. Other groups may go into abeyance and appear in the person of the secretary or chairman, especially if the person occupying these positions has a strong personality. The group then revolves around that person - he is the group and is recognised to be so by the community.

1. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, George, A visit to a Maori Village, JPS, Vol.33, 1924, pp. 58-59. Since the Pakeha (European) destroyed the mana Maori nothing remains except the Pakeha law and authority (mana) and the village communities are a part of the Pakeha mana, whence they derive their authority; that is why the people do not work so hard or so quickly as the Maori people did under their own mana, yet even now there is just a little Maori mana left. Also, cf. Hawthorn, The Maori, A.A.A., Vol.46, 1944, p.29. The present writer finds the administrative groups at Huria stronger than in the cases quoted by Pitts-Rivers and Hawthorn. However, there is agreement on the assumption by European institutions of specific political and judicial functions.

2. Gay Rikihana quoted to the writer instances among Ngatiraukawa where the same phenomenon occurs.
Groups differ in the degree of formalisation. The tendency is for groups to endeavour to increase this degree of formalisation, thus giving a firmer outline and consequently a more authoritative standing in the community. Formalisation also affects the status of the leaders in the group. The position is more clearly stated and the powers assume better crystallisation, while the functions of each position are also better defined. Even though the ultimate source of authority in a group is the will of the subtribe, the imparting of a firm outline and clearer definition to positions of the leaders reinforce their authority. The shift from groups with traditionally derived interests to those of modern origin also has a bearing upon the feature of formalisation. European associations in interest and origins tend to increase the degree of formalisation.

Administrative groups may also subdivide themselves into generational and sex categories. The more traditional types of groups are generally controlled and manned by the older people in the village, the more modern ones by the younger folk. Sex differentiation occurs according as to whether the groups are of a political or welfare and domestic kind. Political groups that cater for the government of the community are in the hands of them men. The more domestic ones are with the women. The women folk too are more active in the groups that raise finance. It is recognised in the community that the women are better at working groups, especially in the finance committees, than are the men. The men are good at talking as in the more political groups. Further, the men's authority is better recognised when dealing with semi-judicial matters within the community.

There are two non-administrative groups which have a strong influence in the work and composition of the administrative groups. These are the church and the extended family groups. The policy of an administrative group frequently shows the clash between family groups, and the programmes very often bear the marks of ideals and values promulgated by church systems. The leadership too is influenced by family and church considerations. Each extended family tends to instal its own leaders at the highest levels in the administrative groups. Generally, the highest positioned men in the church assume the leadership in the administrative groups. There is a great amount of dovetailing in the groups as we shall see again later.

1. For further discussion and illustration of the concept of formalisation, see pp. 132, 167, 206. Extreme formalisation is seen in the tribal committee founded by an Act of Parliament. The opposite end of the scale is represented by the Komiti Mara'o, an expression of the kinship group.

2. See the previous discussion on the kinship and the church groups.
One of the problems in the inter-relations between the various administrative groups concerns the pattern of status position as between them. The Komiti Marae which is the direct (runanga) formal expression of the subtribe, has a rival in the socio-legal tribal committee for the position of parental administrative group. In Huria the strong legal framework of the tribal committee supported by its European background and its command over specific economic resources for financing communal projects, as well as the wider choice of leadership available to it, is attributing priority for it in the subtribe.

The influence of the church and the extended family on leadership positions in the administrative groups has already been mentioned. The Mormon is a sound training ground for leaders. There they acquire the skills such as knowledge of procedure in running meetings, secretarial duties and also experience in discussion. These skills are very valuable in the work of the administrative groups. Further, the principle of 'feed back' or transfer of status is important. But this applies to other groups beside the church. A leader found useful in other groups gains status in the community. The reputation attained in one group therefore becomes transferred over into the administrative groups. On the other hand, strangers coming into the community, provided they possess the right kinship connections - this is important to make them members of the community - often find themselves being ushered into positions of importance.

There are two factors which contribute to the making of leadership in the administrative groups, display of interest in community welfare in some concrete and material fashion, and the possession of appropriate skills. However, each committee or group has its own set of requirements which make a demand upon the persons successful in its leadership. These will be stated in the following description of selected types of administrative groups.

a. Komiti Marae

The Komiti Marae consists of the adult members of the village community. It is the formal expression of the subtribe. Its membership is constituted by election from extended family representatives. At its meetings, however, any adult, both male and female, may take part in the discussions. The actual organisation of the Komiti Marae tends to be loose. The title of chairman sits very lightly on a kaumatua, while a younger person may be charged with the duties of a secretary. No minutes of the meetings are kept. The treasurer is a kuia, who lodges the money in the Post Office Savings Bank.

2. Stranger prestige value.
The main duties of the officers in the Komiti Marae are raising funds through holding dances, lodging the money in the Bank, looking after the Bank Book and dictating when and how the money should be expended. A stubborn treasurer frequently influenced by the views of her own extended family concerning specific projects, may refuse to withdraw the money from the Bank, even when asked to do so by the rest of the group. Projects to erect and renovate buildings on the marae, the meeting of expenses on ceremonials are all concerns of the Komiti Marae. The kuia, while not always a member of the Komiti Marae, nevertheless speaks at its meetings, and acts as support to the Kaumatua. The kuia, unless actually elected members of the Komiti Marae, may be regarded as auxiliaries of the kaumatua husband functioning from the outskirts of the Komiti Marae.

b. Komiti Wahine.

The Komiti Wahine is an important institution in any village community, and usually one finds such organisations throughout Maoridom. The members consist of women. The backbone of such a committee are the matriarchs or kuia - the elderly women of the group. At Huria this backbone nucleus consists of Ngawaiakauku, Ngawhutu and some of the younger women. These older ones are the leading women. As time passes they gather about them younger women tested for their industry and devotion to duty at the village communal gatherings. The older ones watch the younger ones cleaning the vegetables, preparing the hangi oven, lighting the fires and supervising the tables in the Dining Rooms, and on such qualifications the younger women are brought in on to the Komiti Wahine.

Its main functions at the huis consist of looking after the cooking and preparing of food and setting the tables in the Dining Room, sweeping the marae centre and preparing the bedding in the meeting house. Money is raised for the various projects and the anticipated ceremonials, through dances and card games.

There is no limitation on membership, though members are usually chosen from the representatives of extended families. The officers are usually a chairman and a person or persons to look after the money. The position of treasurer is a highly honoured one and bestows prestige upon the holder. A young woman may be chosen, but then this of course means that the rest of the family, especially her mother, and maybe her father, will also have a hand in looking after the money. In fact the whole family has a say as to how the money ought to be spent! It is easy to see how family tensions may affect the policy of this feminine chancellor of the exchequer. In the main, however, the older women both because of age and of their ability to speak, exercise control over the affairs of the committee, and in spite of squabbles, a great deal of good work is done by this organisation.

c. Marae Improvement Committee.

Of similar function to that of the Komiti Marae was a newly-formed group of youthful folk under the supervision of an adult. Its purpose was to improve the amenities at the Marae social centre. Again the means of raising funds for this purpose was the inevitable dance held in the dining rooms. Among the jobs carried out by this group were the metalling of the road into the marae and the renovation of parts of the buildings on the marae unit. There had always been complaints from the older people that the young ones were not sufficiently interested in the affairs of the marae social centre. The young people, on the other hand, maintained that they were never given a chance to do anything worthwhile on the various committees. While this
argument was going on a recently arrived member of the subtribe who had been away and returned, gathered the young people into a committee. The ages ranged from 15 years to about 18 years. The leader hired a Bulldozer and set to work on the road into the centre, which had been in need of repair for some time. The completion of this job by the young people raised their status in the community and after that, having formed their committee, they continued to raise funds to replace a door in the Dining Room and also to decorate the interior. When the jobs were completed the committee went into recess - the members proudly pointing to what they had accomplished. The leader of this group immediately graduated into the Tribal Committee and became its chairman.

d. **Bill Committee.**

Another very small group consisting of three or four persons, the best educated members in the subtribe, is formed temporarily during the ceremonial gatherings for the dead. The committee's main function is to calculate the total cost distributed evenly among the people listed. The subtribe as a whole, under the supervision of the Bill Committee, discusses the matter of the list of names (rarangi ingoa), who should make donations, the extended family through the kaumatua, the nuclear family through the father, all the males in the group or only those adults in receipt of wages. Sometimes the family nearest the cause of the meeting, the relatives of the deceased person assume the greater part of the financial responsibility. A kuiia would ask: 'Am I an outsider in relation to the one who has died?' (Am I not also a relative?) He rawaho ranei ahawihawahi te mate? and Ka pehea mehemea noku te mate? What will the procedure be when the death is mine? (A close relative) The clash between group and individual responsibility is evident in the discussions but a purpose of the Bill Committee is to place the responsibility on the subtribe as a whole. After the money is collected from the persons whose names are listed the Bill Committee, through its secretary-accountant, member, pays the money over to the creditors.

e. **The Tribal Committee.**

An important group at Huria is the Tribal Committee. This organisation is formally constituted under the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945. Its structure is delineated by regulation including the functions and authorities of its hierarchy of officers, the chairman, secretary, trustees and wardens. This strong formalisation and the committee's link with the Welfare Division of the Maori Dept. are factors in the construction of the mana and prestige of the leadership which is created.

The Huria tribal committee sends two delegates to the Ranginui Tribal Executive Committee, an affiliation of tribal committee representatives from the subtribal village communities in the Ngatiranginui tribal district. Despite this affiliation each subtribal group retains its individual independence. In the case of Huria, independence is guaranteed by the fact that both the chairman and the secretary of the Executive are the chairman and secretary of the Huria tribal committee. The Ranginui Executive, however, has its uses, matters of tribal interest may be discussed there, or the Executive may represent both tribal and subtribal questions to the Government and other European organisations. Then too, by regulation, applications for Government subsidies from tribal committees require the formal approval and support of the Executive. However, it would be true to state that the more active body is the tribal committee because it deals with a sphere of activity in which

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1. See Section on Local Administration, infra.
the relationships between members are more intimate and intensive.

The Huria tribal committee has eleven members, and the representation roughly covers all three settlements - Huria, Matahorea and Te Reti. There are no women on the tribal committee for it was thought that women should confine their efforts to the more domestic concerns while the political and semi-legal occupations should be taken up by men. At first the membership of the tribal committee was heavily weighted in favour of the kaumatua heads of families. Recently however there is a large proportion of energetic young men among the kaumatua members. There was also in the beginning a tendency for people to seek after election to the tribal committee; however, of late, owing to the frustrations in the negotiations with the Government and an over-generous initial viewpoint about the powers of the tribal committee, the novelty has worn off, and the present personnel of the committee is comprised of men who are recognised leaders in the community at any rate, including among this number a few kaumatua and a majority of young men.

The method of electing members is simple. A nomination is made and seconded in a meeting of the subtribe presided over by the Maori Welfare Officer. In the main nominations come from extended family groups. Various devices are used to enable the different families to gain admission to the tribal committee. Should nominations exceed the required number of members, the position of associate membership is created and extra members from unfortunate families are elected. (This position does not exist in the legal structure of the committee, but it satisfies everyone, and as all members of the subtribe attend all meetings and participate in the discussions anyway, being an associate member gives some kind of standing.)

Theoretically the aims of the tribal committee are briefly: to administer the local government of the village community and to promote the social and economic advancement of its members. In practice, at Huria, the nearest approach to local government in the work of the tribal committee is seen in its attempt to restrict excessive consumption of intoxicants and to eliminate gambling within the village confines. The committee draws up bye-laws, fixes fines for offences, and calls up offenders for admonition, and 'trial', the warden acting as policeman, chairman as judge and the members as jury.1

The Tribal Committee is frequently used by the Tauranga County Council as an agency for the encouragement of rates payment or by the police in periodic endeavours to discipline the adolescents from the village. On the welfare side the tribal committee has recently taken over from the Komiti Marae the responsibility of rebuilding the subtribal meeting house, Te Kaponga. This involves the drawing of suitable plans for the new building, the purchase of totara timber, the engagement of experts for

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1. Cf. Section on Local Administration, infra; The Wardens have fairly comprehensive powers under subsequent amendments to the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, to deal with drunkenness.
carving and interior decoration, and the raising of the necessary finance. Already the Huria tribal committee has succeeded in organising the Ngaitamarawaho subtribe to support the project and has also been able to secure the necessary subsidy for funds collected through its own efforts and those of the Komiti wahine and the Komiti marae.

The five organisations we have described include examples of the informal and formal, temporary and permanent, and European and Maori derived groups. The tribal committee is assuming the position of the parental organization, but in all they provide village leadership, with a framework in which to operate in the administration of those affairs not dealt with by the organizations of the wider New Zealand society.

Sports and Recreational Groups.

The administration of sports activities is also important in Maori village communities. Huria is no exception to this rule. Sports and recreation provide a fertile field for the operation of specialised leadership from among the youth of the community. The activities here are not regarded as being apart from the life of the community or in anyway as a frill to the more serious work of the village. The teams may represent the subtribe and thereby become involved in probable sources of subtribal prestige. Sports also may be a stepping stone to leadership in the more adult affairs of the group through the principle of transfer of status from one group to another. Examination of the data will bring out these points more clearly.

The main winter games in the Huria Village Community are Basketball for girls and Rugby Union for men and boys. The main interest in the district is in Rugby Union. Crowds attend the weekly matches and there are a great number of Maori and European teams in the local competitions. The tendency has been for Maori village communities to select a team representative of the tribe or the subtribe. Though the name of the team does not reveal this fact, the sentiments prevails, especially when the team wins or is defeated by a team from a traditional rival. This has always been the case at Huria. The result is the football team is selected from the best man of the village community - Ngaitamarawaho subtribe. Here again the best players take over
the leadership while the administration is assumed by an old player of note. There is always a kaumatua attending the team, and women as well as children, follow the destinies of the team.

There are two types of competition in Tauranga. One is organised by the general European Rugby Union body, and all teams may enter. Another competition is controlled by Maori people themselves, covering a wider area than Tauranga and bringing in all Maori teams. This all-Maori competition is played on Sundays and here the tribal and subtribal sentiment run high and the kaumatua are considered among the most important persons and leaders in the tours arranged from one tribal district to another.

The women and girls play basketball and they, too, enter into both European and Maori organised competitions. Here the teams are organized more as family or church groups. For instance a leading woman in the community makes it her responsibility to bring girls together - perhaps she herself has a daughter who is a representative player. The team is then formed around her. But the team, while given a wider name, is in actual fact an extended family group augmented by a few outsiders. The Mormon church has a women's basketball team. The idea grew out of discussion at a church meeting and it is part of the policy of the church to project their youth activities into the playing field. The sponsorship of the church is left in the background, but there is tacit understanding among the members concerning this. Players may be selected from other religious bodies, but there is always a large number of Mormon girls in the team.

In summer at Huria the main game is tennis. There are three tennis teams which bear the marks of three different families. The one at Huria is controlled by the Ngawaiakautau Family. The officers in the administration are members from that family. Other persons are allowed in when required. The policy of this family is to assume the name of the village for the team, but to rigidly keep the control in its own hands. The Rihi Family at Te Reti also has a team of its own. The members definitely say it is their team. The courts are built on their property and both the old and the young members of the family are in official positions. Another Family team is that of Hinemaua - daughter of Ngatoko. Amongst the finest players in the village were her two brothers. Her husband is also very interested in the game. The tennis courts are built on her own property. She herself is the head of the Club both in internal administration and as representative to the outside groups.

There is a commercial aspect to tennis competitions at Huria. The competitions are organised among Maori teams by Maori officials. There is no over all association as among the Europeans at Tauranga - but rather separate clubs and teams which arrange games among themselves. There is now a recognised round of matches in order of draws for a cup that a Maori donated. There are therefore no expenses in the way of affiliation fees. When the teams meet on Saturdays or Sundays the games continue at the various home courts all day. Lunch is supplied by the various local clubs. This is usually a huge Hangi Meal - consisting of pork, kumara and various Maori delicacies. But both the visiting team and their multitudinous supporters pay for their meal. The local team also have other foodstuffs for sale.
At night there is another meal and then a dance in a nearby hall. To all these events admission is charged.

At the dance the kaumatua takes the floor in oratory - congratulating the winning teams and the local organisers and inviting the host team to the visitors' district. Both sides take part in these speeches - the young people become impatient at the 'too much talk' of the kaumatua. But this talk comes on at about midnight when supper is served, so only the minimum of dancing time is lost. The teams have their own dance bands which supply the music.

It is clear from this account of the tennis that it is a family affair and that one of the main incentives for the formation of teams is the raising of finance. As the gatherings for tennis are public, there is a feeling among people of the community that the proceeds should be used for public purposes. The primary expense is the establishment of courts, the purchase of equipment, and, of course, the buying of food, etc. for meals. Hinemaua and the Rihi family are frank in regard to the way in which their funds are disposed - on improving their family tennis facilities. The Ngawaikaukau family, on the other hand, make donations from their tennis funds to community projects such as the building of the new meeting house.

The structure of each group is determined by the needs of the game, but the leadership in administration is taken over by members of a particular family. The family heads stand in the background, the active leadership being assumed by the younger members who are more acquainted with what is required. However, in support, there is always a male or older member of the family concerned who acts as mouthpiece and representative of the tennis team and club. Invitations are formally made in Maori style and accepted in the same manner by the oldest members.

The sociological study of the sports organisations in Huria will unravel the strands of social relations that intertwine between visitors and hosts, and will also note the widespread correlation between a vast network of interest all stimulated
by a competitive game of tennis; desire for financial profit, family pride, and prestige for the leaders, oratory, Maori etiquette and the social significance of food in Maori communal life. Thus sports in Huria involve for the leaders administrative functions, organising ability, negotiation and diplomatic skill, and the knowledge of traditional lore and procedure. Here through sports are being worked out today some of the most important processes of leadership in the field of social change in a Maori community.¹

The other recreational activity that is very popular at Huria is the dance to raise funds for some public cause. The dances are held on Saturday nights in the Dining Room. Both Maoris and Europeans attend the dance. At present there is a round of dances held at the various village communities every Saturday. People from different groups patronise the dances and this support is reciprocated. There is a sort of tacit understanding that each group should support each other. The kaumatua of each group attend as the village representative, the main interest with the Kaumatua is not dancing as such - but rather to be seen — Kia kitea ai te kanohi — so that the face of Ngaitamarawaho should be seen. Again formal oratory is carried out for a few minutes during supper interval. The usual invitation and thanks are stated on the floor of the dance hall. There is quite a ritual an essential part of the dances held in each village.

The most important groups in connections with the dances are usually the dance bands. At the Huria Community there are three dance bands. All these are owned and controlled by extended family groups. For instance, the Rihi family have their own band and so do the Ngawaikaukau and Te Haumarino families (of the Ngawhetu extended family group.) There are also individual instrumentalists who join up with one of the bands. The instruments range from wind to strings and the type of music most popular is modern swing. No one in the bands reads music, the popular songs are learnt either from records on gramophones, or from the radio. It is most noticeable that the male leader of a family group is very prominent in the family band, either as a player or as an organiser. It is also very noticeable that the matriarchs, Ngawaikaukau, Rihi and Ngawhetu, not only have a great deal to say as to where the band should play, but they also follow the boys around in person - Hei tuara mo nga tamariki - as a back for the children.

Here again in the formation of dance bands the influence of the family comes through. A reason for this may be the convenience of having all the instruments under one control. As there is no proper control over players many of whom have their —

¹. See section on Sports and recreation pp.

2. A round of dances and tennis matches, i.e. a recognised sequence organized by clubs in the village communities.
A. their own instruments and receive no payment for their services, the scheme for a united family band for dances in a very convenient one. However what is of significance for us is the ability of the family leaders to exert their authority and to seek prestige for their group in the dance band field, as in other activities of the village.

The ability to play an instrument, and the possession of a band have a great prestige value - both from the point of view of utility and also from that of having some valuable skill. The skill to play an instrument in a Maori community is recognised, and when at a Dance the people are gathered from different villages - the question is asked: Na wai tera tamaiti? Whose child is that? (playing, say, a saxophone.) The answer comes back: Kaore koe i te mohio? - Na Ngawaikaukau hoki. 'Do you not know? - Why it is the son of Ngawaikaukau. The family is proud when the family name is heard because of the ability to blow the Alto saxophone or to 'plug' the Double Bass.

**CONCLUSION.**

The foregoing discussion concerning the social structure of the Huria village community has described leadership in active operation. Leadership is an aspect of society, and in the case of the Huria village community, it is seen within the context of the various social groups which make up the social structure. The classes in leadership within the village community are as follows: The Kaumatua, the Kuia, the religious leader, the educated person and the Rangatahi, or leader in youthful activities.

**The Kaumatua.**

The Kaumatua and Kuia we have found to be the heads of extended families, from there they move into the field of subtribal activities. Some Kaumatua assume leadership not only in their own subtribe but also in the tribe as a whole. The leadership of the Ngatiranginui Tribe, in its more aggressive aspects is provided for by men from the Huria village community, for the reason that there has been a greater concentration of protest elements within the Huria village community created by the comparatively poor economic conditions, than among the other subtribes of Ngatiranginui. These conditions are traced to what the local people consider to be wrongful and excessive confiscation.

of their lands. As the main sufferers of land confiscation, which is attributed directly to the European, and indirectly to partial treatment by the European, of the rival Ngaiterangi tribe, the leaders of the Huria village community are provided with a motive for agitation, that subsequently takes them to the fore as leaders of the tribe.

The basis of authority among the Kaumatua is the embodiment of group ideals, values and skills which are necessary for the maintenance of the ceremonial and social life of the tribe and subtribe. General kinship rather than superior kinship, is important as a means of introducing the Kaumatua to the pathway which brings him toward effective leadership. But it is essential for him to speak on the marae, during the ceremonial occasions, and to show more than a casual interest in the welfare of the group. The Kaumatua, if he is an important leader, is regarded not only as the father or 'Matua' of his own extended family, but also of the subtribe and even of the tribe.

The previous statements indicate the functions of the Kaumatua. He defends the good name of the tribe, he initiates and promotes projects that will enhance the welfare and prestige of the group. He welcomes visitors, arbitrates in disputes, and he supervises the internal administration of the subtribe. He is the source of information concerning subtribal and tribal history. He keeps the genealogies and recites them when required. He is the diplomatic representative of the tribe and subtribe in their external relations with the European or with other Maori groups.

The Kuia.

The position of the Kuia leader in the Huria Village
Community is well defined. She is the 'mother' of an extended family and also of the subtribe. Matriarchal heads of extended families are a feature of the Huria Village Community.

Her status comes from her age, her connection with the past, her possession of wisdom born of experience, and the fact that she symbolises the specific ideals and values of the group.

Her functions are shared with another male member of the family. If her husband is dead, then she becomes the symbolic head of the family while the more political roles are performed by a son. The Kuia class of leader comes into its own in the various aspects of the ceremonial life of the group. She is chief mourner, she has special knowledge of etiquette, while, although she is not versed in the genealogies like the Kaumatua, she is nevertheless a repository of the poems which tell the story of the subtribe. The Kuia is the complement of the Kaumatua and she stands in the background supporting him. When the Kaumatua delivers his oratorical efforts in welcome to distinguished visitors on the public marae it is the Kuia who is responsible for arranging the catering and the accommodation of the visitors. Both the Kuia and the Kaumatua assist each other in promoting and maintaining the good name of Ngaitamarawaho.

The Religious Leader.

The religious leader is taking the place of the old time tohunga at least at Huria. The division of traditionalist society into groups of adherents of various religious denominations, shifts the former unitary control of religious
exercises from a tohunga priest to a severality of religious leaders promoted by the new church systems.

An interesting feature of the church systems in the Huria Village Community is the way they follow extended family lines. This has meant the close interaction between the family group and the church systems. The membership of both groups is often identical as is also the leadership in them. This correspondence and coincidence of familial and church leadership personnel tends to strengthen the positions held in the respective groups.

The status of the religious leader arises from various factors. The Huria Village Community supports the circle of ideas connected with the traditional causes of sickness, etc. This is the case most of all with the Ringatu church, though the Ratana denomination is not as free from those ideas as members would have one believe. This factor creates a predisposition among certain families for attaching importance to the position of religious leaders. Then, too, there exist the traditional respect for the religious leader. Even today people at Huria regard with awe a tohunga of the Ringatu church, an Apotoro of the Ratana church and an Elder of the Mormon sect. It is possible too that the glamour of Americanism casts an aura around the leaders of the Mormon church. The American film stars, and even the politicians from the United States reflect a glory in the Huria Village community that adds to the prestige of Mormon missionaries and their proteges. It is also most noticeable that succession to positions of leadership in the church systems descends in families, a process
that is related to the tendency for family heads to assume leadership in the churches.

The religious functions of a leader are determined by the particular policy of the respective church systems. The more European oriented Mormon provide a well organised and full programme of activities for its leadership personnel. This is one of the main differences between this church and the Ringatu and Ratana. Together with the fuller programme goes a greater degree of formalisation in the structure of the Mormon system. This formalisation not only enhances status but it defines more clearly the functions of the Mormon religious leader as contrasted with those in the Ratana and Ringatu Churches. The Mormon leader is noted for his missionary zeal. The aggressive motivation rooted in an American background coupled with a well-trained leadership personnel accounts for this zeal. In contrast too with the Ratana and Ringatu there is a definiteness in the doctrinal teaching of the Mormon church that helps to eliminate any doubt as to the rightness of the cause. Each leader aims at the transmission of Mormon values and attitudes to the community. The Ratana and Ringatu are not as aggressive in the propagation of their teaching. Their leaders are satisfied with the maintenance of their position and the provision of religious exercises and rituals as these are required.

A significant aspect in the structure of leadership in the Huria Village Community is the transfer of accumulated status factors from one position to another in a different system organisation or group. The leaders in the church systems may find themselves being ushered into other positions of leadership
in the community. For instance leaders in the Mormon system, by virtue of their position there, and the superior training they receive, are frequently elected into positions in the administrative or sports and recreational groups.

The Educated Person.

The educated leader in the village community is important because of the existence of European ideas, values, techniques and methods which the people of the subtribe have assimilated. Further, the village community, while in many respects retaining a life of its own, nevertheless moves freely back and forth into the European township of Tauranga. This interaction provides the need for the person with education, or at least some experience with Europeans, to help in negotiation etc.

Thus an important element in the status of this kind of leader is the possession of European skills and appreciation of European values. The usefulness of this leader to the European, as points of contact with the village community is obvious. The two-way movement of the educated person doubly enhances his prestige. An important skill is a sound knowledge of the English language, while another valuable asset is information on elementary law. With this equipment the educated person is regarded very highly in the village community. One of the problems with which the educated leader is faced, is the over generous expectations in the village community concerning his skills. As long as he has some schooling he is expected to be a specialist in many fields of European knowledge. Such an expectation often attributes far more to the educated leader than his actual store of knowledge really warrants. But the expectation adds to his status.
Kinship is important, as we have seen elsewhere, essentially as a means of bringing the educated person into membership of the sub-tribe. Superior kinship has no significance as a factor in effective leadership, for all the families in the Huria village community consider themselves as people possessing superior kinship!

The educated leader acts as interpreter, and negotiator in the dealings of the village community with the Europeans. The Kaumatua in the presence of Europeans properly speaks in Maori, even though he is able to speak English tolerably well. It is correct procedure that the educated person should stand by his side and interpret his speech, and it is also correct that the educated leader should interpret into Maori the remarks of the European. If there is any negotiation concerning land, transfer, commercial transactions affecting the groups or any legal matter in which the relationship of the tribe with the European are involved then the educated leader comes into action. He is usually found as secretary, frequently as chairman and also as clerk in the various committees set up in the community.

It is easy to see from this analysis that the educated leader is a complement of the kaumatu. The interlocking nature of Maori and European societies in the Tauranga area necessitate close co-operation between the educated leader and the Kaumatua if the village community is to function satisfactorily.

Rangatahi Leader.

The Rangatahi leader is the person who is at the head of youth activities. There is as much a division between the old and the young in the village community as there is between the
sexes. The Kaumātua recognises that there are fields of action in which youth has a right to take control.

Today this generation division corresponds with differences affecting certain types of interests. Rangatahi leaders are involved in what the kaumātua look upon as more modern interests. On the other hand, the Rangatahi also regard the more traditional fields of activity such as ceremonials, genealogies, etc., as the concern of the kaumātua.

The status of the Rangatahi leader rests upon specialised skills in youth activities. But this is further enhanced by evidence of overt interest in the welfare of the group. Whatever the real ideals of the Rangatahi leader may be whether personal or social, he requires the confirmation of kinship upon his position. Not superior kinship, but that of a general kind. An outsider is never really fully accepted to leadership positions as a rangatahi, he may be tolerated but no more. The group is jealous to retain the control within the kinship circles.

The function of the rangatahi is leadership within the youth activities. But as the teams, etc. are integral parts of the community, then success in games administration may mean a passport into the more central organisations of administration.

At Huria all these classes of leaders are tied together by kinship and the underlying desire to enhance the reputation of the group as a whole.

There are so many interconnections in interests, relationships, obligations and common experiences, that the rivalry, and the
conflicts among leaders actually mean the enhancement of the type of leadership offered, rather than the division of the community. Status initiated by the right kind of kinship background is reinforced by possession of skills required in the functioning of the community. Roles are differentiated according to interests and to differences of generational levels. But all in all the leaders contribute their best to lift high the good name of Ngaitamarawaho.
BOOK III.

LEADERSHIP IN MODERN MAORI SOCIETY

CHAPTER II

Section 2. Leaders in Maori-European Situations.

1. Background

For our purpose, New Zealand society, as distinct from traditionalist Maori society, may be regarded as the end product of the historical process of interaction between traditionalist Maori society, and the institutions and systems which make up European society. Ngata, in common with other Maori sociologists, has constantly stressed the differentials with New Zealand society represented by cultural and social groupings, in the relationship between the Maori and European.1

Raymond Firth has applied the useful concept of a dual frame of organisation, to the interlocking character of the Maori and European systems within New Zealand society.

1. The Maori Affairs Act, 1963, Part I Section 2, (latest significant amendment and consolidation, retains principle of preservation of special Maori laws pertaining to Maori land and Maori affairs) defines a Maori as a person belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand, and includes a half-caste and a person intermediate in blood between a half-caste and persons of pure descent from that race; a European is any person other than a Maori and includes a body corporate.

Ngata, A.T. Tribal Organisation, in The Maori People Today, pp. 155-156; A to J, G-10, 1931, p. 102; Anthropology and Native Races, in New Zealand Affairs, Christchurch, 1928, pp. 31-33; To Ao Hou, No. 2, 1963; Sutherland, JPS, Vol. 61, 1952, pp. 145; The Maori People Today, pp. 113-120; The Maori Situation, pp. 66-90. Sutherland says that to be among the Maori People is to be in another New Zealand. The editor of Te Ao Hou refers to the growing strength of the Maori language, as well as other features; cf. Linton, op.cit., pp. 359-360, even when people have assumed the trappings of white civilisation, some unexpected happening will reveal that the core of the old culture is still alive and vigorous. (Note the spread of the Ratana Movement in the 1920's.); Pitt-Rivers, JPS. Vol. 33, pp. 48-65; Beaglehole, Some Modern Maoris, pp. 329-334.
Firth wrote:

"The modern Maori still maintain many of the principles of the traditional social structure, though in modified form. But in addition they have adopted much of the culture of the European New Zealanders among whom they now live and with whom they share to a considerable extent a common economy and polity. Maori political consciousness now includes a consciousness of loyalty to a foreign Sovereign, the British King. There is also a concept of Maori unity transcending tribal boundaries, expressed in part regionally through Maori representatives in the New Zealand Parliament, and partly nationally in acts of the Maori people as a whole. This new political articulation has involved a shift in the traditional status and authority structure. While hereditary chiefs still exercise influence in virtue of their ancient lineage, this is circumscribed and has no legal backing. They divide the field in practical affairs with men whose ability, education and other personal qualities, have won them the respect of their fellows. The Maori economy still depends to a large extent on primary production. But their bird snaring and collection of forest products are minimal. Their agriculture is now farming in general European style. In fishing they have adopted many European features, including the use of petrol launches and imported hooks and nets. Many Maori women as well as men, have left the land and taken up work in towns or industry, usually supplying unskilled or semi-skilled labour. But their social mingling with European New Zealanders is incomplete there. In their own social and ceremonial life they display a strong group consciousness. Although at marriages, funerals and other gatherings, goods of European style are used, these are treated as part of the Maori culture. The traditional concepts of taboo have been modified in their weight and their incidence, but they still operate."

In analysing a situation in 1946, in which a taboo was placed by a Maori community on fishing activities within a certain area, because of an incidence of drowning of tribal members there, Firth contrasts the two parts of the frame of organisation very clearly, and stresses the problem of choice imposed upon members of Maori society.

1. Firth, Elements of Social Organisation, p. 114; Sutherland, The Maori People Today, p. 167; Hill, TZNl, where he describes behaviour patterns in Maori community about 1890; Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., for further description of village life; see section on the Huri Village Community; Little finds similar conditions in West Africa, Social Changes in West Africa, in The Colonial Review, Vol. 8, 1, March 1953, p. 12. What all these disharmonies and phenomena of change imply is the existence of a large marginal area between two or more or less distinct patterns of life. One pattern along traditional lines is still followed by large numbers of Africans; the other pattern along westernized lines is followed by a smaller number. But the older and one foot in, the newer, type of society... this implies that... the individual drawn into this marginal area is subject to two sets of sanctions, neither of which are very strong, but diverging from each other.
In this connection he writes:

'One frame of organisation, the traditional Maori one, consists of respect for ancient forms, a complex social position in the kinship system and local community, a most wholesome fear of offending the women of the group by disobedience to their first, and a general religious and moral attitude of avoidance of the scene of death. The other frame of organisation consists of a market economy where man lives largely by selling his produce or his labours in competition with others, a social life in contact with Europeans who do not share and often despise Maori ways, and a set of consumption patterns with many elements pressing for money to spend. The modern Maori is thus faced by the need for choice and decision. Normally as yet in such problems, he chooses the traditional Maori frame of organisation of his activity.'

Of significance to our study of Maori leadership is the existence of various institutions which illustrate the more formal aspects of the dual frame of organisation. In each instance, the Maori moves from his own society into the wider spheres with perfect freedom, retaining at the same time his own values, sentiments, ideologies and beliefs.

One key to the understanding of Maori leadership today is the concept of lateral mobility. Maori leaders live, move and have their being in two worlds. Within most institutions there is to be found a Maori section, motivated not by any principle of discrimination or enforced segregation, but rather by a policy of safeguarding particular features of Maori culture.

1. Ibid, p. 117.
2. A Maori may be declared for certain purposes, a European, by Order in Council, pursuant to Sec. 17, Native Land Amendment Act, 1912, this fact does not affect the status of his wife or children, neither does it deprive him of rights to inherit Maori land. Such order in Council may be revoked at any time. Also see Maori Affairs Act, 1953, Part 29, Sections 462-463.
3. There is a lot of discussion in N.Z. concerning the wisdom of retaining the special features in certain institutions. Beaglehole logically advocates the abolition, for instance, of the Maori Dept. as being first, no longer necessary, and secondly, an obstacle to the assimilation of the Maori, in the wider New Zealand life. The present Minister of Maori Affairs would not go to the same extent, although he agrees that much of legislation pertaining to the Maori people is out of date. According to himself, he has contributed substantially to the progress in Maori Affairs, by his recent attempt to reorganise Maori laws to fit more closely into the N.Z. framework (Maori Affairs Act, 1953). But he thinks there is still a place for a separate Dept. as well as separate parliamentary representation. Major Vereoe of Taumanga, in expressing the Maori viewpoint, contends that the separate legislation will have to be retained for at least 100 years. Prof. Piddington, Auckland, tends to agree with Vereoe on the grounds that statistically the amalgamation of the two races by intermarriage is slower than one would imagine; see also Williams, JPS, Vol. 44, for the opinion that special legislation is hampering the Maori from putting forward his full powers.
Geographical Location of the Maori Population:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provincial District</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Maoris</th>
<th>Percentage of Maoris to Europeans in each Provincial District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>73.17</td>
<td>12.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>7.46</td>
<td>10.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>6.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>11.10</td>
<td>3.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Island</td>
<td>96.52</td>
<td>9.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago portion</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southland portion</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Island</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>6.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The Maori population is mainly found in the North Island. Over 70 per cent of the total live in the major cities: Auckland and Napier. The main concentration is in the social strata of urban or semi-urban dwellers. The rural districts, although not mentioned in this table, are predominantly Maori.

2. For more information on the proportion of Maoris to Europeans in each Provincial District, see Table 2, page 112.
2. **Interlocking Systems.**

(a) **Population.**

The total population of New Zealand is 2,000,000. Of that number 122,000 are Maori. The Maori population is mostly found in the North Island. Over 70 per cent of the total live in the Auckland Province, as compared with 12 per cent of the total European population. The main concentration of Maori is in the central, eastern and northern parts of the province, about 80 per cent living in rural district. Although there are no special reserves for Maori people, the location of traditionally owned lands tends to place Maori groups in specific areas. The social life of the Maori is still centred in the marae, the meeting house and the dining room, within a village confine. The village as of old is occupied by a group closely related through marriage and descent from a common ancestor. While the Maori people are mostly rural, they have easy access to many European townships which are situated over the New Zealand countryside. In any case European farmers hold land distributed freely in Maori districts. In cases where European townships and settlements are within easy reach of Maori villages and homes, the economic, recreational, social and cultural needs of Maori communities may in part be met through their patronage of common European services. As communication and transport facilities throughout New Zealand are fairly adequate, there is rarely any Maori village or settlement which is not catered for in some way by European townships.

The incidence of, and attitude to, Maori-European intermarriage is indicative of the close intermingling between the two groups. There is no law against mixed marriage, and the offsprings are accorded a high status in both Maori and European society. As a result the Maori today is a greatly mixed race.

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2. For race amalgamation see Ibid; Sutherland, JPS, Vol. 61, pp. 136-138; see Table; also p.
The general picture is one of varying degrees of social and economic advancement. There is no ethnic discrimination in New Zealand in the same sense elsewhere, and in the main Maori and European live side by side, enjoy the same facilities together, and tend to regard each a part of affairs as normal and desirable.

In fact it has been claimed with some justice that the minority Maori is the dominant cultural force and that the Maori church is the Orthodox Church, the Anglican, Presbyterian, Free Church, and other bodies of similar nature. All have sections in both Maori and European, in the bulk of their activities is found in Maori communities they use Maori personnel, Maori organisation for their gatherings and have churches, etc., among the Maori people. Only the other churches mentioned have special administration, clergy, and what might be termed a Maori approach to their Maori adherents, in addition to their European work.

Proportions of the different classes comprising the Maori population:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1936 Census</th>
<th>1945 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full Maori</td>
<td>67.92</td>
<td>62.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-quarter Maori</td>
<td>13.84</td>
<td>19.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Maori</td>
<td>18.09</td>
<td>18.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori European n.o.d.</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The general picture is one of varying degrees of social and economic comingling. There is no ethnic discrimination in New Zealand in the sense seen elsewhere, and in the main Maori and European mix freely, enjoy the same facilities together, and tend to regard such a state of affairs as normal and desirable.

In fact it has been claimed with some truth that the minority Maori is more jealous to main his own cultural individuality and identity, and thereby keep himself away from wholehearted participation in the general life of the community, than many Europeans themselves would like to see. The consciousness of colour and cultural differences is strong among many Maori groups, thus intensifying cultural cohesion, but often preventing easy access between the two peoples.1

(b) Religion.2

The majority of the Maori people are members of the Orthodox Christian churches. The Church of England, the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Roman Catholics, the Latter Day Saints, and other sects like the Brethren, etc., all have sections in their mission administration to cater for the Maori. Although the Latter Day Saints (Mormons) have a unitary organisation for both Maori and European, as the bulk of their activities is found in Maori communities they use Maori personnel, Maori organisation for their gatherings and have churches, etc., among the Maori people. The other churches mentioned have special administration, clergy, and, what might be termed, a Maori approach to their Maori adherents, in addition to their European work.

1. Ibid. The Maori Situation, p.87; Hawthorn, op. cit., p.23.
2. New Zealand Official Year Book, 1953, pp.1030-1031; Ngata and Sutherland, The Maori People Today, pp.349-351-364, 373; The Writer was closely associated with G.I.L. Laurenson, General Superintendent, Methodist Home and Maori Missions, J. Laughton, Head of the Presbyterian Maori Mission and Bishops Bennett and Panapa of the Anglican Maori Mission, President Cowley, and other leaders of the Latter Day Saints, as well as leading men in the Ratana, Ringatu and the Catholic Maori Mission. The ideas in this section come from these sources.
For instance the Church of England has a Maori Bishop regarded as Bishop for all the Maori people, although in status he is Suffragan to the Bishop of the Waiapu Diocese. Maori clergy conduct their services in the Maori language, in Maori constructed churches in Maori villages. The Methodist Church has a Maori Missions Branch incorporated in the general Home Mission organisation of the Church. The head of the combined Home and Maori Mission Dept. is a European, but the Senior Minister on the Maori side is Maori. There is here, too, a separate Maori ministerial status. The main difference between this and the general European one, is in the kind of theological course taken by the candidates and the nature of the ceremonial ordination offered Maori and European. The Maori ministerial status is much more limited than that of the European. The stipend and other associated benefits are also at a lower scale. The Presbyterian Church is administered by a Synod of the Maori section of the Church, the members of which are Maori. This Synod is incorporated within the general corpus of church administration. The Maori Mission Board is presided over by a European minister who is one of the leading scholars of the Maori language. The Roman Catholic Church has a Maori Mission section. The Priests who work among the people are experts at the Maori language and they live freely in Maori communities. There is so far only one Maori priest in New Zealand. The Roman Catholic Church, like the other Christian bodies, maintains a Maori approach and Maori techniques in their work in that community.

All these churches are served to varying degrees, by both Maori and European ministers, particularly on the Maori side. In a few cases, Maori clergy also cater for the spiritual needs of European adherents, but in the main the Maori members form a fairly complete separate entity in the church, having their own Maori preachers, the use of the Maori language in services, and Maori committees in local administration. There is not, however, an independent

Religious Professions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Profession</th>
<th>Maori 1936</th>
<th>Maori 1945</th>
<th>European 1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>30.16</td>
<td>32.99</td>
<td>37.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratana</td>
<td>19.84</td>
<td>17.40</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>13.76</td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>13.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td>7.63</td>
<td>8.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringatu</td>
<td>6.93</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latter Day Saints</td>
<td>6.39</td>
<td>6.63</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission, n.o.d.</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>23.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Followers of Te Whiti</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Te Tohu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori Church</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Christ</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven Rules of Jehovah</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinitely specified</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object to state</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>7.09</td>
<td>7.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Below 0.005  @ Not represented
separation from the European side. The Maori is free, and is invited to attend European churches—though he prefers to worship with his own people in his own way.

In addition to the Orthodox Christian Churches, there are Maori derived sects. The most important of these are the Ringatu and the Ratana movements. Both these organisations are based on protest elements against the European at different stages in Maori-European interaction. The Ringatu has been described. It was founded by Te Kooti Rikirangi, during the wars in the last century. The Ratana movement began in Wanganui from the faith-healing propensities of Wiremu Ratana, but soon developed into a national religious organisation. Like the Ringatu, the Ratana movement, summed up the latent grievances of the Maori people against the confiscation of Maori lands in 1863. Accounting for its growth was also the endeavour in Maori society at reintegration which we have noted before. The elements in the Ratana doctrine are both Maori and European in origin. The Ratana movement was given a political twist when it sent representatives to Parliament and joined forces with the Parliamentary Labour Party. Both the Ringatu and the Ratana are now legally recognised Church systems with their clergy accorded the right to marry under the Marriages Act. Unlike the other churches these organisations work entirely among the Maori people.

The field of church systems in New Zealand among the Maori people is a fertile one for the promotion and maintenance of Maori leadership. Religion generally is held in high respect among the Maori people. This is reinforced by the formal nature of the organisation coming from the European, the existence of superior status positions, and important roles which may be held by Maori

1. For fuller discussion of the Ratana movement, see Williams, Herbert W., The Ministry of Healing and Ratana and his work, Herald, Gisborne, 1921; Park, R., Maori Miracle Man, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, Sydney 1946; Rongopai Ratana, the Maori Miracle Man, Auckland 1921; Ngata and Sutherland, The Maori People Today, pp. 364-366; also Sections on Tohunga, and Parliamentarians.
A. A Maori Church today.


B. A Maori Church - 1870s (Period of extreme social disintegration) (Hauhau).
personnel. On the other hand, the Maori values and sentiments with which the
Maori derived sects are impregnated, tend to utilise specific kinds of leaders.

(o) Politics and Government.

Since 1867, the Maori people have been represented in the New Zealand Parlia-
ment. By the Legislative Abolition Act, 1850, the Upper House in the New
Zealand General Assembly was done away with, leaving a single chamber, the House
of Representatives. Of the 80 Members of Parliament, four are Maori. New
Zealand is divided into 76 Electorates which return one European member each.
But on top of this subdivision there is also a Maori one. For this purpose
petitions of a Maori or historical association, influence of leaders, such as
may be seen in the existing position of the Labour Party as the
Labour Party, in particular, takes full
use of Maori ideologies and sympathies. The alliance between the Maori and the Labour Party reveals the similarity of these aims.

The kinship principle in the Maori social structure determined the grouping
of the Maori population into the special electorates to which the directional
terms have been applied. Clusters of related tribes, both through kinship
connections and historical association have been combined in a single constitu-
ency. All the Maori electors in the respective districts vote for a Maori
candidate, and they may not vote for the European candidate whose constituency
overlaps the Maori boundaries at the same time. It is possible for a half-caste
to become reinstated as a European for electoral purposes.

1. The Cambridge History, p. 142; In 1867 the Maoris secured direct representa-
tion in Parliament by an Act which provided for the division of the
Colony into Maori electorates, each returning one member to the House of
Representatives; and five years later, two chiefs were appointed to the
Upper House (Maori Representation Act, 1867 - embodied in the Electoral
Act, 1927.)

Until a few years ago Maori electors voted on a day separate from that of the general election, but this separation is now abolished. The technique of voting too was different - by declaration - and for a long time this method suited the particular needs and views of the Maori people. The law in this regard is changed to bring the Maori more in line with the general procedure in the country. Despite the attempts, however, to iron out all differences, the Maori still tend to vote as a group rather than as individuals. The approach of candidates too to the voters is largely along traditional lines - kinship or historical association, influence of leaders, etc. Maori sentiment and sympathies, as well as ideals, come through at election time. On the other hand, through the propaganda work of the Labour Party among the Maori people, there is growing up a strong feeling for political partisanship as between Labour and National. The Labour Party, in particular, makes full use of Maori ideologies and sympathies. The alliance between the Ratana movement and the Labour Party reveals the similarity of the aims of the two groups in terms of protest tendencies against social, economic and political conditions regarded as undesirable.

Although the Maori members are elected by Maori people, according to Maori techniques, from Maori electorates, once the members reach Parliament they are free to enter Cabinet and other sections of political life.

Two Maori members of Parliament have acted as Prime Minister for the whole of New Zealand, a Maori Doctor of Medicine was Minister of Health for the whole Dominion, and Maori M.P.'s have held the Portfolio of Maori Affairs and of Attorney-General. The respect for aristocracy, and the mana of the British

2. Electoral Amendment Act, 1937.
3. See Section on Parliamentarians.
4. Ramsden, Sir Apltan Ngata, p.19; Sir A.T. Ngata and Sir James Carroll acted as Prime Ministers of New Zealand for short periods; these same gentlemen were Ministers of Maori Affairs; Ngata was also Attorney-General; Sir Maui Pomare became Minister of Health.
sovereign, which to the Maori is associated with Parliament, all give the latter institution a special attraction for the educated leader. Since the beginning, the position of widest influence readily available to the Maori as an expression of his own social background, and also as a means of attaining high prestige with the European was membership to Parliament.

The work done by men like Ngata, Carroll, Pomare, Hone Heke, etc., undoubtedly focussed the eyes of ambitious Maori leaders on Parliament as the summit of leadership attainment in New Zealand society. It can readily be seen how Parliament - the highest institution in the land, became a system, for the exercise of leadership functions and the holding of high status. A unique opportunity is given Maori leaders, through the special electoral arrangements made for them by virtue of the existence of a dual frame of organisation in the field of politics. Generally the Civil Service knows no race discrimination.1 Maori persons may obtain employment in any Government Department, and today one finds Maori personnel in clerical and administrative positions in the New Zealand Government. The automatic nature of admission according to examinations, and the bureaucratic virtue of impersonalisation, result in cushioning any personal and racial prejudices among members of the general public. Examination attainment is the key of admission to positions in the New Zealand Public Service.

For historical reasons, supported by the differences of cultural and social background, a special Maori Department exists to take care of Maori Affairs.2 The work of the Maori Department includes the administration and the development of Maori lands, the establishment of Maori Housing, the administration of Maori Trust monies, the promotion of Maori land development.3

3. N.Z.Official Yr.Bk. p.558, the Maori Housing Act 1935 and its Amendment 1938 (Sec.18); Maori Land Development - Maori Land Act 1931 (Sec.522); Maori Land Amendment Act 1936 (Pt.1). Controlling Body - Board of Maori Affairs (constituted under Board of Maori Affairs Act 1934-1935. (Ten members, one or two of whom are Maori with experience in land development), etc.
A division in the Maori Dept. is in charge of Maori Social and Economic welfare.1

Another, the Maori Land Court, section deals with judicial matters concerning Maori land.1a The point is to be stressed here that the Department exists as a recognition of special Maori problems and needs, and in the main the Maori Department, together with its associated sections - Maori Land Court, and Maori Welfare Division - are staffed by experts in Maori matters, both European and Maori. The top positions in the Maori Department are held by Europeans, and over half of the Maori Department personnel are Europeans. There is, however, a large group of Maori employees in the Department, scattered throughout its various divisions and grades. The majority are at the clerical levels. At present the permanent head of the Maori Department is Maori, as are also the head and assistant-head of the Maori Welfare Division.3

The policy of the Department is to retain the principle of intermingling European and Maori employees in the Department. The Maori people themselves would prefer that the Maori Department be staffed entirely by Maori personnel in accordance with ability and educational attainments. The paucity of educated and skilled Maori personnel is the main obstacle in realising this ambition.4

The Maori Department is important as providing an institution in which Maori leaders operate. The most important leader of recently modern times, the bureaucrat, gains his influence and power first from his position in the hierarchy of a Government Department, and secondly, from the fact that the Department cuts across Maori society and implants its roots in Maori communities.

2. Tipi Ropiha, Ngatikahungumu.
3. Rangi Royal, Hauraki and C.M. Bennett, Te Arawa.
Local Administration

Local Government administration in New Zealand is organised into Town Boards, Borough Councils and County Councils. For this purpose New Zealand is divided up into special areas over which the different elected bodies administer control.

The Maori population, while responsible for rates, etc., are otherwise not drawn into the general system of local administration. They may participate in a mayoral election by personal canvassing of the respective candidates, or one or two, as on the East Coast and Hawkes Bay, may serve as councillors. But the bulk of the Maori people do not show any interest in affairs of local general concern. Maori Local administration is confined to their own villages and communities, where the interest is more real and intensive because of the greater direct personal involvement.

On the other hand, the local bodies administration is generally a closely guarded domain of local European administrators and even in areas where there is a large Maori population, there is reluctance on the part of the local Europeans to encourage Maori participation. The reason for this may be the vexed question of control of idle Maori lands found in many county council areas, and the possibility of organised Maori opposition to general policy.

To this may be added the jealousy shown by Europeans against Maori interference in affairs which is mainly - or has been regarded mainly as - the concern of local European citizens.

2. At Ngaruawahia the local Mayoral candidates canvassed for votes at the Maori villages; on the East Coast conditions see Kohere Reweti. The Autobiography of a Maori, Wellington, 1951, plate facing p.81; Carroll, a Maori farmer, has been Chairman of a County Council in Hawkes Bay; atRotorua, Claude Anaru, a Maori, was deputy Mayor of the town; Gay Rikihana Ngatiraukawa states that at Otaki, the Maori people have always been represented on the Borough Council.
3. At adult education group meeting at Waitomo near Te Kuiti, in 1950, the writer was told by European members of the Waitomo Council, in reply to the writer's proposal for Maori representation, that the election of Maori members had been tried with the former Rivers Board, but they always went to sleep at the meetings.
4. The Maori Purposes Act, 1950, designed to encourage the development of idle Maori lands through alienation, was involved mainly by County Councils.
In Maori communities, a system of leadership usually to specific kinship groups, as opposed to the more informal village administration. Leaders pragmatically adapt status hierarchies to the formalisation of local indigenous organisation. Effort is directed towards gaining a more direct Maori support for the development of indigenous projects in new and direct Maori administrative structures. The system utilises this system of organisation by the link with government organisational structures.

TRIBAL COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1952</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribal Executives</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal Committees</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare Officers</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wardens</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidies</td>
<td>£40,096</td>
<td>£92,150</td>
<td>£107,164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. See Section
2. See section on provisions of Maori Purposes Act 1951
3. The Hon. Parekura Horomia, Minister of Maori Affairs
4. N.Z. Official Yearbook, Annual reports Act
In Maori communities, a system of local administration may be found, confined usually to specific kinship groups, as tribe or subtribe. The administration may cover such matters as renovation of group facilities and amenities, the organization of group gatherings, the settlement of disputes within the community, and the statement of, and deliberation upon, matters of group policy and welfare. The basis of this organization is still the Runanga founded in the marae of the tribe or subtribe and including the kaumatua heads of families.1

There have been attempts to formalise the authority and positions in the more informal village administration, with a stress upon giving traditional leaders prestige and status backed by law.2 The latest examples of this legal formalisation of local indigenous administrative machinery was the Maori War Effort Organisation at the commencement of the second world war, to stimulate and direct Maori support for the country's war programme.3 In 1945, that organisation was merged into the Tribal executive and the Tribal Committee systems of local control by the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945. The Act created an hierarchy of positions within Maori communities. The tribal committee organisation exercised welfare, judicial and political functions within the Maori communities, and some of the most significant forms of modern leadership utilise this system. The possession of legal sanction for the system, and the link with Government, as well as its ability to secure financial grants for Maori projects in local communities, enabled the system to gain a hold in Maori groups.4

1. See Section on Huria Village (Administrative Groups).
3. The Hon. Paraire Paikea was appointed to the War Cabinet for the purpose of organising Maori support at home for the War. Paikea set up the Maori War Effort Organin., the framework of which coincided with tribal and subtribal formations.
4. N.Z. Official Yr. Bk. 1953, pp. 951, 952; under the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, 1945 areas may be declared tribal districts or Tribal Cttes. areas. (Act amended 1951 - gave Committees wider powers in control of supply and consumption of intoxicating liquors in Maori villages). In March 1952 there were 77 Tribal Executives and 446 Constituent Tribal Cttes. A Controller, Assistant-Controller, 6 Dist. Welfare Officers, 23 male and 20 female Welfare Officers comprised the staff. The Act provides for subsidies to be paid on moneys raised by Executives and Cttes for the improvement of local amenities. Subsidies granted yr. ending 31. 3. 52, $15000. Maori Wardens in Cttes given certain powers to ensure orderly behaviour of Maori within respective tribal districts. Wardens Certificates held by 150 in 1952.
A. Domestic Science - The School meal.

B. At Drill - Whakarewarewa Maori School, Tuhourangi Subtribe of Te Arawa, Rotorua.
The more important of these were set up to administer monies paid to the Maori Tribes, in compensation for the alienation of rights either over land through the Confiscation Act of 1863, or over Maori owned lakes, etc. The Boards are legally constituted, and for that reason, and by virtue of the economic power they wield in Maori communities, they are providing a type of institutional leadership, and also a set of positions and series of functions backed by the State, for Maori leaders in Maori society.

In this brief sketch, one may visualise the principle of a dual frame of organisation in terms of institutions and organisations which cater for local administration among Maori and European communities in New Zealand. There is, of course, no legal bar against Maori people entering the general system of local administration and some have already done this with credit. But in the main the divergence of interests, differences of economic, educational and social standards of the two groups, tend to create separate though interlocking types of administrative systems.

(e) Education.

The system of education in New Zealand partakes of the same dual frame of organisation which we have seen in other institutions in New Zealand society. Again the reasons for this are partly historical and partly cultural. The missions first established schools among the Maori people.

1. See Ngata, The Maori People Today, pp. 1,173-175; Sutherland, ibid, pp. 433-434; see A to J 1928 G-7 and A to J 1921, G-5, for background data; Taranaki Trust Board (Maori Purposes Act 1931, Sec.39); Arawa Trust Board (M.P.Act 1931, Sec.51); Tuwharetoa Trust Board, (M.P.Act 1931, Sec.55); (the foregoing Boards were deemed to be local authorities by the Maori Purposes Act, 1935); Ngaitahu Trust Board, (M.P.Act 1946); Taimui Trust Board (Waikato Maori Claims Act 1946); Whakathea Trust Board, (M.P.Act 1949) (Wairoa Trust Board - M.P.Act 1949); Taitokerau Maori Trust Board (M.P.Act 1953); Anpouri Trust Bd. (M.P.Act, 1953).

2. A concrete example of the duality in local administration is seen in Rotorua in the case of the tribes Tuhourangi and Ngatiwhakaue at Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu respectively. Being close to the town, and involved intimately in the tourist trade, they have been integrated into the general local government of the Rotorua Borough. The deputy mayor of Rotorua is Claude Anara from Ngatiwhakaue. But both Ngatiwhakaue and Tuhourangi have their own tribal committees and the Maori Purposes Act 1947, Sec.15 has made special provisions for the establishment of a tribal executive (the Rotorua Bgh.Tbl.Exec.) incl. Maori representatives from the Cttees, the members of Rotorua Bgh.Council and the Welfare Officer.
## MAORI CHILDREN attending PUBLIC SCHOOLS, December, 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education District</th>
<th>Number of Schools at which Maoris Attended</th>
<th>Number of Maori Pupils at End of 1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>5,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikato</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>1,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southland</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS:</strong></td>
<td><strong>946</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,682</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


## PROBABLE DESTINATION of MAORI Pupils Leaving Public and Maori Schools in 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Boys.</th>
<th>Girls.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical (including typing):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Government and Local Body.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Banks, insurance, legal, commercial houses, shops, and warehouses...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop and warehouse assistants</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual trades:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Government and Local Body.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Building</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Motor Engineering</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) General Engineering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Printing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Other trades</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory operatives</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other occupations</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At home</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS:</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,415</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Extract from EDUCATION OF MAORI CHILDREN, NEW ZEALAND 1951, E-3, page 11.
The advent of Government later into this field maintained, rather than eliminated the mission schools. The special needs of Maori education after the State system was more firmly established, still dictated a special kind of administration, as well as the concentrated distribution of the schools in specific districts. There is today therefore a general public system of education to which both Maori and European children are free to enter and there is also a Maori Schools branch attended by both Maori and European children, directly under the management of the Education Department, with a separate inspectorate and specialists staff, in Maori education. The Maori schools are located in areas of predominant Maori population and the local administration is carried out by Maori parents with the effective control vested in the hands of the headmaster.

In many districts, often integrated into the Marae complex, the Maori school has become the centre of the Maori community, and the tribal organisation and sentiments come through in the school administration and the attitudes of the parents towards the school. The general N.Z. syllabus, the examinations, the teaching methods, and the medium of instruction, are the same as in any school, whether general or whether specially Maori. On the other hand the emphasis in Maori schools tends toward Maori culture, local history, some use of the Maori language, Maori songs, arts and crafts and dances. At the secondary level again, Maori and European children are free to attend at any school. However, there are schools which cater particularly for the secondary education of Maori children, which also developed from the original Maori schools of the missions.

1. Ball, D.G., Maori Education in the Maori People Today, Chap.8. The history and aims of Maori education. Note in particular the change from the policy of assimilation to that of adaptation since 1931. pp.277-286; Beaglehole, E., N.Z. Anthropology Today, p.167; Some Modern Maoris, p. ; McKenzie, N.R., Maori and Education, Chap.11; Sutherland, JFS, Vol.61, p.145; N.Z. Official Yr.Bk.1953, pp.137-138, 142,145,146; Over 60% of Maori children educated in the general public schools. In 1951, 19154 attended out of a total of 31675 receiving primary schooling. In the same year, in the 159 Maori village schools there was a total roll of 12,663, including 1142 European children; 10 special Mission Schools had 822 children.


3. Ball, op.cit., chap.8; N.Z.Official Yr.Bk. 1953, p.145; Hawthorn, op.cit., pp 123-128. (The writer taught in Maori and General Public Schls at both the primary and secondary levels.)

4. A to J 1961, E-3, p.6 - 11 Maori Secondary Schools (5 for boys and 6 for girls) had a total roll of 817, as compared with 745 in 1949.
### MAORI PUPILS attending MAORI SECONDARY SCHOOLS at the end of 1950 and 1949.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government Pupils</td>
<td>Private Pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Victoria (Girls), Auckland</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turakina (Girls), Marton.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph's (Girls), Napier</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hukarere (Girls), Napier</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Wai Pounamu (Girls), Christchurch</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Peter's (Boys), Northcote</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Stephen's (Boys), Auckland</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesley College (Boys), Paerata</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Aute College (Boys), Rukuhou</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hato Paora (Boys), Feilding</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Whaiti Farm (Boys), Te Whaiti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS:</strong></td>
<td><strong>289</strong></td>
<td><strong>528</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Number of SCHOLARSHIP-HOLDERS enrolled at PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS in December, 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Scholarship Holders.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District High Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Secondary Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS:</strong></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Maori Theological Student.
In these secondary schools the syllabus, the examinations the standards do not differ one iota from those of the general secondary schools. Again, there is an emphasis on Maori things such as language, culture, sentiment, etc. found in the primary schools. The administration is mostly European with one or two representatives from the Maori side.¹

The technical colleges, the Teachers’ Training Colleges and the Universities are all open to Maori as to European children, providing they pass the entrance examinations. In a sense the home background, difficulties of language, cultural differentials, economic and social problems tend to give Maori children a disadvantage in education. The total system of education whether in Maori schools or European schools, is European and in this way European children are safeguarded from the problems confronting Maori children with their different social background. However, the disadvantages are soon overcome, and many Maori students enter the University, the Training Colleges, etc. in preparation for the professions, etc. From the point of view of school population, there are more Maori children attending the general schools than attending the Maori schools at the primary level.² Because of the smaller number of special Maori secondary schools, the bulk of the Maori population attends the general secondary schools; there is too now a lectureship in Maori language and Maori studies at the Auckland University College incorporated in the Department of Social Anthropology. The Maori language has been a subject for all school examinations right up to University degree.

1. Ball, Maori Education, in The Maori People Today, pp.292-297; Sutherland, JPS, Vol.61, 1952, p.145; N.Z.Official Year Book 1953, p.148; (The writer was Headmaster at the Wesley College, Paerata, for two years. Wesley College was established by the Methodist Church originally for the education of Polynesian boys; the roll today takes the Polynesian and European boys in the proportion of 1 to 3. There is one Maori on the Board of Governors.

PROBABLE DESTINATION of MAORI Pupils Leaving Public Post-Primary Schools in 1950.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Boys.</th>
<th>Girls.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University College</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching or Training College</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional engineering, surveying, architecture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical (including typing):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Government and Local Body</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Banks, insurance, legal, commercial houses, shops and warehouses</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shops and warehouse assistants</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual trades:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Government and Local Body</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Building</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Motor Engineering</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) General Engineering</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Printing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Other trades</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory operatives</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other occupations</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>616</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Extract from EDUCATION OF MAORI CHILDREN, NEW ZEALAND, 1951, E-3, P.12.
In the schools system in New Zealand, we find extensive intermingling of Maori and European on terms of perfect equality, but we also find in existence a system of education that caters for the special needs and interests of the Maori people. 1. The New Zealand educational system, with its branches intermingling at several points, gives a uniform type of education, with examinations and other symbols of educational attainment providing a recognisable passport throughout New Zealand whether held by a Maori or European.

2. (f) Sports and Recreation.

In the realms of sports and recreation, we find the familiar pattern of a dual frame of organisation discovered elsewhere in New Zealand society. The administrative machinery of games in which Maori teams participate is of two kinds. For instance in Rugby Union (men) and in Basketball (women) Maori teams may play in a general competition organised by a European sports body, and including Maori and European teams - on the Saturday, and then the same Maori teams may play in a Maori competition less rigidly organised between all-Maori teams - perhaps on the Sunday, or at some arranged dates. National New Zealand representative teams may include selected Maori personnel together with European players - and then an all-Maori representative team on tribal or even national basis may include only Maori players. 3. Maori sponsored clubs with teams playing in European controlled competitions, may include European players, just as European teams include Maori players. But in the main, the Maori teams are all Maori in personnel and are locally controlled. Other kinds of

1. See Beaglehole, Some Modern Maoris, pp.172-178, for statement on the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems of education in New Zealand.
2. See Section on sports and recreation in the Huria Village Community.
3. The New Zealand All Blacks touring teams have had outstanding Maori players: George Hepia, Paewai, J.B. Smith and others. The teams visiting South Africa are usually without Maori players. Maori All Black Teams also tour abroad. The majority of members are of mixed parentage. A Maori Advisory Council is associated with the New Zealand Rugby Union.
sports administrative machinery have less interlocking relationships with the European counterpart.

For instance Maori tennis, golf and to a limited degree, hockey, are run separately from the European organisation. The only connection may consist of friendly consultation and advice from the more experienced European body controlling the National and New Zealand programmes in these particular sports. In such parallel instances the organisation and administration follow tribal lines. The teams are all Maori and represent tribes, etc. and the competitions are run in European fashion with the motivation still emanating from Maori ideals and interests. The personnel is of course Maori, the venue of the games is a Maori tribal centre, and the ceremony and ritual attend the issuing and accepting of challenges between teams. 1.

Of significance too is the manner in which sports activities are becoming correlated with the ceremonial programmes in Maori communities. The writer helped to organise the first All-Maori Athletics Competitions in 1950 just after the Empire Games held in New Zealand that year. The sports were held in conjunction with the Sex-Centennial Celebration of the arrival of the traditional canoes which brought the ancestors of the Maori people from central Polynesia in 1350. The basis of the games was the essentially inter-tribal rivalry, and one felt that on this occasion the virility of Maori ideas, ambitions and sentiments were tied in to the activities on the athletic sports field. All important Maori movements, whether of indigenous origin or sponsored by the European, utilise the competitive element in sports and recreation between Maori groups to stimulate interest and gain support. This is true of the King Movement with the monster annual sports programme run on the 8th October at Ngaraawahia on the occasion of the Coronation Celebrations. At Easter both the Mormons and the Ratana movements hold inter-tribal sports.

1. All-Maori Championship competitions are held annually in tennis and golf under the auspices of National Maori organisations. Annual Hockey Tournaments are organised on the East Coast and Hawkes Bay - the teams representing Canoe and Tribal districts; for the place of sports competitions in Maori social organisation, see, Ngata, The Maori People Today, pp. 163-164; and Keesing, Te Wananga, Vol.2, p.132.
competitions. The Roman Catholic and the Methodist Churches are using the same motive at their annual youth gatherings. Maori interest in sports stimulated by inter-tribal competitions and probable attainment of representative honours creates organisations with status positions requiring specific roles, performance, and a background therefore for the development of leadership. The close correlation and inter-relationship of sports with other activities and interests in Maori society tend to initiate leadership and transfer this over into other systems in the society. Status attained in sport transfers the occupant to other groups.

(g) Economic Organisation.

There is free access offered to Maori workers into most parts of the economic life of New Zealand. In other words, the colour bar to industry found in some countries does not obtain in New Zealand. The only passport into positions is personal congeniality and ability, together with the technical qualifications required. This does not mean that there is not any hesitancy on the part of employers, often dominated by current stereotypes of Maoris - lazy, unreliable, undependable, unpunctual, etc. -

1. Ngata, Tribal Organisation, in the Maori People Today, pp.163-164. Sublimation of ancient tribal conflicts into friendly rivalry on sports field. Annual matches held for the Tongamahuta Cup and the Coronation Shields, Ngaraawia; for Ratana and Prince of Wales Cups, etc. The writer as a youth was a tribal representative in athletics at the Annual Sports held at Ratana to celebrate the Prophet's Birthday on the 25th January; also captained the Kawhia Rugby Union Tribal Team in the Coronation Celebrations, 1939, at Ngaraawia. Has since acted in an administrative capacity, Cf. Keesing, Maori Progress on the East Coast, Te Wananga, Vol.1, no.2, p.123. (Tennis as a uniting force among tribes).

2. The Otaki Maori Racing Club has been in existence for many years, and is a highly successful business venture under absolute control of Maori officials. The Presidency of the Club is always held by a Kaumatua of the local Kinship group, which also provides the nucleus of the membership. Membership of the Club is actively sought by Europeans, but only conferred by the Club as a special mark of esteem. This Maori enterprise adds considerably to the business and commercial life of Otaki as trainers and jockeys make their headquarters there to avail themselves of the splendid facilities.

EMPL0Y1T TRENDS - Comparative (1945 Census)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Maori</th>
<th>European</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Production</td>
<td>10,390</td>
<td>135,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>4,852</td>
<td>178,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Comm.</td>
<td>1,384</td>
<td>69,261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and Finance</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>97,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and Personal</td>
<td>1,775</td>
<td>32,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Admin. and Prof.</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>119,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ill-defined</td>
<td>7,015</td>
<td>3,154 (not specified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not actively engaged</td>
<td>71,388</td>
<td>635,384</td>
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</table>

Priorities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maori</th>
<th>European</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Primary Production</td>
<td>Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other or ill-defined</td>
<td>Public Administration and Professions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Industry</td>
<td>Commerce and Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Domestic and Personal</td>
<td>Transport and Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Public Administration</td>
<td>Domestic and Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Professions.</td>
<td>Not specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Commerce and Finance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
or influenced by previous experience with Maori workers. The cultural problems and individual failings become identified with ethnic characteristics. Apart from individual cases the general statement of the absence of colour-bar holds, especially after the initial hesitancy is overcome.

There is, therefore, free intermingling of Maori and European workers in all kinds of skilled, semi-skilled work, and Government Departments, etc. Now the absence of discrimination for reasons of physical differences, means that there is no need for separate trade unions for Maori as distinct from European. The same drive for better conditions of work, and of wages affects the Maori as well as the European. The interests of the two ethnic groups in industry are identical.2

The distribution of Maori workers is skewed toward the labouring types of jobs - including farm labourers, roads construction, bush work and transport. The scale of job priorities narrow down into the small group of commerce and finance. The reasons for the substantial number of Maori workers in the manual labour class are associated with the lower educational attainments of the Maori as compared with the European. While there is an improvements in the quality and quantity of schooling in the last few years, there is still at the secondary level a great deal of wastage in Maori youth, so that only a small proportion of those who begin secondary school stay long enough to qualify.4 Maori youth and their parents are not as totally convinced of the need for education, leading to

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1. Editorial, Evening Post, Wellington, Feb. 17, 1953; Prejudice against employment of Maoris in East Coast and Northland, in all but menial and manual occupations. Some earlier views stated by an educated Maori, Parai H. The Maori of New Zealand, 1911, p.16; see p. (section on the Huria Village Community).
2. The writer has done holiday work for short periods in the Freezing Works and on the Auckland Waterfront with other Maori labourers. The Maori workmen joined the same Union as the other Labourers.
3. See comparative table.
the necessary qualifications, as are their European counterparts.  

There is also a difference in the economic position of the parents, the lack of social incentive in Maori communities and the existence of distractions which place Maori children at a slight disadvantage to their European colleagues in making full use of the facilities and opportunities which in theory and in fact, are open to all without regard to race. The problems against the gaining of a secondary education come from a difference in cultural background and involved therein is a series of different economic standards and goals which the Maori consider worthwhile.

An important aspect of Maori economic life is the commercial expression of communal resources such as land and timber, or the products which come from them. Among these are the land development schemes established since 1929 in various parts of the country. Here communally owned land was taken over by the State; the matter of title being set aside for a while for the purpose of pushing on with the work of development under the administration of the State and with the assistance of Government funds. While the administration was carried out by the staff of the Maori Department, the actual work in the field was done by the Maori people themselves. New communities of Maori farmers were set up.

1. The writer attended a general public secondary school, as a day pupil; for several years was the only Maori at school, while living in the Huria village. Because of the home economic conditions, and the lack of full parental appreciation of the need of education, the incentives and necessary discipline existing in the average European home were missing. Further, the absence of privacy in the Maori home set in the closely knit village community posed problems that affected regular school attendance. The main attraction at school was a place in the First Rugby Eight; see Sutherland, The Maori Situation, p. 90; - The Maori People To-day, p. 428.

2. Ngata, The Maori People To-day, pp. 141-142; Examples are: The Turangawaewae Sawmilling Company Ltd., among the Waikato tribes at Ngaruawahie. (The writer was Secretary). The Puketapu Block B (Incorporated), one of the largest timber mills in New Zealand, cutting and processing indigenous bush on Ngatituwharetoa tribal lands around Taupo and Taumarunui; (several auxiliary Maori companies for felling bush and hauling the timber to the mill work in conjunction with the main concern.)


4. People from Ngatikahungunu, Hawkes Bay, were settled at Horohoro in the Arawa district, and families from Waikato and Ngapiporou at Tikitera also among Te Arawa. The writer lived among these groups as a school teacher for about two years.
Opportunities were created for the new Maori farmers to lead in agricultural and farming affairs in the district, and fields of specific association with the Europeans of similar interests were promoted. Prior to 1929, European controlled trusts had already been established to supervise the farming of large areas of communally owned land, especially on the East Coast. At present some of these trusts are restored to their Maori owners, thus providing a context for commercial and economic leadership.¹

For many years now co-operative commercial concerns, especially in the processing of milk products have been a feature of New Zealand industrial life. The Maori, again on the East Coast, have owned and operated a co-operative butter factory, and also a store organised on co-operative principles.²

The personnel of these concerns have been Maori. The latest development in the commercialisation of communally owned resources are the timber mills in the Taupo and Ngaruwahia areas. These communally operated commercial enterprises established on European lines with respect to the transaction of business etc., at the same time retain certain Maori features. For instance, the resources are owned by the tribe, the capital in some cases subscribed by the tribe, and subsidised by State loans, and traditional leaders guided by educated Maori personnel provide the necessary leadership.³ There is surrounding these communal

1. See Ngata, The Maori People To-day, pp.141-142. The East Coast Commissioner was constituted under Part 4, Maori Purposes Act, 1931, to farm certain Maori lands on behalf of the beneficiary owners; partial delegated functions transferred to Maori owners under section 28, Maori Purposes Act, 1949 in the formation of the East Coast Maori Trust Council; more extended authorities given by the Maori Purposes Act, 1953, to groups of owners who were incorporated as a legal body to manage their own lands, thus greatly modifying the former wide powers of the East Coast Commissioner.

2. The Ngatiporou Co-operative Dairy Company Ltd, Ruatoria; the Waiapu Farmers Co-operative Company, Ruatoria;

3. The Turangawaewae Sawmilling Company was formed as a Limited Liability Company under the Companies Act, a small proportion of the capital was raised among individual members of the Waitato and Ngatimaniapoto tribes of £1 each, the greater part of the capital being borrowed from the Tainui Trust Board and from communal funds in the care of committees, at Ngaruwahia; Te Puea Herangi and several kaumatua leaders were on the Board of Directors; The Puketapu Sawmilling enterprise was an incorporated body comprised of sections of Ngatituharetou who owned bush on the Puketapu Block, money was borrowed from the State with the land and timber as security; the chairman of the committee of management was the Ariki of the tribe, but the managing secretary was a qualified Maori accountant whose wife held substantial shares in the land and the bush.
concerns an aura of Maori ideas, motivations and incentives that separate them from European organisations of similar economic order. Perhaps here more so than elsewhere in the economic organisations of the Maori we shall find the intermixture of Maori and European ideas, standards and concepts which all help in the promotion of enterprise.

The picture then with regard to the economic organisation in New Zealand society and the place of the Maori therein, may be briefly summarised. The Maori worker's interests and those of the European are identical - discrimination on grounds of cultural origin does not exist. In the main there is free intermingling of Maori and European in the economic life of New Zealand, though the Maori is skewed toward the lower employment scale - due in a large measure to the lower educational standard and the differences in social and cultural values.

An important feature of Maori commercial life relevant to the study of Maori leadership is the existence of communally based economic organisations working on tribal resources of land and timber. Here there is a mixture of Maori and European techniques - with the latter predominating. These concerns provide important background for the exercise of Maori leadership of the technical and economic kind, intermingled with the Kaumatua and the Ariki.

(h) Military.

The New Zealand regular Army and also the Territorial Army have recruited both Maori and Europeans without regard for ethnic differences, and commissions are open to all on the same basis. However, during the Wars - both 1914 and 1939 - Maori troops were placed in their own military groups. In the first World War when the Maori soldiers saw fighting in the European sense on a large scale in foreign lands there was a feeling among European Military authorities that the Maori soldier should not be allowed to enter the firing lines. The jobs proposed

1. This opinion was expressed to the writer by several Maori ex-servicemen of the First World War - Pakikinita, Tuho, Karera, Tamaki, Ngatimaniapoto, and Te Pio, Ngatiranginui. The background was the need to protect Maori soldiers against unnecessary hazards.
War Service:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>World War II</td>
<td>World War I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 24</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - 69</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 74</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and over</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>1140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
for them were digging trenches, etc. The Maori soldiers themselves however, requested to be given the more exciting role of the soldier in battle. When this was permitted, the Maori soldiers expressed a preference to remain in their own groups. The numbers volunteering enabled a Maori Pioneer Battalion to be formed for active service. The companies in this Maori military organisation were formed according to a tribal grouping system and, as far as was possible, traditional leaders with the requisite qualities were placed in command. The overall control was in the hands of Europeans, although the late Sir Peter Buck, at one stage, did command the Maori Pioneer Battalion.

At the outbreak of the Second World War the Maori Members of Parliament immediately requested the Labour Government for permission to organise the Maori Battalion as an integral part of the New Zealand Division. This was granted. The Maori Battalion was, therefore, formed with companies of soldiers recruited from the different tribes in the country. The officers in each company were also leading members of the tribes concerned. Behind this Battalion the whole force, influence and sentiment of the Maori people were ranged as the tribal sensitivities became stimulated. Maori foods were prepared for the boys overseas, Maori action songs and dances were composed on the theme of the Maori war effort. The drive for Maori recruits for the tribal companies was not motivated by imposing conscription, but by an appeal to the sense of loyalty to, and feeling for, kinship groupings.

1. Cowan, J. The Maoris in the Great War, Wellington, 1926, p.8; The Cambridge History, p.146; 2227 men of the Maori Contingent sailed overseas, served in Egypt, Gallipoli and France, lost 336 dead, mostly killed in action, 734 wounded, casualties 50% of the number who served.
4. Maori War Effort Organisation; Te Puea established a Red Cross branch in Waikato, personally supervising the raising of money, and the gathering of foodstuffs. N.B. Maori Battalion Marching Song - upsurge of emotion, actions, words and tune.
5. The European New Zealanders were conscripted for Service overseas.
The total command of the Maori Battalion was in the hands of Maori officers appointed in succession, as others fell in battle, or were invalided home. Some of the Battalion Commanders were European, selected for their special ability to work with Maori soldiers.¹

At home the Maori War Effort Organisation was set up as a special body to co-ordinate the political, material, financial and industrial resources of the Maori people behind the country's war effort. The organisation was established by an Act of Parliament, the majority of the personnel being Maori.²

The military organisation of the Maori people is significant to our study as revealing the way in which modern Maori leadership expressed itself in time of social crises, and also because from that organisation came the local government system which today provides the background in which many Maori leaders are found operating.³

(i) Values.⁴

So far we have tried to delineate the Maori and European forms of organisation and institutions in order to note the relationships between them. There is an interlocking relationship between the two ethnic groups - there is a sharing and a withdrawal process occurring constantly in New Zealand society. Maori people, as members of the Minority group, are, to varying degrees, bilingual and bicultural. They live in two worlds.

1. When Colonel Young (European) returned after commanding the Battalion he was welcomed by the tribes as a Maori Warrior Leader who brought with him the 'mate', the deaths of the Maori soldiers killed during his command.

2. At the head of the organisation was a Maori Cabinet Minister, the principal field officer was the Chief Liaison Officer, a European, assisting where district recruiting and Liaison Officers, all Maori, who worked with local village committees.

3. Tribal Committees and Tribal Executives established by the Maori social and Economic Advancement Act, 1945.

4. Sutherland, The Maori Situation, pp.76,90, Sutherland discusses the inwardness of the Maori situation in respect to the Royal Commission, 1934, set up by Parliament, and the inability of the authorities to appreciate the Maori viewpoint. He crystallises the different methods and bases of valuation, as between the Maori and the European; Cf.JPS. Nos.1 and 2, 1952, p.140; Also see Ngata, The Maori People Today, pp.98,99 for varying Polynesian and European concepts regarding kinship obligation.
Behind all organisations and institutions which the process of interaction has created over the years, we may look for and find differential value patterns, sentiments, goals and ambitions which form the basis, and give a particular orientation, to institutions and organisations. Some of these differential value patterns, and points of view, will now occupy our attention as we sum up the survey of the alignments in New Zealand society.

Contrast in colour and physical appearance between Maori and European is of course the most obvious cause of a consciousness of difference. Although the increase in intermarriage has modified these physical differences to produce a new biological Polynesian type, the important feature for us is the maintenance of a feeling of difference in Maori communities as against the European groups across the road or the street, etc. Consciousness of difference tend to preserve differentials both in points of view and in patterns of values - between Maori and European.

Differences of value systems in specific situations in the New Zealand society may be illustrated from empirical data. In 1952 there occurred a clash of European and Maori value patterns over the Orakei Marae just outside the Auckland metropolitan area. The State had for some years attempted to get the Ngatiwhatua tribal owners of an area of land less than 3 acres to sell this land to the Government. Negotiations failed and the State finally invoked its rights under the Public Works Act 1928, which gives powers to alienate land by compulsion for public purposes at compensation to be decided by an independent tribunal.


2. Files of the Maori Department, Auckland, and the Taitokerau Maori Land Court on the Orakei Case; Fenton's Judgments on Orakei, etc., the writer represented sections of the Maori people in the negotiations with the Government about Orakei; the *Maori Affairs Act* 1953, recently introduced safeguards against the 1928 act.

3. Minutes of the Taitokerau Land Court, Auckland. Also see Auckland Star, New Zealand Herald, July 10, early that year.
Right to the end, the Maori owners refused to agree to the alienation of the Orakei land, and even to acceptance of compensation monies. The arguments advanced on the European side were that the area on which stood an old meeting house, a cemetery, a dilapidated church building – with the ground overgrown with weeds – was an eyesore to passers by, and it was too close to the city and the residential parts. Moreover, the level of the land was below that of the sea close by, thus making suitable drainage difficult.

The Maori argued that this place was a traditional marae, and, therefore, sacred to them. Here the ancestors had gathered, conducted their ceremonies, made their compacts and held their tribal gatherings, etc. Beneath the outward appearance, the Maori saw other values than those the European saw. The late Princess Te Puea Herangi, who led the Maori opposition to the alienation, summed up the Maori sentiment in the analogy: 'This is the stern post of the Tainui Canoe – we cannot allow the stern of the canoe to be severed from its hulk'. The European saw no canoe, nor any ancestral sacred ground, but an area overgrown with weeds, dirty, untidy and a blot on the landscape. The possession of power in the hands of the European decided the issue, and the land was taken.

Again Maori gatherings, festivals, ceremonials and mortuary rites 1. celebrations still form a large part of Maori social activities. In the case of mortuary rites at the death of some distinguished Maori personage, funeral obsequies may continue for two or three weeks. The men stay away from work, transport is diverted to the centre of the meeting, involving the expenditure of extra time and petrol. Large quantities of food are prepared and eaten, school life for the children is disrupted, and there is always the danger of infectious diseases breaking out and indulgence in sexual immorality among young people. With such criteria the European evaluates the Maori ceremonial gatherings.

2. See Beaglehole, Some Modern Maoris, pp.255-269.
For the Maori, the mortuary rites are different. Here a Maori shares his sorrow with his kinsfolk; the tribe closes its ranks at a period of social dislocation and emotional upheaval, and in doing so, the burden of sorrow is cast upon the group as a whole, the pain is more easy to bear, and the cohesion of the group is reinforced. Here too he is linked with the ghosts of his illustrious forbears - he feels again the spirit of his ancestors, and his unity with them; he comes nigh a world that is peopled by other beings - as real to him as this one. He hears again the stories of the past, the history of the tribe in the recital of genealogy, or the proud relating of narrative accounts of deeds of men of old. The oratory of the leading men, the poetry and oral literature, these are the treasures which the ceremonial gatherings again bring to the fore, and for such experiences the Maori Kamatua is willing to forego the material benefits of which the European is so fond of reminding him. Sutherland has stressed the psychological satisfactions in such Maori experiences - the community sharing its sorrows, renewing its links with the past, and enjoying its literary treasures - satisfactions necessary for the Maori in the world of change, if he is to retain his sanity, and the ability to adjust himself to the demands of the wider society. 1.

The sociological viewpoint also takes cognisance of the reinforced kinship relations, both at the human and the non-human levels, observes the refinement of values which maintain the unity and solidarity of the tribe and subtribe in a situation of social disorganisation. 2.

Attitude to land is also another point where a clash may occur. Land is impregnated for the Maori with ancestral sentiments, historical association, as well as feelings of community ownership and a sense of social security. It is regarded by the European as a source of economic well-being and profit, with a stress upon production and cultivation. The Maori, on the other hand, is

2. Radcliffe-Brown's thesis on these matters is well-known i.e. the refinement of values.
3. See pp.5-7; Firth, Economics, pp.360,362-366; Buck, pp.330-361.
not so urgent concerning the economic drive, for he finds his satisfactions at lower economic levels and in other ways he considers more humane. The application of the Maori Purposes Act, 1950, to idle Maori lands by certain of the County Councils in the North Island - in order to stimulate their development through enforced leasing or absolute alienation, met the opposition of the Maori people. The writer who conducted some of the Maori cases in the Maori Land Court was very conscious of the drive from the European side for the possession and use of Maori Lands lying idle. The cry of the Maori was fear of landlessness, loss of heritage, and the destruction of his mana to his land.

Now in all the cases so far quoted - the Orakei Marae in Auckland, the funeral rites, and the Maori Purposes Act, 1950, one may propose a compromise - a reconciliation of attitudes and points of view. The

1. Powers vested in the Maori Trustee to lease or sell idle Maori land, on application to the Maori Land Court, who would execute the necessary order for this to be done; Cf. controversy concerning idle lands promoted by N.Z. Company after Treaty of Waitangi.

2. This primary interest of the County Councils in the operation of the Act arose from the inability of owners of idle Maori lands to pay rates, and the danger of noxious weed infection in the county. The practical problems in the development of idle lands to their owners were twofold - the communal nature of the title, and the lack of capital to aid cultivation. (Statistics of Maori land alienated under this Act.) - See A to J, 1953, G-9.

3. Neighbouring European farmers applied to the Maori Land Court for vesting orders to be made in respect of adjoining lands which they would buy. Maori leaders submitted the alternate proposition for lands dealt with to be given to other interested Maori farmers. See Ngata, The Maori People Today.

4. Ngata H.K. in a paper given before the National Council of Churches, Maori-Subsection, February, 1953, 'Of a total of more than 10,000,000 acres of Maori owned land 50 years ago, 3,000,000 acres remain today. Ratio of land to man fallen from 500 acres per head to little more than 20 acres. 50 years hence the ratio may be in decimals'. See Belshaw, H. in Maori Economic Circumstances in the Maori People Today, pp.187-192, about relation of population to land resources: Also McQueen, Vocations for Maori Youth, Wellington, for further discussion; The Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Development Committee was set up by Te Paea Harangi and the leading Kaumatua to stay the indiscriminative operations of the Act; Cf. Ngata The Maori People Today, pp.126 - 129: Ngata wrote: The experience of 100 years offers no guarantee to the Maori people that under pressure from Europeans the Government of New Zealand will not again look to the nearly empty and unreplenishable reservoir of native lands to satisfy land hunger. The fear of such an eventuality is never far from the Maori mind "See N.Z. Official Year Book, 1953 for protective legislation, p. 392."
Maori solution, as the weaker party, was always in the form of a compromise, but one suspected that European values were so tied in with other factors in the society, such as unwillingness to give in, feeling of superiority, sense of power and personal interest of a profit kind, that the European was frequently compelled to reject the principle of compromise. For instance at Orakei - the late Princess Te Puea Herangi offered to erect a model village with facilities, in accordance with standards required under city bye-laws, to be conducted and supervised by the City Council - and at her own expense because a favourable report on drainage scheme was obtained from an independent engineer. With the Maori Purposes Act, the writer and others asked that the State take over the development of Maori lands by Maori for Maori, so as to prevent absolute alienation. The European attitude in the Orakei case was dogmatic and final - in the idle lands matter some of the lands under dispute were taken over by the State to develop with the use of Maori labour drawn from the original owners. This would suggest that perhaps the conflict of values, and points of view may be reconciled, given the spirit of willingness to do so on the part of both groups.

1. In fairness to the Government, in the Orakei controversy an alternative offer was made of an area of land as a marae site in addition to the special housing scheme established on higher land for the inhabitants of Orakei. It was the traditional marae that the people wanted to retain, now used as a Park by the City Council.

2. Acreage taken over under the Act, see A to J. 1953, g - 9.

Now behind all these values and sentiments, beliefs and ideas, is the framework of the Maori social structure - bound together as of old by kinship connections - delineated by the genealogies, and fixed in some centre - the marae, meeting house, and dining room. Community life with its frequent face-to-face contacts spreads ideas, beliefs and sentiments from one person to another throughout the group. The existence of the extended family grouping, covering a wider range than the mere biological family of European society, comprehends more people in its scope. This is important in the maintenance and reinforcement of ideas, values and sentiments that are typically Maori. The home is still the most powerful agency in the transmission of culture - the communal life of the Moari lends itself to such transmission.

The practical problem which is important from a wider view and from the angle also of our main theme of leadership concerns the significance of Maori values, etc. in the total New Zealand society. The European view is that expressed by Beaglehole in his study on 'Some Modern Maoris', namely that the Maori character structure which we have subsumed under the general concept of a frame of organisation - should be replaced through education by the character structure of the European.¹ Beaglehole sees nothing but difficult problems for the Maori, if this is not done as quickly as possible.

¹. Some Modern Maoris, pp. 335-336; - N.Z. Anthropology Today, JPS. Vol.46 1937, where Beaglehole discusses the philosophy of assimilation of the Maori. It is of course only in a general sense and for convenience that this view is described, as European. Contrast the statements made by European New Zealanders such as Sutherland, Firth, Piddington, and others who would agree with Buck. Firth in discussions sounds a caution however, against aggressive cultural nationalism; Sutherland, The Maori Situation in The Maori People Today, p. 425.
The statement reminds one of the policy of assimilation which has dogged our steps through the survey of the historical periods in our study, and what Taft has called 'monistic pluralism'. The Maori viewpoint was expressed in reply by Peter Buck in his foreword to Beaglehole's study:

"However, in spite of the fact that suggestions in the report are aimed at improving the standard of living and the social status of Kowhai Maoris, I do not believe that a complete change over to Pakeha culture structure is desirable as a racial policy. We know only too well that in some parts of Europe, pakeha culture sank to lower depths than that of any native race living in a state of primitive savagery. We know also that the culture of our own pakehas is far from perfect, and that it is undergoing drastic revision. The standard of lower class or middle class pakeha culture is not attractive enough to us to give up all that we cherish. Maybe we have some qualities that might improve pakeha culture which is so obsessed with the urge to hoard up money to buy social status. I feel that we should retain our tribal loyalty, the marae, the meeting house, and the tangi as measures of our self-respect. Since I left in 1927, I have visited New Zealand twice. On each occasion, the things I looked forward to with the deepest feelings were meeting my tribe on the marae before our meeting house and weeping with them over our dead. Yet, feeling what I feel, I have been able to adjust myself fairly satisfactorily to Pakeha culture. I have faith that the younger generations, if guided sympathetically, will be able to make their adjustments without sacrificing all their racial heritage."

The revival of Maori culture through the work of men like Ngata, Carroll and others tends to reinforce the dual frame of organisation in New Zealand society. The increase in Maori population and the scientific study of culture will lead to a greater appreciation of Maori values in the general life of the people of New Zealand. There are also trends in the modern type of education in New Zealand schools which in such things as social studies, lay the stress upon local Maori history and regional Maori studies. While Maori games, Maori mythology, legends and history inevitably become incorporated in New Zealand culture. The point of all this is to strengthen rather than weaken the hold of Maori culture in New Zealand among both Maori and European. As concerns Maori leadership, the fact of the dual frame of organisation whether regarded from the

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2. Some Modern Maoris, pp.XVII; cf. Firth considers it possible to combine Maori Culture, Attitudes, and values with full participation in New Zealand life. (Auckland Star, Sept.15, 1953.)
point of view of institutions and organisations, or from that of a distinctive circle of ideas, values, beliefs, sentiments and interests, suggests the context in which Maori leadership holds sway, and the possibility of lateral movement from one society to the other, or from one circle of ideas to the other.

Buck, Ngata, Pomare, Carroll and Bishop Bennett - and many more Maori Leaders of lesser status possessed the one common feature implied by Buck in the statement quoted above - the power to adjust satisfactorily to either frames in the dual organisation - Maori and European.
2. Some Maori National Leaders.

The leaders in Maori-European situations have been developing in importance since the initial contact between Maori society and European institutions. The contextual background of this type of leader is the dual frame of organisation we have described. These leaders have been largely products of mixed marriages, and have thereby become highly mobile; most of them were educated at the Maori schools and the University developing as masters of both Maori and European cultures, and advocates of the philosophy of adjustment of Maori society to the demands of the wider community.

1. Historically mixed marriage in New Zealand acquired its special features in the following ways:— (a) In the early days of contact practical value was ascribed to the European as the source of material goods; he was therefore incorporated into the chief families by marriage; (b) the absence also of white women meant that European-Maori marriages were normal occurrences of a permanent nature, and this in turn gave recognised status to the offspring of such marriages. (c) On the Maori side the descent principle which enabled a child to inherit status from either the mother or the father, further reinforced the position of the children of mixed marriages. (d) Then too there was really not any substantial differences in physical appearance between members of the two racial groups, this easing acceptance of one by the other. The total result was to give the half-caste child the status of the mother and the father in their respective social groups.

There is another aspect of mixed marriage which has a direct bearing on leadership by half-castes. Even though mixed marriage is accepted in New Zealand, there may exist a discrepancy which might be termed psychological and sociological marginality. In his home the half-caste child is exposed to the inevitable tension between two different converging cultural patterns. This conflict becomes reflected in a condition of maladjustment in the personality of the half-caste person which releases drives that create ambitions to make a name for himself in the world. Sociologically the tension between the racial and cultural groups tend to attract the half-caste over into the Maori group, for the reason that he is better able, because of his scarcity value, to gain a recognised status position in the minority group than in the majority. Furthermore, the half-caste is more fully brought under the influences of education and the opportunity to equip himself for leadership positions. He is also far more able to gain access into European society by virtue of his physical appearance and his background. Perhaps too it should be remembered that the half-caste is numerically superior and therefore more of them secure positions of leadership. Cf. Ngata, Native Land Development, where he discusses the role of the half-caste in leadership; Also consult for the official definition of half-caste, N.Z. Official Year Book, 1926, p.106; 1935, p.85; 1936, p.68; 1951-52, p.101; Also Linton op. cit. pp.360-361; Brown, W.B. op.cit. p.42.
### COMPARATIVE GROWTH IN EUROPEAN AND MAORI POPULATIONS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Maori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>26,707</td>
<td>56,049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>59,413</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>97,904</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>171,009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>217,436</td>
<td>(Hill)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>254,928</td>
<td>38,540</td>
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<tr>
<td>1874</td>
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<td>1878</td>
<td>412,464</td>
<td>45,642</td>
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<td>1881</td>
<td>487,889</td>
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<td>1886</td>
<td>576,524</td>
<td>43,927</td>
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<td>1891</td>
<td>624,454</td>
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<td>1896</td>
<td>701,094</td>
<td>42,113</td>
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<td>1901</td>
<td>770,304</td>
<td>45,549</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>865,995</td>
<td>50,309</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,005,585</td>
<td>52,723</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1,096,228</td>
<td>52,997</td>
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<td>1921</td>
<td>1,214,677</td>
<td>56,987</td>
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<td>1926</td>
<td>1,344,469</td>
<td>63,970</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>1,491,484</td>
<td>82,328</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>1,603,554</td>
<td>98,744</td>
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<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>1,647,635</td>
<td>100,045</td>
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</table>


... They came in the main from these districts which were free from resentment and frustration, mostly on the East Coast. A number were trained at Te Aute College, nourished on the classics and cultured aristocracy of knowledge came.


Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata, Ngatiporou.

B. Bishop F. A. Bennett, Te Arawa.

C. Sir Peter Buck, (Te Rangihiroa) Taranaki.

D. Sir Maui Pomare, Taranaki.

Aristocrats of Knowledge.
in ideals of religion and service, and later educated at the university. But they were also rooted in the social organisations of their own people. Among the first men of their race to hold university degrees and to practice as doctors, lawyers and clerics, they possessed high academic and intellectual qualifications. Their scarcity value as Maori academics, their break into fields previously reserved to Europeans gave them high status among both the Maori and the European. But more, their thorough intellectual training, combined with an inside knowledge of the processes of Maori European interaction enabled them to gain insights that were necessary to guide the destinies of the Maori race.

Given therefore the easy mobility between the two groups especially to persons of mixed parentage in New Zealand society, a sense of guilt among European authorities concerning past treatment of the Maori race, and the feeling of frustration in the Maori group to which we have referred, the arrival of men with an added appreciation of the situation, and acceptable to the two races; assured for them a high position in New Zealand Society.

Most of them were in the professions, in the church and in parliament, thus giving them the prestige of European institutions and a wide coverage for leadership. James Carroll was a half-caste, his father an Irishman and his mother from Ngatikahungunu. He served on the European side during the internment wars, and after the fighting entered the Native Department as a clerk. From there he transferred to Parliament as an official interpreter. He became a Member of Parliament for the Eastern Maori Electorate, Minister of Maori Affairs, and Acting-Prime Minister.

He was actually elected at a later stage as a member representing both a Maori and an European electorate, and the only person in New Zealand to be accorded that honour. Maui Pomare belonged to Taranaki. He was also half-caste. After schooling at Te Aute College, he went to the United States, where he qualified as a Doctor, the first Maori to do so. He was in charge of Maori Hygiene in the Health Department, and later entered Parliament for the Western Maori Electorate with the blessing of the Maori King.

1. Ngata, Anthropology and Native Races, op.cit. p.35; Keesing, The Changing Maori, p.158;
2. Also see Ngata; The Maori People To-day, pp.124-128; 176-177; Alpars, O.T.J., in Maori and Education, pp.150.
He became Minister of Health for the Dominion.  

Peter Buck with an Irish father and Maori mother also hailed from Taranaki. He qualified an M.D. in the University of New Zealand, became Director of Maori Hygiene and later through the influence of Carroll and Ngata, was chosen to represent the Northern Maori seat in the House over other local candidates at the death of Hone Heke, the then sitting member. Buck took up Anthropology to become an authority on Polynesia, and Director of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu.  

Apirana Turupa Ngata is Ngatiporou, and he too is of mixed parentage. After a brilliant career at Te Aute, he went on to the University to become the first Maori to graduate with a degree in both political science and law. Ngata was elected for the Eastern Maori seat in the House, replacing Wi Pere. He became Maori Minister etc.  

Rev. F. Bennett was from Te Arawa. He was taken at an early age and educated for the church. He served in the South Island in European circuits, after theological training at Nelson, and later presided over Maori missions in the North Island. Bennett became the first Maori Bishop of Aoteroa.  

Skill in those things which were valued in European and Maori society helped in the gaining of national reputations.  

All these men were masters of English speech. Carroll was the silver tongued orator whose utterances are models of their kind. Whenever Ngata spoke in the House of Representatives, he commanded the attention of all. Bennett was renowned as much for the oratorical heights he attained in his sermons, as for their spate of good advice. He was a Guest Speaker in Westminster Abbey. Buck, though less forceful, was no novice in the art of oral and written expression in the English language, while Pomare also gained wide admiration.  

1. Buck, The Maori People To-day, p.9; - quotation, in A to J, 1931 0-10; Ngata and Sutherland, p.363; Ellison, The Maori and Hygiene, in Maori and Education, p.291 (At the time of writing information has been received that a book is recently published in New Zealand concerning Pomare - The Maori Doctor); Sir Maui Pomare, New Plymouth, 1936.  

2. Buck, Vikings of the Sunrise, p. The Maori People To-day, pp. (Eric Ramsden who has written extensively for popular magazines on Maori leaders is in the course of writing the life of Sir Peter Buck.)  

3. Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 59 and 60, contain articles on Ngata written since his death. Also includes some of his speeches in Parliament and a bibliography of his works.  


But they were also capable professional men in their own rights. Buck was not satisfied with an M.B., Ch.B., and he took the higher medical degree of M.D. Both he and Pomare were medical men with the highest practical and theoretical abilities in their field — Maori Hygiene. Though Ngata did not actively practice as a lawyer, his legal knowledge comes through again and again in the kinds of things he did, while Member of Parliament, in the adaptation of legal technicalities to the particular circumstances of Maori society.

Neither were they in Parliament just to occupy another seat. As members, and later as Cabinet Ministers, they made solid contribution to the work of governing the country. Carroll was a member of important Royal Commissions set up by the House on Maori Land questions, as also was Ngata. Study of the work of the 1891 Commission and the later South-Ngata Commission, showed the influence of both Carroll and Ngata on legislation that affected the social and economic welfare of the Maori people. The aristocrats of knowledge did not merely hold University degrees as formal titles, but they were men who by sheer intellectual ability and expertness in their fields left an influence on the affairs of the country. Versed as they were in European culture, how much more too were they masters of Maori culture.

At all Maori assemblies Carroll, Ngata, Pomare, Buck and Bennett spoke to their people in the classical oratory of the marae. People came to hear not merely the theories that were being expounded, but the beauty of language with which they were clothed. Though Carroll did not leave anything to posterity in written Maori, old men remember the turn of phrase, the imagery, and the illustrations that studded his speeches on the marae. Ngata's forte in this regard is well known. He was the leading scholar on the latest revision of the translation of the Maori Bible, which was significant because all previous translations had been done by the European Missionaries. He was awarded an honorary Litt.D., by the University of N.Z. for his compilation and annotation of the standard work on Maori poetry.

1. Ellison, op.cit.
4. A to J, 1891 g - l; A to J, 1909, G-l.
5. Ramsden, Sir Apirana Ngata and Maori Culture, pp.71-79.
The writer has often listened to the Maori sermons preached by Bishop Bennett. Not only in the language, but in the culture as a whole, did these men excel. Ngata moved without peer in the realm of tribal history, poetry and arts and crafts. Buck beginning with technology achieved world fame as a Maori and Polynesian ethnologist, the holder of both the Rivers and the Huxley medals. Pomare's field was mythology and here he has published interesting material.

Now this intensive part-time research into Maori culture is significant for several reasons. First it shows the close identification the men had with their people, their culture and ideals. Though educated in the European schools, they were nevertheless rooted in indigenous foundations. They were leaders because they focussed the yearnings in Maori society for the ascription of status to Maori things in the European dominated New Zealand society. But in doing this, they also gained for themselves a high standing among their own people, and among the European who looked with side-long glances at the more romantic culture of the Maori confreres. This attempt to embody the ideals of the Maori race as expressed in the old culture has relation to the missionary zeal for service to, and identification with, their people which characterised the aristocracy of knowledge.

The cultivation of this idealistic concept of duty and service to the race comes partly from the greater status possibilities in the Maori group for them, partly from a sense of protest against the European economic and cultural pressures on Maori society, and partly also from the influence of educationists at Te Aute College.

Te Aute was practically a superimposition of the English Public School model upon the New Zealand nascent system of education, and its founders were conscious of their divinely appointed mission to train Christian Maori leaders. The curriculum solidly based on the classics and abstract subjects

1. The Cambridge History, p.145, "The Maori Ethnological Research Board (set up under the leadership of Ngata) believed to be the only Board of its kind among non-European races, derive its revenue from Maori sources in care of the State." The fund was set aside under Section 9, Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act, 1923. Also see JPS.Vol.32, p.183.
was immersed in religion. Outstanding personalities like the Williams, and John Thornton, the latter having come to New Zealand from India, were deeply religious men who visualised an honoured place in New Zealand society for the Maori people. Given such circumstances and the daily contacts between them and their pupils, it is no wonder that the school became a source of inspiration for service, not to any single tribe, but to the Maori people as a whole. Tribal background among the students, though not altogether left out of reckoning, was subordinated to the needs of the race. Something of this sense of mission is seen in the following account of an answer to a question put by the writer to Sir Apirana Ngata.

The occasion was a political meeting where Sir Apirana Ngata was the main speaker at the Manchester Unity Hall in Auckland some ten years ago. The writer at question time, rather put an irrelevant one to the speaker. "Can the speaker give some advice to the Maori students in the audience concerning their studies?" The question was ignored till the end of the meeting, and answered in the form of a story. He said, "When I was attending Te Aute College as a pupil, a Church Missionary came to the school to hold an evangelistic meeting. Among some of the things he said was this - 'If anyone here is willing to give himself to serve the Maori people, then God will bless him' - I, continued Ngata, decided there and then, that I was going to be that person, as far as I was concerned he was speaking to me.

Turning to the students he said, "If you have no sense of call to equip yourselves for the service of your people you may as well pack up now and go home, because you will be wasting your time."

The zeal of these men was shown early. Towards the end of the last century, again under the guidance of educationists and missionaries, Te Aute formed a students association. This event was no mere social gathering of young men who desired to give expression to nostalgic feelings for their old school, it was an attempt among them to bring the

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1. The writer is indebted to Reweti Kohere, an old student of Te Aute, for these views - he is preparing a book on his old school; Te Aute School Reports and data sent by courtesy of the present Principal of the College; See also Tribune to Education at Te Aute in Buck, foreword to Beaglehole, Some Modern Maoris, p.xiii; Loten, Ernest, G.Loten (former Headmaster of Te Aute) Maori Secondary Education, in Maori and Education, pp.264-272.
enthusiasm of youth and the training of the schools into a study of the contemporary social and economic problems of the time. The annual conferences of the organisation became seminars for the offering and discussion of papers on matters arising from the condition of social change, the first conscious attempt by a Maori group to look at and analyse their place in New Zealand society. The group was extended to form the Young Maori Party, so as to include boys from Three Kings School and other secondary schools, and it helped to unite and focus into an organisation, the energies of the young Maori sociologists. Ngata was its travelling Secretary, Buck, Pomare and Bennett were members, while Carroll, as the kaumata of the new leaders, was the sympathetic mentor.

The work of the Young Maori Party is reported fully in the modern works on Maori Leadership.

Two other factors that gave status to the aristocrats of knowledge in their own society may be noted. It is not a derogatory statement to

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1. Titles of some of the Papers indicate the nature of the interest:
   - Parata, H. 'The Maori of New Zealand', London, 1911, p. 20; Different writers in The Maori People Today, pp. 16, 29, 36, 38, 177, 399, etc. etc.; Sutherland, 'The Maori Situation' pp. 41-43, An Account of the Young Maori Party, 1897; Ngata, Anthropology and Native Races, op. cit., p. 35, he writes: The representatives of the young Maori movement possessed of the intuition of their forefathers, and having in the schools and colleges, and in society acquired some facility in looking through pakeha spectacles at racial problems claimed the privilege of advising the course that legislation and administration should take; - The Maori People Today, pp. 138-139, passing; Alpers, O.T.J., The Young Maori Party in Maori and Education, Chapt. 8; A Young Maori Party, Empire Review, 3, 1912. The Symposium, The Maori People Today, and the early compilation, Maori and Education, both make comprehensive references to the Party known as The Young Maori Party.
make that few of the leaders we are considering may claim superior
kinship affiliation in their own tribes.

Ngata acknowledged the superiority of Materoa Reedy, the
high chieftainness of Ngātiporou in the ceremonial affairs of
the group. Buck, Pomare and Carroll were neither of the
superior kinship category of Taranaki and Ngātiporou. Bennett recognised the Amohau family in Te Arawa as having
a greater number of converging senior lines. But all these
men were recognised men in their tribes. General kinship
gave them rights within the group, but it was their knowledge,
education and membership in European systems which built them
up. Their renown abroad gave them status at home. On the
other hand, these men by their merits and work also strengthened
their own family lines, and their descendants have enjoyed a
high status, significant though still different, from that
secured through the older senior lines. They were active
leaders in the tribe by virtue of their possession of skills,
while the traditional families retained the symbolic headship
of the group.

Among other tribes they may be brought in through shifts in genealogical
connections to affect the necessary links. But the fact that they are
Maori and they excel in European fields are often sufficient to cause
their acceptance. Ethnic affiliation in such cases replace kinship.

It has already been mentioned that Buck was elected Member of
Parliament for clusters of tribes, not his own. The
influences that eased this superceding of kinship may be
briefly stated. When Hone Heke died, his people Ngapuhi,
was greatly honoured because the great Sir James Carroll
personally supervised the return of the body to his home.
Hone Heke was a chief and was treated as such. Carroll was
undoubtedly the most outstanding Maori in New Zealand at the
time. His standing in Parliament and his wide interest had
taken him away from the narrow confines of his own kin group.
He was a Cabinet Minister. Ngapuhi wanted to honour Carroll
as an expression of their gratitude for the way their chief was
taken to his own tribes. Carroll was therefore offered
'te pouaru' - the widow - or the vacant seat. He was asked
to select a man to take it. Carroll, after consultation with
Ngata, offered the Medical Officer, Buck, to the tribes of
Ngapuhi, and he was accepted. Buck's only term in Parliament
was when he stood for Ngapuhi (Northern Electorate).

The other factor that cast an aura about the aristocratic leaders

1. Sutherland, I.L.G. 'The Maori Situation, Mana of heredity now
   separated from political and economic leadership'.


comes from the charismatic values that exist in Maori society. In the case of the aristocrats of knowledge, the charism has been invoked rather, after the event, to explain the achievement of such men.

Stories are current in Maori communities, (the writer heard them from his own father) about Carroll’s gift for oratory. Carroll, it is said, was under the supervision of the tohunga at his birth. He was taught the art of speech by having a pebble placed in his mouth at certain times of the day. To-day there is a tapu placed about the spot where he was born. Pomare was brought up with a tohunga in his young days, while with Buck, something of the same element appears when he refers to his association with his aged kula, in many of his writings. Apirana Ngata, says his father, was placed in the womb of his mother by a tohunga after the old rituals. It is also said that his life principle was confirmed by a tohunga in order to safeguard it against makutu or sorcery. Many of the Ringatu people of the Bay of Plenty and East Coast see in both Ngata and Bennett the long awaited successors which the founder Te Kooti Rikirangi said would come after him. They both bear the essential marks.

Whether these statements are true or false is immaterial, what is significant in the maintenance of status is that they are held to be true among the Maori people.

The aristocrats of knowledge may well be termed the adjustment leaders. They differed in this respect from the charismatic leaders of previous decades though they were all leaders of crises. Where the charismatic leaders rejected

1. Cf. Studies in Leadership, op. cit. pp. 61-62, Pre-destination and man of destiny concepts were marks of the charismatic leaders. There is also a saying attributed to the second Maori King, Tawhiao, referring to the East Coast as the probable district from which a future leader of the Maori race will come.

"Ehara Waikato, engari Tauranga, a puta mai hoki i reira nga whetu ketahi tekuau ma run, me te ora mo te motu". - Waikato is nothing, but Tauranga, for from that locality will come the twelve stars, and the source of salvation for the whole country.

Another favoured boundary from which a leader will come is that between Kati Kati and the East Cape, 'Nga kuri a Whaare ki Tiki rau'.

2. From the Writer’s father.
3. Vikings of the Sunrise and the Coming of the Maori.
4. JPS, Vols. 69-69; p.
5. From the Writer’s father.
6. Also see pp. XIV - XXII, Sutherland, Maori Situation, p. 3; Ngata, Native Land Development, quotation from Buck; Pomare tended toward pro-assimilationism. One of the results is that Maori schools were not established in his Taranaki district; as Director and Minister of Health he was severe in his criticism of and in his legal fight against faith-healing by Tohunga.

European institutions, these others working from the basis of the indigenous culture, aimed to refashion it to fit more nearly into the wider New Zealand society. Through the insight they gained from applied study and analysis of their changing society they laid down the policy of adaptation.

Health among Maori communities was bad. In 1900 the Maori Councils Act was passed, through the drive of Ngata and the others. Here the tribal or subtribal group was turned into a health committee working in its own village under the supervision of traditional leaders. The task was to incorporate new ideas and techniques through Maori leadership. Water supplies were established, local regulations on hygiene were set up, sanctioned by the authority of the chiefs and backed by the state. Even the sanctum of the whare runanga and whare puni were invaded, again by Maori leaders themselves. Windows were put into the back of the meetinghouse and also in the front, to improve its ventilation, and flooring was added.

Buck and Pomare, when Maori Health Directors, introduced reforms through the use of the discussion on the marae with reference to similar features in traditional Maori culture. Buck tells the story of the construction of privies in villages for private homes. Opposition to the innovation was squashed by the recital of evidence of similar device in the ancient villages.

The leaders were strong on the points, first, of working from the base of the indigenous culture, and the traditional social organisation; and secondly, of utilising the Maori methods of propaganda, and gaining the co-operation of the community leaders themselves.

When the Land Development Schemes were introduced into the Tauranga and the Waikato districts by Ngata himself, the methods were quite simple. Word was sent to the Kaumatua and Ariki leaders, who then gathered the owners of a block of land at the tribal marae. The formal greetings were exchanged including the references to the dead, as is usual in any gathering of the group. Some point in historical associations of the tribe, in the sayings of prophets and wise men, or in mythology was made. The whole purpose of such indirect reference was to put the matter into the proper framework for deliberation. Objections too, assumed the same indirect allusions, while the details of the scheme were frequently only slightly touched upon. The decision in Tauranga and Waikato followed the lead given by the traditional leaders. In Waikato Te Paea Herangi herself accepted the responsibility, although some derided her with the tag of Mrs Government, but the lead of the ariki tapairu was sufficient for

1. Ngata, Anthropology and Native Races, op.cit., pp.35-36; Hill, op.cit. stresses the function of the Maori Councils in providing formalised status for leaders, as well as their function in the reintegration of Maori society.
the people. In Tauranga the lead was given by Te Ririnui, a kaumatua of Ngatihe subtribe of Ngaiterangi and the people followed.

When Ngata's land development schemes were being promoted into Te Arawa District at Horohoro, leaders and peoples were brought from the Ngatikahungunu of Hawkes Bay with the co-operation of the Arawa peoples themselves. In true Maori fashion the occasion was marked by ritual, an Anglican Minister being asked to hold a dedication service on the land.

Another feature was the way in which a tribe experienced in farming methods was used to demonstrate in practical terms how land could be worked. In other instances, the spirit of rivalry was deliberately invoked as an incentive to motivate the adoption of the new techniques. The visits of Ngatiporou farmers and farm labourers to Waikato and Ngapuhi were made for this purpose. They came and were formally welcomed on the marae as tribal visitors, treading the old paths based on kinship and historical association, though to-day another reason had been added, namely, that of showing how fences could be built, how grass seed could be sown on this soil, and what breeds of cattle to buy. The framework of propaganda was old, but the content of the discussions were new and modern.

2. Ngata, The Maori People To-day, p.165; - A to J., 1931, G-10, p.19; Another aspect of the work of these leaders was in the building of carved meeting-houses, on the East Coast, in the central part of the North Island, and also on the West Coast. Proposals were made for carrying out a programme among the Ngapuhi of the North, an example is the elaborately carved whare runanga commemorating the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The sociological significance of this part of the work of the leaders we are discussing lies in the effects on the re-integration of tribal social organisation centred in the ancestral meetinghouses and the traditional marae. The fine craftwork, combined with the modern facilities included, imparted a feeling of deep pride to the people concerned.
3. Rangi Royal, who was a Consolidation Officer in the Maori Department at Rotorua, and an associate of Ngata's when the schemes were established.
4. Ngata, Native Land Development, A-J, 1931, G-10, and ibid. 1928, G-8; Sutherland, The Maori People To-day, pp.407;408; Tu Mokai, husband of Te Puea Herangi was one of the first to adopt the schemes in Waikato and he gives interesting accounts of visits made by Ngatiporou farmers. Accounts also from Te Hira Rogers on Ngatiporou visits to Ngapuhi.
Back among his own people, when Ngata realised that dairying should replace sheep farming in some of Ngatiporou areas, he appealed to the Kaumatua leaders with their own concept and ideas. One method employed, was the composing of action songs that popularized the milking of cows. Tact, interest, and an understanding of tribal psychology, these were the old time methods that Ngata employed. 1

Another reason for success in the adjustment of Maori society was correct timing. 2 This principle was embodied in the philosophy of taihoa which was attributed to Carroll. 3 The term, taihoa, meant, wait on, and was regarded as being synonymous with temporising. But Carroll recognised, as did Ngata and other leaders, that events occurred in Maori society 'when the time was ripe'. Often, well meaning Europeans spoilt their work by rushing in and expecting a response by virtue of the fact that it was a European innovation.

In the development schemes, 3 Ngata waited many years before he applied the programme. The social conditions of the people, their economic position, their appreciation of European values, the existence of the correct leadership in communities, and the changes in the attitude of the dominant European, all these had to be ready before the schemes could be launched. As Minister of Maori Affairs, endowed with the necessary powers, with his application for state grants for the development of Maori lands, tucked in under a similar legislation for loans to ex-servicemen, and the start of the world depression, Ngata launched the scheme. It immediately fired the imagination of the people and the country.

Two legal devices invented by Ngata also illustrate the principle of adjustment. The attempts to transmute communal title of Maori lands into the European individual form of tenure, together with the continuation of family successions, fragmented the shares to the extent of rendering land uneconomic to work and the title unsuitable for securing financial loans from European organisations.

2. For a discussion of 'correct timing' or the tempo of change, see Sutherland, The Maori Situation, p.67 and The Maori People To-day, p.403.
3. Sutherland, The Maori Situation, Chaps. 7,8,9; Cf. Maori Affairs Acts, 1953, parts 3 and 24, for subsequent policy governing State aid to the utilisation of Maori lands.
In the first place Ngata applied the concept of consolidation of scattered shares to concentrate interests in one block through a method of evaluated exchange between owners. In the second place land held under a communal title by a group was allowed to remain intact. The tribe or subtribe who owned the land was changed by law into an incorporated company, and the necessary committee of management was chosen from the traditional leaders or men who had a lively interest in farming. Consolidation gave Maori owners an incentive to work their enlarged holdings, and incorporation turned the tribe or subtribe into a commercial concern to control the working of their land. In this way too, European financial institutions were able to make loans.

The long range effects of the Ngata Development Scheme in adjusting the Maori way of life were significant. Tribes who had let their lands to Europeans for small annual rents, or who saw nothing but weeds growing on the ancestral lands while they themselves worked for the European across the road, at last were themselves enabled to cultivate their soil, milk cows on it, and enjoy the labours of their hands. The increased standard of living which resulted, gave them prestige with their neighbours and with the European. Many left the communal villages to live in nuclear family homes on their farms, equipped with all the amenities that gave modern comforts. The children were

1. Ngata, A to J, 1931, G-10, pp.3-4; for a discussion of the principles of incorporation and consolidation; See also Ngata, The Maori People To-day, pp.140,142; Keesing, The Changing Maori, pp.153,167-168 etc. Sutherland, The Maori Situation, pp.50-52 etc.

2. Sutherland, The Maori People To-day, pp.421-422; The writer lived for two years in the Tikitere district near Rotorua on a land development scheme property. The neighbours comprised two different tribal groups from Waikato and Ngatiporou, that is, they were migrants brought into the district to initiate the scheme. The writer noticed that except in the more European activities such as co-operating with other farmers and participating in local church services, these two groups nevertheless retained connections with their home tribes. If there were a death of distinguished leaders they would go back home for the ceremony. Again, although they had been in the district for over 10 years, they were still regarded by the Arawa people, as well as by themselves, as members of the Waikato and Ngatiporou tribes respectively. Cf. Sutherland, ibid.p.51; Also Ngata, The Maori People To-day, p.167, concerning Maori migrants in Hawkes Bay, retaining association with home tribes.
sent to school better clothed and better fed than hitherto, and altogether there was a new outlook on life, a new conception of themselves as Maori, and of the European and his institutions. Criticisms came that the tribal communal life would suffer, the Maori would forsake his customs. However, as a matter of fact Maori farmers still relied for their social life upon the amenities supplied by the traditional marae, only that now a Maori farmer was better able to help financially in improving the meetinghouses and its facilities, when he transferred from a wage earner to an owner and an employer. It was true the organisation of his daily routine and timetable was geared to the needs of the farm, but with transport now available to him he was able still to take an active part in the ceremonies of the marae.

Some of the most important examples of the adaptation of traditional institutions affected the marae and whare runanga, right in the heart of the Maori social organisation. Ngata led in the movements throughout Ngatiporou, Ngatikahungum, Waikato and Ngapuhi, in projects for the construction of meetinghouses. The most obvious expression was incorporation of elaborate carvings and interior decoration into the whararunanga, with additions such as fluorescent lighting, staging at the back, porches on the sides and other modern amenities.

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1. Ngata, The Maori People To-day, pp.149,150. Here Ngata warns against the dangers of vesting the absolute title of the land in individual Maori farmers. The result would mean a disruption of family relationship and the creation of a landless minority. He suggests as an alternative of the retention of some form of communal ownership with consideration given the persons actually operating the farms.
The social results were to stimulate tribal pride in the now enhanced symbols of group cohesion, and to recapture something of the co-operative effort among tribes and subtribes in the raising of finance, the preparation of the arts and craftwork, the erection of the ancestral buildings, and their dedication on completion. At Ngaruwahia under the supervision of Te Puea Harangi, a whole marae complete with the Guest House Mahinanrangiri, the King's residence, Turongo, and the monster dining room, Kimikimi, was reared from the blackberry covered swamp near the Waikato River to bespeak the past and present prestige of the Waikato and Haniapoto Tribes centred in the King Movement. In all the marae and the whare runanga the traditional and the modern were blended to create physical symbols that tend to strengthen the tribe.

The aristocrats of knowledge in adjusting Maori forms and adapting the old and the new helped Maori society to integrate as a worthwhile unit in the life of New Zealand.¹

One other function of this particular set of leaders may be mentioned. They were true national representatives of the Maori people. In their heyday prior to 1935, Maori society was a comparatively solid block. Standing head and shoulders above all other leaders, and recognised at the widest levels by the European, they could speak the more or less united voice of the Maori people.

¹ The writer who was associated with Te Puea Harangi in her work in Waikato saw clearly the effects of her tribal projects, not only upon the people themselves in the sense of pride and the reinforcement of group cohesion, but also in the enhanced prestige acquired by their leader and her people among the Europeans. The central marae called Turangawaewae at Ngaruwahia was visited by people from abroad as well as by members of the Government for the purpose of observing how Maori cultural features could be developed to harmonise with the modern surroundings, and to meet the present day requirements.
When Carroll and Ngata spoke in the House, they did so as representatives of the Maori peoples, not of particular groups. On the visits of Royalty, there was no question of who should represent the Maori people. Pomare, Ngata and Carroll were the men best fitted both by education, standing in the community and knowledge and finesse in etiquette, to do this. When war broke out in 1914, it was Pomare who made himself responsible for the Maori recruiting. His incursions into the Maori royal family in this regard are remembered to this day with mixed feelings. But he was doing things on behalf of the Maori people. In the launching of the Land Development schemes by Ngata he did so on behalf of the Maori people, and earlier the germ of the idea was present in the work of Carroll on Maori land. Pomare was one of the main movers in initiating the investigation of Confiscation Land Claims that affected not only Taranaki, but Waikato, Tauranga, the South Island, and the Bay of Plenty.

Now as national Maori leaders they embodied elements of protest in their position. One can sense this in the writings of Buck who questions the theory of assimilation because of the inherent assumption of the superiority of European culture. Ngata himself has been called anti-European, though more correctly Ramsden regards him as being pro-Maori. Bennett, the first Maori Bishop, was chosen to his position after years of negotiation and agitation by such leaders as Ngata, who considered the time ripe for greater Maori control of ecclesiastical affairs at the highest levels. Running through was the theme of self-determination and cultural integrity. Bennett himself, before his elevation worked hard, and finally succeeded in litigation against the State for payment of compensation monies to his tribe Te Arawa for the alienation of rights over the lakes.

1. Waikato objected to the conscription of members of the Maori Royal family. They were, nevertheless, forcibly taken into a military camp. Treated, in Maori thinking, like pigs (poaka). The event is remembered in Waikato in the name Poaka used to this day.

2. See foreword to Beaglehole’s Some Modern Maoris, op.cit. also The Maori People To-day, p.117. etc.

3. Ngata, The Maori People To-day, p.173; also see Maori Purposes Act, 1931 (Sect.51); the important part Bennett played in this case was told the writer by the Ngatipikiaea Kaumatuas of Te Arawa, Major Vercoe and Tiakiaua.


5. Letter from Bishop, W.N. Parapa, 20/6/53 "The Agitation for a Maori Bishop was renewed on the visit of the Indian Bishop Azariah of N.Dornakal in 1923. In 1925 General Synod passed a Canon creating a separate Maori Diocese with its territorial boundaries at Te Aute College of 7000 acres. The Bench of Bishops of N.Z. emphasised that first Bishop should be Pakeha (European). However, Sir A.T. Ngata insisted he should be Maori. In effect the Bench of Bishops replied "Very well, you can have your Maori Bishop but not a Maori diocese..." (Bennett consecrated in 1928).

5. The writer heard from Bishop Bennett himself about his negotiations with the Government over the lakes, and also from Major Vercoe, one of the leading men of Te Arawa.
Plate 22.

A. Rev. W. N. Panapa, Ngatiwhatua.

B. The new Bishop of Aotearoa

C. Dr Wi. Repa Ngatiporou (Medicine)

D. K. Morete, Ngatikahungunu.

E. Te Moana Ngarimu, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. (Accountant)

R.T. Kohere, Ngatiporou, Author, Editor, and Councillor.
The aristocrats of knowledge stood in two worlds; they derived their status from both Maori and European institutions, while their main functions may be summarised as being to adapt Maori society in order to become more closely integrated as a worthy component part of the wider society.\(^1\) To re-integrate Maori social organisation, to help the tribes in their adjustment in changing situations and to represent the Maori to the European, while, at the same time, speaking to the Maori for the European.\(^2\)

(b) **Maori Women Leaders.**

An important aspect of Maori leadership to-day is the way in which Maori women are forging ahead into significant status positions, not only locally, but also at the national levels.

Mrs Isiaka Ratana is Ratana-Labour member for the Western Maori Electorate. Mrs Ihaka is head of the Kai Iwi Maori Religious Society, an off-shoot of the Ratana movement, and Te Puea Harangi was not only the power behind the throne in Waikato, but she was a Maori Land Development Scheme supervisor.\(^3\) Whina Cooper occupied the unenviable position of President of a Rugby Union administrative organisation, a game usually organised by men.

These are not isolated cases with no wide application, but are real indications of the comparative emancipation of Maori women.\(^4\)

The upsurge of Maori women on a wider scale than hitherto is a direct result of social change.\(^5\) The disintegration of traditional sanctions through

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2. Sutherland, op.cit.,p.45, writes concerning Carroll, and his function as mediator between the two races at a critical time in the relationship between them, 'With his tact, generous understanding and great powers of oratory, did much to bring about their political co-operation and social union'; Keesing, op.cit.,pp.153,167,168,170,173.
3. Sutherland, *The Maori Situation*, p.65; *- The Maori People To-day, pp.434-435*.
4. Sutherland, op.cit.,pp.64,65,72, concerning the work of Te Puea Harangi and in *The Maori People To-day, pp.434-435*; Cf. the story of the Arawa Chief-kinship, Te Aokaparangi, who saved her people from further destruction by the Ngapuhi forces at Mokoia, Tarekawa, Takeanui. *Hga mahi a Te Wera, JPS, Vol.8, pp.235-241.* The writer was an associate of Whina Cooper in tribal committee work in the Auckland City.
European contact has brought Maori women into closer touch with facilities for education and opportunities for taking jobs formerly reserved for men. Maori girls educated in the secondary schools at the Teachers' Training Colleges, and the University are now embarking upon professional and academic careers. There are Maori women teachers, a doctor and civil servants. Indeed, there is a growing approximation between women and men with regard to the ability of acquiring the same rights and privileges.

Here one may see a reflection of the drive for equality with men which has characterised women's policies and programmes in most countries of the world and in New Zealand. Maori women have her European sisters partly to thank for her emancipation. The community of interests between the sexes across race lines, attracted to each other by the easy mobility in New Zealand society and the interlocking nature of institutions there, are factors helping the rise of Maori women to positions of importance.

Sex groupings very frequently assume a degree of integration as Myrdal states, almost as rigid as that which causes tensions between racial groups. One detects in the statements of Maori women leaders to-day this inherent antagonism against the attempt of men to monopolise control in their hands.

Another direct effect of the social change situation is the more intensive specialisation of interests as between the sexes in Maori communities.

The traditional unitary control of the political, social and economic activities of the tribe and subtribe have dissipated, with the consequent proliferation of Maori society and the transfer of many of the old functions over to other bodies and organisations.

2. The American Dilemma, passim. See especially sections on Negro Leadership.
3. The writer as an observer of the work of Women's organisations in Rotorua, Waikato, Tauranga, and Wellington and Auckland has heard slight murmurings against male monopolization of power.
It is, of course, wrong to postulate a sudden ending of fundamental functions by the mere accident of European intrusion. Social change as Little has pointed out, is a continuum, needs and functions of traditional society still exist though these are being met by other methods and techniques.

Specialisation of interests and differentiation of functions were principles inherent in the traditional relationship between the sexes in pre-European times. Women, despite the strong statements of their inferiority in the idealised society of the past, managed to come to the fore occasionally through the strength of superior kinship and personal ability. Women also participated in the functioning of the society especially in the ceremonial, the domestic and the internal administration. The kūia was very much behind the politically significant kaumatua, as a steady support.

The trend therefore, rightly described as modern, for a fuller and more formalised specialisation of interests and differentiation of functions between the sexes is rooted in traditional foundations.

The modernity of the trend is seen in the extent of specialisation of interests and the embodying of such interests within formalised organisations that cut across the former tightly knit kinship groups. The unity of the kinship group is to-day in many ways quite fragmented and the organisations which have taken over many of the traditional functions of the tribe often become superordinate amalgamation of more than local character.

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1. Social Change in West Africa, op.cit, and discussions with the writer.
2. Firth, Economics, pp.194-200.
3. Elder, Letters, p.195; Marsden saw two villages in the North under the authority of a widowed kūia; Also Marsden's account of Hongi's principle wife, Tihri, who assisted the fighting chief on all his expeditions, p.438; Smith, Wars of Northern against Southern, JPS. Vol.9, p.149; Gudgeon, Maori Wars, JPS. Vol.16, pp.13-42.
It is within this modern trend to comprehend specialised interests within formal organisation that leadership of Maori women is finding its expression. A study of the leadership by Maori women, as the study of any form of leadership, must, therefore, take cognisance of the contextual systems, groups or organisations in which Maori women are giving the lead to their communities. There is a variety of women's organisations in New Zealand society which have received the support of Maori women for several years.

The Women's Institute, the Women's Divisions, and the multitude of Church Guilds, are some of the European sponsored organisations found in Maori villages. There are two, however, that will receive our attention more specifically in this section because of their special Maori features, namely the Women's Health League and the Maori Women's Welfare League. The basic interest around which Maori women's organisations are built may be summarised under the general term, welfare. Here is included children's and women's welfare, health, home beautification, the culinary arts and hand-crafts. Other organisations may cater for the more communal features of village welfare such as the establishment of marae amenities, etc.

The Maori Women's Welfare League in one of its Conference reports outlined a series of remits received from district councils, that covered such topics as child welfare, education, employment, and trade training, health and housing, thus showing that the comprehensive interests of Maori women's organisations differ little from those of their counterparts in European society.

The structure of Maori women's organisations reveal features that partake of the dual frame in New Zealand society we have discussed, the pattern of the Maori Women's Welfare League is typical. As a national organisation, the League has a Dominion Council, District Councils and local branches.

1. N.Z. Official Year Book, 1953, p.251. "One of the major aspects of the recent developments of Maori welfare is the emergence of women as an organised socialising factor. Thus as at 31st March, 1952, there were 26 District Councils and 216 branches of the Maori Women's Welfare League in existence, representing a total financial membership of 2,702 women"; Report of First Dominion Conference, Dominion Council, Maori Women's Welfare League, Wellington, 1953; Further information from the Dominion Executive, P.O. Box 2390, Wellington.
The League holds annual conferences which are attended by Delegates, and where the programme is conducted in the best European style. The officers include a Patroness, President and Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer, and auditor. Aims and objects, procedure, legal incorporation, democratic discussion and debate are part of the paraphernalia of the League.

Despite these European aspects, there are close associations with traditional meanings and etiquette. The local branch is generally the subtribal village community, the district council coincides roughly with tribal areas, while the Dominion Conference is attended by delegates recognised as tribal or subtribal representatives, bearing the name of their particular kinship groups.

At the Conferences of the Maori Women's Welfare League, greetings are always offered in Maori by some recognised kuamatau leader. Indeed the Dominion Conference of the Maori Women's Welfare League becomes in many respects a national gathering of the Maori people. Other organisations, such as the Women's Health League, are also grafted on to the traditionalist social structure. The Health League was founded by a European District Nurse among the Arawa people. There the District Council was a group representing the women of the Arawa tribe, while the branches were based on the subtribal village communities. Even groups like the Women's Institute gathered its local core from women of the same tribal or sub-tribal community.

A common principle that runs through Maori women's organisations, arising from the process of interaction between Maori and European at the present time, is the urge toward self-determination. One sees the same drive in the Ratana Movement, the tribal committee organisations, the cultural revivals in various districts, the King Movement, and even the agitation for the establishment of a Maori Bishop in the Anglican Church.

The strength of the Maori Women's League derives as much from the opportunity received for the control by Maori women of their own affairs as from the significance of the interests catered for by this organisation. This factor of self-determination is illustrated in the relationship between the Women's Health League, and the Maori Women's Welfare League.

The Women's Health League was founded by a European district nurse in the Arawa territory, first to stimulate
A. Whina Cooper, President of the Maori Women’s Welfare League, speaking in Maori at the Annual Conference. Hon. E. B. Corbett on her right (Minister of Maori Affairs)

B. The Break at Conference: President and Vice President (Mrs P. Tahiwi) Maori Women’s Welfare League. Rangi Royal, Controller, Maori Welfare on right.


D. Mira Petricevich, Secretary of the League.
health interest in Maori villages; and, second, to assist in the administration of a scattered district. While the orientation was partly Maori - the officers were Maori, etc., the main control was still in the hands of the European District Nurse, and there was unofficial connection with the Health Department.

When the Welfare Division of the Maori Department was formed after the Second World War, the welfare of Maori women and children was naturally included, and Maori women Welfare officers were appointed. One of these women had had experience in the Health League administration. Many like her, interested in Maori welfare, had hoped to see the Health League not only become a national organisation, but also run completely by Maori women. The introduction of ethnocentricism was objected to by the European controller of the Health League, and gradually the break was made between her and some Maori women leaders. The final result was the formation of the Maori Women's Welfare League. The name itself indicated the ethnic emphasis, it was drawn toward the Maori Department and leadership at all levels was placed in the hands of Maori women.

Maori women were eager to take a larger control in the administration of their own affairs as against the men, but on the grounds of Maori control too, Maori women considered they had achieved the maturity of training and experience to enable them to form their own organisations. Thus, the Maori Women's Welfare League, with its 3,468 members, its 262 local branches in 1953, bids fair to developing into yet another Maori National movement.

When we turn specifically to the leadership in such organisations as the Maori Women's League we may, with a fair degree of validity make

1. Erihapeti, The Binding of Te Arawa, Rotorua, p.15, a pamphlet on the Women's Health League, or, Te Ruopo o Te Ora. The writer had discussions at a branch meeting of the League with its founder, Nurse Cameron, held several years ago at Maketu in New Zealand, and also with Nurse Horrell, who was a Secretary of the League. The account of the clash between the two organisations, and the basic reason for it, as given here, was told the writer by Mrs. Wright, who virtually founded the Maori Women's Welfare League, and who is now appointed Senior Maori Lady Welfare Officer; Also see N.Z. Official Year Book, 1953, p.951; Report of the First Dominion Conference, op. cit., 1952.

2. Mrs. Wright and other Maori women insisted on retaining the name 'Maori.'
certain sound generalisations concerning the wider phenomenon of leadership by Maori women.

The foregoing discussion has established the fact that the national leadership of Maori women today operates through special organisations catering for the particular interests of women and children.

Moreover, the structure of such organisations, despite their traditional and ethnic associations, is rigidly formulated with procedures, hierarchical leadership positions and functions clearly expressed in written constitutions. Statement of this kind gives firmness to the positions, whether they are legally sponsored or not, is immaterial, formalisation as such enhances the mana of the positions.

Many of the organisations are either linked with the Church or with the Government. The Women's Health League was fostered by the Health Department, the Maori Women's Welfare League was unofficially, though actually, joined to the Welfare Division of the Maori Department. This Government backing reinforces the standing of the organisation, and this is transferred to the positions held in them. Many Maori women are hoha (impatient) with the informal and spontaneous groups of an administrative kind which may be found in Maori communities. The informality tends to blur the definition of the positions, their status and roles, thus leading to inefficiency. The clearer definition of properly constituted organisations, supported by semi-official association with the State, points in favour of the National women's organisations.

The contribution of kinship toward the making of leadership among Maori women is of limited validity, though not to be entirely ignored. General kinship is significant in the local organisation to initiate persons into important positions, and once a foothold is secured in the local branch then the person concerned begins to move forward into the wider spheres of leadership, providing other qualities are also present. Superior kinship background takes a person into the symbolic position of patronness.
Te Puea Herangi was elected unopposed as patroness of the Dominion Council of the Maori Women's Welfare League, because of her outstanding qualities and high birth.

The President of the Maori Women's Welfare League was a recognised leader in her own tribe, both through kinship associations and through her personal ability and energy in communal projects. This local uplift gave her an opportunity to display her wares at the higher levels. In the higher levels, however, her kinship background was meaningless. Her ethnic affiliation stood her in good stead.

Mrs. Poki is District President of the League in a tribal district. She married into one of the important families there, but she belongs to another tribe altogether. Although not fully accepted in the local tribe, her husband's influence is sufficient to take her in to certain areas of tribal activity. With her local position, she was able to move forward to become a Dominion Vice-President of the League.

However, the most important factor in gaining leadership status in the activities of women's organisations, is education. Kinship, age, interest in communal projects, etc. will help at the local level in the subtribal village community, but for the national positions, education helps most of all. Education in this sense must be regarded from various points of view. Often the mere possession of school associations or examination passes will give status. But Maori women are attributing to education a more specialized meaning. By education here is meant rather the possession of skills in debate, discussions, conduct of meetings, facility with English, knowledge of procedure and the techniques of negotiating with the European.

Education is the hallmark of many of the leaders in women's organisations. The President was educated at a Maori Girls' secondary school. She was a school teacher, and had taught in a Maori school; she served in a Post Office, and ran a country store. Before election to her present position, she was a principal officer in tribal committees, etc., in her tribal district.

The Dominion Secretary is a University Graduate, holder of a travelling scholarship, a trained teacher, a Maori Welfare Officer with a Diploma in Social Science from an American University. She is a master of the English language etc.

The President holds a higher status and is widely acclaimed.

1. The writer has received letters from both the President and Secretary of the Maori Women's Welfare League on the matter of leadership by Maori women as expressed through the League.
Her standard of education is lower than that of the Secretary, but she is more experienced, older, and has a warm personal touch that is lacking from the others.

Thus Maori women admire not merely the formal symbols of education, the technical skills that go with education, but the ability to come down to their level, the ability to act with warmth, personal affection and humanity. With the age and maturity that bring mellowness, the Secretary will also acquire the leadership status of the President in Maori communities.

There are other factors which may be taken with education as part of the structure of leadership by Maori women today. First there is the set of Maori values and ideals. Education of any kind is apparently of little worth as a deriver of status, unless it is linked with a concrete expression of Maori ideals. In this way Maori society places priority upon those persons whose interests are within the sphere of Maori ideals.

These ideals and values may appear either through close identification with Maori projects and programmes, or by way of exercise of Maori skills, such as mastery of the formal Maori language and etiquette.

At a conference of the Maori Women's Welfare League in 1952, the writer noticed the persistent call from the President, and the Delegates themselves, for the use of the Maori language in the debate and discussion, though it was probably easier for many of the members to express themselves in English. The Maori language and Maori etiquette were ascribed a high value in the business sessions of the League Conference.

The President of the League enjoyed the confidence of the members, not only because of her skill in European techniques, but most of all because she was able to conduct the affairs in the Maori language. Bilingualism and biculturalism are qualities within Maori Women's organisations which are very much in demand. Other features that distinguish and create Maori women leaders spring from what might be termed biological and cultural characteristics.

All the leaders at the highest levels in Women's organisations are part-

1. Cf. Section on Aristocrats of Knowledge.
usually better fitted to appreciate and understand the associations with the Europeans. They are more able culturally to cope with the problems which arise in social change situations, their easy mobility into European society, from a Maori base, and their lack of inhibitions — mark of greater sophistication, make them the better mediators, the more capable ambassadors for Maori women in a society that is hemmed about with European ideals and values. Their cultural versatility derived from early and easy association with Europeans is a help to Maori organisations. Now such persons of mixed blood are generally admired, not only for their physical appearance and their skills, but also because they take sides with the Maori rather than with the European. There is a sense of gratitude among Maori women to those of mixed blood, and of high education who prefer the Maori side to the European, and it is also that people of mixed blood, and mixed cultural background on their part feel more keenly the tension of in-group and out-group interaction between the Maori and the European. As a result many of these find more adequate satisfactions on the Maori side from the point of view of gaining full status recognition than they would among the Europeans, and for this reason they prefer to associate with the Maori in leadership functions in the relationships with the European.

The functions which this class of leader performs are determined by the interests delineated in the constitution of their organisations. Like the aristocrats of knowledge, their main role is one of adjustment of Maori society, and they are performing that task in the most strategic unit in the society, that is, the modern Maori home. Included in the objects and aims of the Maori Women's Welfare League are listed the following:

1. To take an active interest in all matters pertaining to the health and general wellbeing of women and children of the Maori race. (But wellbeing is interpreted in terms of medical standards obtained among Europeans.)

2. See section on the Huria village community.
2. To provide opportunities for discussion and instruction in the proper care and feeding of babies, the preparation of meals, the care and maintenance of the home, and the benefits derived from fresh air and sunshine.

3. To encourage young mothers to learn knitting, dressmaking and needlecraft and kindred arts and crafts, and to assist and instruct them in the proper clothing of their children.

The orientation is quite obviously toward a greater incorporation into a Maori home of the amenities and facilities considered desirable in a European home. The objective is to raise the standards of Maori health, home life and domesticity, to approximate more and more those of the European. Implied in the aims of the organisations concerned is conscious change of the extended family unit in the village community by stressing the need for those amenities, facilities and types of organisations which can only be achieved in a nuclear household. The attitudes of the grandchildren toward their grandparents, of the daughter-in-law to a conservative mother-in-law, will undoubtedly be influenced, while the evaluations of Maori ceremonials as a factor intruding upon Maori home life are destined to be disturbed.

As a halfway house between the Maori and European, women's organisations with their leaders, are also assuming a mediational and representational role. At both the local and the national levels Maori women leaders working through their organisations attract attention, and thereby become a point of contact in the interaction between Maori and European. In this way these leaders become a two-way channel to and from European society.

Of interest is a project carried out by a District Council of the Maori Women's Welfare League. During the Housing controversy in the City of Auckland a few years ago, the League carried out a survey of Maori Housing, the first of its kind done by a woman's organisation in New Zealand. A scheme was proposed to the Government for the housing of Maori people which demonstrated very clearly the problem and the solution for it. The survey probably would not have met with the response from the Maori people, if it were carried out by Europeans. The Government, on the other hand, was willing to consider the proposals from the League leaders.

Again, from the Maori point of view, the programme of the visit of the

1. Report, op. cit.
Queen to New Zealand showed certain deficiencies. One was the omission of Waitangi, the site of the signing of the Treaty between Queen Victoria and the Maori chiefs; another was the retention by the European Minister of Maori Affairs of the right to address the Queen on behalf of the Maori people, and in other ways to control the speeches of the Maori kaumatua to Her Majesty.\(^1\) The negotiation with the Government for the inclusion of Waitangi in the Royal Visit was strongly supported by the President and Executive of the League, while the League also led in the protest movement against European interference in the Maori expressions of loyalty to the Queen.

Here we see one of the important, though rather contradictory functions of this class of leader, a role common to all Maori-European sponsored types of leaders. Maori women leaders frequently focus the features of protest in Maori society. They embody Maori values, they support the trends toward Maori self-determination, while at the same time attempting to refashion Maori society to conform more and more with the standards of the wider New Zealand society. These seeming contradictory aspects in the functions of Maori women leaders reflect features in the underlying relationship between Maori and European groups within the New Zealand society, and the leaders concerned are only being true to their background of living in both a Maori and a European world.

**e. Parliamentarians.**

Maori political leadership since the troublous times of the 1860's reflects the changes that have taken place in Maori society. The judicial and political leaders prior to the Aotearoa wars were soon replaced by the protest and charismatic leaders. With the establishment of full European control, and the creation of more harmonious relations, the ancestry of the present Parliamentarian was

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3. See pp.161-168
4. See pp. 177-179
initiated. At first there was a tendency for superior kinship positions to coincide with those in Parliament. Men of high rank in clusters of tribes were either elected to the House of Representatives, or appointed to the Legislative Council. The stress was upon Maori skills and superior kinship, and official interpreters were provided for the convenience of the Maori representatives and the House. Just prior to the opening of the present century a new kind of Parliamentarian made its appearance, and by the first decade of the 20th century kinship superiority as a qualification had given way to qualities of education, personal ability and the possession of European as well as Maori skills.

The changes in Maori society and in the process of interaction between the two groups had compelled this shift over to men with the requisite skills and abilities. First, Maori society had suffered extreme disintegration, second, the European in control of the economic and political resources, was uncertain about the future of the association, and in the meantime the Maori was dying out. Uncertainties in Maori society, a measure of unwillingness on the part of the European to incorporate the Maori, created situations in which the leadership of the aristocrats of knowledge was required, for they alone possessed the necessary insights into contemporary problems. These men reigned supreme right on until about the year 1935 or so, when further changes occurred in the structure of Maori and New Zealand societies.

Since that date Parliamentarians of another kind have appeared on the political horizon, and it is to discover the reasons for their emergence, the basis of their status and their particular functions in New Zealand.


2. The specific dating is only approximate. The Labour Party came into office in 1935, and has influenced political developments in Maori society, but changes had been set in train prior to that date.
society, that we shall turn our attention presently.

The political situation in New Zealand today, from the viewpoint of Maori affairs, has presented a series of dilemma that have confounded the keenest European political observers.

The first paradox was the defeat of the most able, the greatest Maori statesman of the modern period, whose work for New Zealand compares more than favourably with that of any other Maori or European statesman, Sir Apirana Ngata, member for the Eastern Maori Electorate was defeated by the obscure farmer from the Hawkes Bay, Tiaki Omana. Another confusing factor was the inability of Princess Te Puea Herangi to gain support for her personal protege for the Western Maori seat, Pei Te Hurimui Jones, also one of the most able men in New Zealand today. Added to this was the overwhelming success of a Maori woman, Mrs. Iriaka Ratana at the polls, not once, but twice, maintaining her vast majority over her male opponents.

The other event in the seemingly chaotic and illogical set of circumstances which the pundits were unable to understand was the persistence of a majority Maori support for a defeated Labour party. Previously the Maori people had consistently favoured the Government of the day, the current trend was rather to adhere to the Opposition, and all Maori Members of Parliament sit on the non-Governmental benches.

The social changes which were responsible for the political dilemma among the Maori people may be briefly outlined. Right up until the 1920's the Maori people remained solidly based within the kinship groupings as a form of political expression. On this foundation, the men of superior kinship had entered Parliament as the logical heads of their groups. With the growing need for fuller participation in the work of Parliament the men of superior rank retained symbolic functions, while active political

1. Recent reports from New Zealand show signs of a swing-over to the National Party, in the form of an increase of Maori National Party nominees for the general election in November next. One of these men is Hanara Reedy, who was previously an active leader in the Labour Party. Further growing dissatisfaction with official Labour Candidates is manifest in the nomination of Maori Social Credit nominees for the Maori Electorates, and serious discussion on the formation of a separate Maori Labour Party.
roles were given over to men of education. There was a sharing of leadership functions within Maori society in its external relations. But the background was still the united kinship group, and the aristocrats of knowledge enjoyed the support of the majority of the people in their territory, while being recognised by the European as national mouth pieces of the Maori people by virtue of their education and ability. There were two events, however, which combined to change drastically the face of the political landscape in Maori affairs.

The rise of the Ratana Movement in the 1920's and the economic depression of the early 1930's. The Ratana Movement arose from uncertainties in Maori society, engulfling in a contact situation, the dissatisfactions with the status of the Maori people, the discontentment concerning the delays in the adjustment of outstanding claims to Confiscated territories, etc., and the need for the reintegration of Maori society. Ratana leadership offered not only spiritual light to guide the Maori through the maze of social change problems, but also material salvation to satisfy the longings of the Maori for justice and recognition. The goal was two-fold, the establishment of a church symbolised by a Temple at the Rautana Village, and the entry of the Prophet Ratana, per medium of his representatives, (called Koata or Quarters) into Parliament. Parliament would give the opportunity for fighting for the incorporation of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Statute Books of New Zealand, and thus resurrecting the status of the Maori people which was believed to have lain dormant in the Treaty. The Ratana Faith healing and Religious Movement had already spread rapidly through the tribes in both the North and the South Islands, enlisting the adherences of Maori members and Clergy from the Orthodox European controlled churches and from the different tribes. Thus the kinship solidarity and the traditional denominational combinations of the Maori people

1. This differentiation in functions and status was also inherent in the initial relationship between a Member of the House of Representatives and a Maori Member of the Legislative Council. The politically vocal Rangatira was a member of the Lower House, the symbolic Ariki generally was appointed to the Upper House.
3. Buick, Waitangi, p.359, Partition presented by E.T.Tirikatene, Member for Southern Maori, on Nov.25th, 1932. Evidence filled seven volumes, weighed 16 lbs., signed by 30,128 memorialists. "In order that all may know that the Treaty is operative, also to preserve the ties of brotherhood between Maori and Pakeha for all time." Ratana had visited America, England, Geneva and Japan in 1921 to secure international support and recognition of the mana Maori; Sutherland and Ngata, The Maori People Today, p.364. Cf. Also see section on Tohunga.
were broken up, and a new religious alignment came into being that recognised few of the former divisions.

With the assumption of a political role by the Ratana Movement, the religious amalgamation also became virtually a Maori national political movement, which further disintegrated the kinship unities in Maori society. In the meantime the Labour Party in opposition was gathering strength, and the economic depression of the early 1930's was one of the causes for this development.

The Ratana Movement and the Labour Party had several things in common. First, they both blamed the Government of the day for the respective ills in which they were each interested. Confiscation problems, low Maori status etc., were laid by the Ratana political leaders at the door of the Government, while the social and economic conditions due to a world-wide depression were placed in the same area by the Labour Party. But a further cause for the subsequent combination of the Ratana and Labour Movements was the fact that the Labour programme appealed to that working class section in New Zealand society in which the majority of the Maori people were economically situated. This section complained against the economic conditions, and in blaming the Government, they saw an escape from the impasse in the policy of the Labour Party. For the Maori people the economic conditions became identified with political policies emanating from political parties. This identification was intensified by the deliberate propaganda carried out by the Labour Party, keen to widen its support. The net result in Maori society was to deepen the line of demarcation created by the Ratana movement, first for religious purposes, second for political, and third for a specific political affiliation with the Labour Party. The success of the Labour Party at the 1935 polls attracted the Ratana Members of Parliament into the Government, while social security programmes, copious references to racial equality, solicitations to Maori leaders and well directed propaganda maintained Maori and Ratans support for the Labour Party, even though relegated once more to the opposition.

Interwoven into these particular events were the general overall trends in the increasing sophistication among the Maori people. Maori and European worked together, were educated together, and enjoyed the opportunities and the privileges of the country together, unconsciously the Maori was being influenced by the European. Party politics, a feature of European thinking,

1. Though four candidates were at first nominated by the Ratana Movement, only E.T. Tirikatene succeeded in entering Parliament.
became part of the paraphernalia of Maori society, to mark an outstanding development in the political situation of the Maori people today.

An examination of the features of the present Maori leaders in Parliament will show the reasons for their mergence as leaders. First and foremost - the central core of the status foundations of the present day parliamentarians is their embodiment of the Ratana ideals, values and ambitions, reinforced by the focussing of the social, economic and political policies of the Labour Party.

The four members are keen supporters of the Ratana Church. The male M.P's are ministers of the church, they accept its theology without question as also its rationalisations regarding the future of the Maori people. But, they are also advocates of the policy and programme of the Labour Party. Labour Party interpretation of equality in the relationship between the two peoples finds ready response among the members. Associated with the religious aspect may be mentioned the feeling of restriction placed upon Maori communities by the orthodox European controlled churches, liberation from which is offered by the theology and ideals of the Ratana Movement. Furthermore, even in church matters, the Ratana church gives an opportunity for leadership not offered to the same extent by the Orthodox churches.

On the political side there are two inseparable issues embodied in the position of the modern parliamentarian. The wider factor of self-determination, the revival of te mana Maori, the assumption of status in the interaction with the European. The Maori Members of Parliament stand for these things. Then there is the matter of the land claims leading back to the confiscations. It is not difficult for any of the tribes to find some ground for complaint along these lines. What might also be considered as a political factor is the local rivalry between extended families, subtribes, or even tribes, for status through positions of acknowledged leadership. Ngata stated that the Ratana Movement gave many an opportunity for leadership as against those who were the logical heads of their communities. Local ambitions were fulfilled through the leverage of a national movement.

For those who were non-Ratana people the policy of the Labour Party promising equality between Maori and European, social and economic security, and material progress were embodied in the Ratana members of 1. The Maori People Today, p.180.
Parliament, and for that reason political support was given.

But the element of the charisma is not altogether lacking from the structural factors which give the modern parliamentarians their status.

Tirikatene was one of the Koata, the special men chosen by the Prophet Ratana himself to represent him in Parliament. Tirikatene, it is believed, was destined to present in Parliament the petition for the incorporation of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Statute Book on behalf of the Prophet and his 40,000 followers. Tiaki Omana too was given the title of Te Koata. Taphihana Paikea succeeded his father, one of the original Koata of the Prophet. In the succession Taphihana acquired the mana bestowed upon his father. Iriaka Ratana was also in direct line of succession. Her husband Matiu had succeeded his brother, the eldest son of the Prophet. The positions held by the Ratana candidate have this aura around them in the eyes of Ratana followers - the seal of the Prophet himself. He said that success will not come to the Maori people through men of education possessing the matauranga tenganata - human wisdom - but through the matauranga atua - divine wisdom - which his chosen representatives will receive. The Ratana followers believe this and so support the chosen members.

In fact, the continued success of Ratana candidates at the polls, the success too of a Maori woman candidate, in spite of all the criticism from both Maori and European quarters, is certain proof to the Ratana people of the truth of the supernatural approval bestowed upon the parliamentarians. The Ratana followers look beyond and see at the back of the Maori Parliamentarians the high heritage of the Maori prophets, Te Whiti, Tohu, Te Ua Haumene and Te Kooti Rikirangi.

Superior kinship of the traditional kind means little in the overall pattern of Parliamentary leadership to-day, though in the narrower tribal circles a degree of kinship superiority is helpful to secure initial recognition. A particular feature not dissimilar to kinship as a contributing factor to partial acceptance as a parliamentary candidate is succession to political predecessors in the same whanau group. There is

1. Some Maori leaders claim that the Labour Government has treated the Maori people as equals; they point to the fact that under the Labour regime a Maori became Under-Secretary of the Maori Affairs Department, a Maori was appointed to the New Zealand Delegation to the United Nations Organisation, etc.
prestige value in the name of a Ratana, Paikea, Ngata, Hone Heke, Tau Henare or Carroll that lingers on in the sentiment of a tribe or subtribe and turns the eyes of the people in the direction of their heirs.

Two of the present parliamentarians, Mrs. Iriaka Ratana and Tapihana Paikea, as we have seen, hold their positions in the line of succession established by their illustrious predecessors. The parliamentary ancestry of Iriaka Ratana was created by Tokouru Ratana, the eldest son of the prophet and one of the original koata specially endowed with mana and wisdom. On his death the mantle fell on Matiu Ratana, his younger brother, whose individual personal wishes were against his entry into Parliament, and when Matiu died his wife Iriaka accepted the vacancy. Tapihana Paikea's father was a koata, a private secretary to the prophet, editor of the Whetu Mamma, the organisation's monthly magazine, and conductor of the Ratana Band. At his death, Tapihana, though a mere youth, was sent to Parliament in succession to his father. Now as far as Tapihana is concerned he does come of the leading families of Ngatiwhatu and Ngapuhi.

That the tendency for political ancestry to coalesce with, or partly replace, the traditional superior kinship background exists generally and is not confined to the Ratana members is exemplified from the data.

Himi Henare's father was member for the Northern electorate, whom Paraire Paikea defeated at the polls. Since the end of the Second World War, Himi Henare has been the official National Party Candidate against Tapihana Paikea, supported by his Ngatihine hapu and a large section of Ngapuhi. For several general elections since the death of his father, Pomer's son, a civil servant has opposed, though without success, the candidates from the Ratana movement. Turi Carroll, though only a foster son of the famous Maori statesman, Sir James Carroll, nevertheless, became recognised as a successor to him in the candidacy for the Eastern Maori electorate, since the death of Sir Apirana Ngata, who took over from the older Carroll. At the last general elections and for the one to be held in November this year, 1954, the younger son of Sir Apirana Ngata, Henare Kohere Ngata, has been a nominee for the seat his father had held for so many years. Though he was finally defeated for the National Party ticket by a nominee from Te Arawa, large sections of Ngatiporou recognise that the prestige of the old man rests on his favourite, though youngest son.

The Maori parliamentarian, like the other classes of leaders in the Maori-European sponsored type, works for the adjustment of Maori society, as their position in Parliament endows them with this role.

As part of the law making machinery of the country Maori Members of Parliament sit on the important Maori Affairs Committee, constituted by members with special interests in the Maori field; and the Minister of Maori Affairs frequently consults them when there is a new legislation coming before the
House on such matters as Maori land and welfare. However, for personal and numerical reasons their influence is generally formal and negative rather than real and positive, in contrast to that of the aristocrats of knowledge of the former era. They, nevertheless, perhaps less constructively, continue to channel European values and ideals into Maori society.

On the other hand, their protest tendencies are very highly concentrated. They belong to a movement whose values and ideals are largely traditional and whose orientation is Maori, and at present politically to the Official Opposition Party in the House. Even though the Maori Parliamentarians are not very vocal and articulate, they do, as we have seen, symbolize Maori ideals and values as against the indiscriminate pressures from the European side.

For the same reason they become representatives of the Maori people in the eyes of the Europeans, and though many Maori persons would not wholly accept their doctrines and policies, the people as a whole tend in times of crises to look to them to present the Maori case.

During the controversy over the matter of Maori representation at the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953, it was Tirikatene who raised the whole issue in Parliament, objecting against the attempt to superimpose on the Maori people as their representative a European Minister of Maori Affairs. When the Queen was welcomed by the Maori people at Rotorua on her visit to New Zealand, the Maori members affixed their signatures, on behalf of their people, to the address of loyalty presented to the Queen on that occasion.

The representational role of the Maori parliamentarians is closely linked to the whole process of inter-relationship between Maori and European. Carroll, in particular, of among the earlier leaders, was the classic mediator between Maori and European, and probably more than any other single individual helped to maintain intergroup relations at a very high level. Unfortunately, the function of the present parliamentarians

in this respect has not been of a very constructive nature. The reasons for this condition lie as much in the wider political circumstances of contemporary times as in the character of the Maori parliamentarians themselves, and the policy of the Ratana movement which sponsors them.

In the first place, the conflict between the Labour and National Party among the Europeans projected a great deal of bitterness and feeling into the Maori political arena. The substantial Maori support given the Labour Party, in contrast to the meagre vote given the National Party which kept the latter from the Governmental benches, had the effect of directing political prejudice against Maori groups that often assumed an anti-Maori bias.

In the second place, the obvious differences in personal ability, education and training between the current members of Parliament and their illustrious predecessors were over-emphasised to bring ridicule upon the former, and the people who sent them to Parliament.

The Maori parliamentarians became the butt of the European National Party Press, while the Labour Government's social and economic policies, that naturally comprehended Maori citizens as well as European, were interpreted by the same organs, not only as baits for gullible voters, but as an indulgent contribution to the gradual deterioration of the moral fibre of the Maori people. All the stereotypes generally applied by an in-group majority to an out-group minority ascribing undesirable qualities in a situation of tension, appeared. The Maori was lazy, improvident, lived off the European, and was over-indulged by the Labour Government. However, the political sources of the prejudice were clearly seen in the fact that the expression of the stereotypes came from the National Party Press, and that the best known form was the cartoon caricature of a Maori, short stocky, thick lipped, dressed in traditional costume, speaking broken English, and rather aptly called the Little Brown Mandate, whose escapades were closely followed by Maori as well as European.

A less obvious, though significant, role of the Maori Parliamentarians in Maori society is that of reintegration, the strengthening of Maori social

1. Somewhat similar circumstances arose when the Ngata administration of land development came under criticism, the Labour Party, in opposition, made political capital of it, with the resultant condemnation generally by the European of the Maori. See Sutherland, The Maori Situation, pp.76-77.

2. The creator of the caricature was Minhinnick of the staff of the New Zealand Herald, and one of the cleverest cartoonists in New Zealand. The writer, on one occasion, complained to Minhinnick on the severity of the ridicule aimed at the Maori people in his cartoons. Minhinnick apologised and for a period the 'Little Brown Mandate' took a holiday.
## Maori Election Results: 1952 and 1949

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organisation. With the death of the prophet Wiremu Tahupotiki Ratana, the Maori members have literally become his koata and personalisations. They symbolise, at least for the Ratana followers, the necessary rallying points, that give a measure of stability in a situation characterised by bewilderment, confusion and uncertainty.

It is this background combined with all the other factors and processes we have discussed in this section that help to explain the dilemma in modern Maori political affairs — a woman defeating men for a seat in Parliament, an insignificant farmer bringing to an end the career of one of the greatest statesmen in the history of New Zealand, and parliamentarians of modest ability and indifferent education neutralising the force of superior kinship and superior personal ability.
CHAPTER IV

THE LEADERS AND THEIR PEOPLE IN URBAN COMMUNITIES

Just as leadership in traditionalist Maori society is found operating in the close knit organisation of the modern Maori village community, so the leaders whose status derive from Maori-European situations may be observed finding their way about in the maze of urban Maori communities. There they are close to European institutions though they are never forgetful of their Maori origins, and there too they try to adjust Maori society to the demands of the wider impressing European social and economic groups, and to rise above the narrowing limitations of their own kinship affiliations.

1. The Auckland Maori Community: Ngati-Akarana

Setting.

There are roughly 7,000 Maori people of diverse origins from the major tribal groups in the country in the city of Auckland, among a total population of 321,979. Auckland is the largest city in New Zealand. It is a port of call for overseas and coastal ships, an airport for local and international air lines and terminal for a set of arterial rail and road highways linking Auckland with other parts of the North Island. Auckland is the centre for some of the largest manufacturing, commercial and administrative organisations.

1. Ngati-Akarana is a synthetic tribal appellation applied by the Maori community to themselves. This custom among urban Maori groups of adopting an invented community name is widespread. The Maori community in Wellington is called Ngati-Buske. Of significance is the retention of the traditional tribal prefix suggesting the fundamental attempt to reproduce something of the kinship unities of the rural village grouping. In smaller communities like those of Papatoetoe and Pukekohe the tendency is for the people to identify themselves with the phrase Nga Iwi O Papatoetoe or Nga Iwi O Pukekohe. - the tribes of Papatoetoe; the tribes of Pukekohe.

2. Barr, J; The City of Auckland; New Zealand Official Year Book 1953, pp35-36. Auckland, 1929 (Historical account by the city Librarian.)
The Maori in the City—Houses constructed privately and by the State.

A. A part Maori Labourer and family by the house he built in his spare time.

B. Maori residences built by the State.

C. Maori Youths outside the Auckland Maori Community Centre Building.
in the country, and the market for the farm and dairy produce from the surrounding districts.

The Maori people are engaged in clothing factories, on the wharves, in the freezing works, in the transport services, the City municipal works, and the building trades. They are found in the teaching services and in the Government departments, particularly in the Department of Maori Affairs.

They live in the slum areas of Airedale Street, Freeman's Bay, Hobson Street, etc., as well as in the newer housing areas of Orakei, Onehunga, Owairaka and Mangere. Many Maori people own their houses but the majority utilise the housing programme of the state. An old traditional marae Orakei was situated not far from the heart of the city, belonging to the local Ngatiwhatua tribe, but this has now been eliminated except for the cemetery; and the people are established in the new housing area not far away. They still have a certain sentimental disregard for the old marae. Other concentrations of Maori people from Waikato live further out at Onehunga, Pukaki and Mangere which at one time were quite large marae, but to-day remain largely as Maori settlements.

The recent influx of Maori people to the city created social problems that were intensified by the unstable war conditions, and brought the existence of the new Maori communities to the notice of municipal authorities. As a result, various programmes for Maori rehabilitation were organised with the aid of Maori leaders. These included the erection of houses under various loan schemes and the construction of a building as a social centre for the Maori community as

1. There are no statistics available. The writer was Chairman of the City (Auckland) Tribal Committee, and Secretary of the Waitemata Tribal Executive (Auckland) and on numerous occasions had contacts with industrial workers and employees in Government departments.
2. The writer paid various visits to these localities in the course of his duties.
3. The Auckland and Onehunga Rotary Clubs took practical interest in the affairs of the Maori community.
The Social Structure.

The Maori community in Auckland can be described as being formed of a series of groups which may be gathered under the following classifications.

a. Kinship

Kinship organisations in the city apart from the elementary or nuclear family, exist at the widest waka and iwi levels. Some groups may assume a geographic or territorial name to cover this wider amalgamation, and may even enlist the support of extra-kinship adherents. The sense of obligation on the grounds of kinship vary in intensity, but the sentiment attaching to an ancestral name is sufficient to make people feel that they belong to a group. On the other hand the kinship group has been known to rally to the assistance of members in distress, to welcome relatives from a home district, to perform ceremonial functions or initiate discussions on a specific tribal welfare matter. Kinship may also come through the other groupings such as church, sports and recreation etc.

Leadership in the kinship groups is taken by persons of the kaumatua and kuia class who show interest or some competency in the skills required in the specialised activities of the group. In Auckland, the more traditional leaders, people with some standing in the tribe back home, may find their way into the positions of status through their European associations, personal drive and ability, and also because of the deference accorded to them by members of their specific

1. Tribal names such as Te Rarawa, Ngatimaniapoto, Waikato, Ngapuhi etc. are used in the formal address and greetings among the people.
2. The people from the East Coast (Fairawhitl) have a fund which they use to assist members in any financial difficulty.
3. Formal welcome was given to touring parties of Ngapuhi returning from a meeting at Ratana village led by people from that tribe. The delayed mortuary rites for Sir A.T. Ngata were held under the leadership of local Ngatiporou when Kaumatua from that tribe arrived in Auckland.
4. Discussions concerning the surplus lands problem in the North took place at the Auckland Maori community Centre under the leadership of men from that district.
Waka Clarke comes of the senior lines in Ngatikahungum and Ngatiporou. He is the recognised leader of the people from those tribes in the city, but then he is also a Maori Welfare Officer and in a position to give assistance to those who need it. He is, further, an expert in Maori skills, such as oratory, ceremonials and the haka. He is consulted by members of those tribes visiting Auckland and takes charge of ceremonial welcomes to them. In his case his kinship background combined with his position as Welfare Officer strengthens his status. One of his roles is that of Kaumatua.

Kahi Harawira is kaumatua of Te Aupouri, because of birth and age. He is also vocational guidance officer. He is an orator of note, he knows the traditions, the genealogies, and the history of the Northern tribes. He is very highly respected by both Maori and European. Te Aupouri regard him as their leader. When the question of North Auckland Surplus lands came up, Kahi was the leader in the discussions, when the matter of commercial utilisation of the iron sands of Te Hao arose he was responsible for the formation of the committee which negotiated concerning the sale of the sand. It was right he should do so because he is the kaumatua of the tribe and he possessed the necessary skills to take the lead.

Haimona is kaumatua of Ngapuhi. He is an authority on the genealogies being one of the leading wise men of the Ngapuhi Waranga. He knows the traditions of the Canoe Ngatokimatawhaorua. When the Northern peoples decided to celebrate the traditional arrival of the tribal canoes, it was he who initiated the movement for raising money and discussions concerning the matter among the Ngapuhi people of the City.

Hone Heke Rankin is a direct descendant of the renowned Hone Heke of 100 years ago and is therefore a recognised kaumatua leader of note among the Ngapuhi peoples. Hone Heke Rankin has had some education and is equipped with Maori skills as facility with the language and knowledge of traditions, the genealogy etc. He is also an important person in the Maori labour movement. In any important discussions concerning Ngapuhi welfare, Hone Heke Rankin is invariably called and the people listen to what he has to say. When for instance the Minister of Maori Affairs came to Auckland to speak on behalf of the National Party Candidate for the Ngapuhi area, Hone Heke Rankin, though a Labour man, assisted in the proceedings. This was his marae.

1. The Waranga is an assembly of leading experts of Ngapuhi which meets annually at Mangamuka to discuss tribal genealogies and traditions under extremely tapu conditions.
2. Ngatokimatawhaorua was the ancestral canoe of the Ngapuhi tribe. It landed at Hokianga over 600 years ago and its Captain was Puhikaiariki from which Ngapuhi obtained its name.
3. Hone Heke was famous for cutting down the Flagstaff at Kororareka in the conflict with the European not long after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.
Himi Henare was the son of Tau Henare the last Maori member of Parliament to represent the National Party. Himi has had a good education. He is at present one of the younger leaders of the Ngatihine subtribe of Ngapuhi and is assuming his place in the wider framework of tribal leadership. Though he is too young as yet to be termed Kaumatua in the strictest sense he is nevertheless called upon to perform the necessary functions. He is well fitted to do so. His Maori is excellent and he is a good speaker, knowledgeable concerning the traditions and formal oratory. He was leader of the Maori Battalion during the war. To-day he is senior Maori Welfare Officer. He has been the National Party Candidate for the Northern Maori seat at present held by Tapihana Paikea. These extras bring him into the public eye and demand.

In his absence of the kaumatua of Ngatihine in Auckland, Himi is often called upon to represent the group in Maori gatherings.

All these men and several others are prominent in the Auckland Maori Community. They are men of standing in their own particular kinship groups. In the city, they assume the same status within portions of their own tribe or subtribe, found there. With the exception of Hone Heke Rankin they are set in the European organisations. This adds to their acceptability to the people; but it is their skill in Maori things - oratory, knowledge of traditions and genealogies, interest in Maori welfare that gives them the motivation that enables them to move forward as leaders in the specific circumstances where their skills are needed. As their Maori skills are at a premium they tend to take over leadership on behalf of the Maori community as a whole, in such matters as ceremonials and welcomes to distinguished visitors.

When the Community Centre Buildings was dedicated by the Labour Prime Minister they represented the Maori community and took part in the proceedings as kaumatua leaders. When the mortuary rites were performed to commemorate the death of the late Sir A.T. Ngata they welcomed Ngatiporou and arranged for the accommodation of the visitors. When Sir Peter Buck was farewelled at the Community Centre, the same leaders appeared as kaumatua performing the necessary offices, just as they

1. Ngatiporou under the leadership of their kaumatua and the ariki Hanara Reedy visited the tribes throughout the North Island after the death of Sir A.T. Ngata bearing with them a large photo of the deceased leader. The tribes among whom Ngata worked gathered around the photo to mourn his loss and pay their tributes. At the Auckland Maori Community Centre, though such gatherings were disallowed by law, Ngati-Akarana and Ngatiporou performed the mourning rituals.
would, when on the marae in the tribal village.

b. Religion.

Both Maori and European derived religious organisations are found in the Auckland Maori community. The Mormons, the Church of England, the Roman Catholics, the United Maori Mission, the Brethren, the Ratana, the Nakahi, the Paimatire and the followers of Rapana are all here. To varying degrees the European derived churches maintain separate church services for the Maori members, though in all cases a ready welcome is extended the Maori people to attend the services in the European churches.

The Mormons and the Roman Catholics tend to become incorporated more than the others in the European churches. The leadership is given by both Maori and European Clergy. Strong youth leadership among the laity is encouraged by the United Maori Missions, the Mormons and the Brethren.

The largest Maori derived denomination in the city is Ratana. Like the Mormons the Ratana tend to pervade their influence throughout the community in the form of the social and recreational clubs, although the Roman Catholics and to a lesser extent the Church of England seem to be doing the same thing. Attitudes and policies are very frequently decided in political and administrative organisations by the religious background of members. The Ratana people vote at the Parliamentary elections in a block, and in the affairs of the administrative Tribal committees one often finds a slant given to their statement of policy in accordance with Ratana politics. This also applies to the Mormons. Then in the selection of leaders for the tribal committees again one notes the religious and the kinship affiliations exerting an influence. A leader in a church secures a place in the tribal committee.

Jack Rollo is a Ratana Apotoro. He is also a member of the Labour Party. He became a chairman of a tribal committee and from there he went on to the Waitemata Tribal Executive. He was chosen from the Waitemata tribal executive to a place on the important Housing
allocation committee in the City.\(^1\) His position in the Ratana church gave him standing in the Tribal executive. He was frequently asked to open meetings with prayer. In fairness to Jack Rollo it should be said that he was a competent administrator, a good speaker in both Maori and English, and a man with wide welfare interests.

Eru Te Tuhi was the Senior Minister of the Methodist Church. Both he and Rollo came from Ngapuhi. Te Tuhi was chairman of the National Party. Partly because of his other duties and partly because of the national party hesitancy to take part in City affairs controlled by the tribal committees, (alleged to be Labour dominated and sponsored) Te Tuhi was rather inclined to stay out of the Auckland Maori community, except in connection with church services, but he was regarded with respect and when he was present there was definite deference paid to him and offers of important positions on committees. Lately he was elected as a member of the Board of Trustees looking after the Maori community Centre Building.\(^2\)

c. Administration.

One of the main problems that confronted leaders in the city was to secure sufficient cohesion among the diverse groups to provide the basis for local government.\(^3\) The Maori community was within and yet quite apart from the political organisation of the European. Sociologically the community presented the pattern of an unstructured juxta-position of separate groups animated by distinctive interests and

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1. A quota of new houses built by the State in Auckland is allocated to the Maori People, the committees referred to, sit with the officers of the Maori Department to decide who are the most needy among Maori applicants to be given a house from the limited supply available.

2. The writer was a member of both the Housing Allocation Committee mentioned above, and the Board of Trustees of the Community Centre Building.

3. This problem was discussed many times by the City Tribal Committee, of which the writer was Chairman, and by the Waiamata Tribal Executive of which he was Secretary. The writer was also present at meetings of the Methodist Church and the Rarawa club where the matter was a live issue.
conflicting kinship loyalties. Ethnic affiliations, pressures from the European, the establishment of a physical community centre helped to suggest unities but in actual practice the relationship between the groups was loose and quite informal.

Maori leaders themselves regarding the phenomenon from within their own respective groups recognised that no solution at present could come from within any of the groups, neither could kinship relationships be made the basis for unity, as in the country districts. The framework would have to come from the outside. The opportunity was offered in the Tribal Committee organisation under the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, 1945. But, as the Tribal Committee organisation was designed to operate in a homogeneous kinship region, the act in order to be applicable to the peculiar conditions in the city, had to be adapted. Auckland was divided up into territorial divisions, and the Maori residents in each district formed their own tribal committee, whether or not they belonged to the same tribe or subtribe. In some of the divisions though a geographic name was adopted by a tribal committee, the majority of the members did belong to a specific tribe, but in the main local residence was the dominating factor in tribal committee membership.

1. It is not possible for obvious reasons to state the whole body of evidence on which the above analysis is made for the Auckland Maori community. But dealing with practical affairs of organisation and administration in the urban areas for over two years gave the writer an insight into the fundamentals of the problem group conflict and tension that existed.

2. See pp 316-317.

3. Cf. At the Ratana village a clause in an act of Parliament was inserted to turn the Ratana Trust Board into a Tribal Executive. Similarly at Rotorua, the Borough Council for Maori purposes was recognised in law as the nucleus of the Rotorua Borough Tribal Executive Committee.

4. Some of the Tribal Committees were called: The City Tribal Committee, the Ruapotaka, the Onehunga, the Orakei, the Owairaka, etc.
TRIBAL COMMITTEE DISTRICT EXEC.

TRIBAL COMMITTEE AREAS.

TRIBAL COMMITTEE DISTRICT
1. Rere-a-te-whoi Tribal Committee Area.
2. Tahuna Tribal Committee Area.
3. Pukekohe Tribal Committee Area.
5. Tamaki-Makaurau Tribal Com. Area.

WAITEMATA TRIBAL DISTRICT (incomplete)
6. City Tribal Committee Area.
7. Onehunga-Mangere Tribal Com. Area.
Each tribal committee sent two delegates to the Tribal Executive usually the chairman and the secretary. In contrast to the closer kinship subtribal grouping in the country, the Tribal Executive, not the Tribal Committee constituent, was the most important body.\(^1\) Frequently, a tribal committee was formed for the purpose essentially of getting on to the Tribal Executive, and the tribal committee did not hold very many meetings.\(^2\) The Tribal Executive Committee on the other hand dealt directly with European organisations in the city and with the Government through the Maori Department, and was active and strong because it had sound leadership, and greater authority to get things done.

This greater power of the Tribal Executive was feared by the tribal committees and the sports and recreational organisations. The tendency under these circumstances was for the Tribal Executive to stand apart, even from their originating and sponsoring tribal committees.\(^3\)

The leaders in the tribal executive carried out propaganda work to try and bring the various sports and recreation organisations into the tribal committee organisation either by joining an existing tribal committee

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1. Cf. Administration in the Huria village community where the independence of the subtribal village tribal committees was jealously guarded. The Ranginui Tribal Executive was largely an approving body.
2. The Rarawa Sports Club constituted itself into a tribal committee because the leaders visualised certain advantages in doing so. One of these was the possibility of securing monetary subsidies for club funds. The writer attended more meetings of the Waitemata Tribal Executive than he did of the City Tribal Committee. The volume of business of the former was certainly more extensive.
3. Complaints came to the writer from his own tribal committee concerning the neglect by the Tribal Executive of the opinions and views of tribal committees.
or by formally declaring themselves a tribal committee for purposes of the Act. The advantages of such measure, however, did not always appeal to many of the sports organisations because of the fear of Tribal Executive interference in the internal administration of the smaller groups. In effect, therefore, the authority of the Tribal Executive though recognised by law, supported by the Maori Department and acknowledged by European organisations remained rather suspended, and the majority of groups in the city continued their own independent existence.

It is possible that in urban Maori communities a high degree of cohesion as visualised by leaders is neither possible in the near future nor desirable. The political needs of the Maori community are being met by the use of other agencies in the community. The best that the Tribal Executive Committee can hope to do is to nominally represent the Maori community as a whole and offer its facilities for the expression of Maori views, and its services for the diplomatic functions that may be required in the interaction with the European. In this respect then it seems immaterial whether all the groups in the city join the tribal organisations, in order to enable the latter to represent them. The tribal committee can still speak for the groups, can offer its facilities to them without assuming the overall powers which the leaders in the Tribal executive seem to want.

Waka Clarke, Kahi Harawaira and Himi Henare have already been mentioned in connection with leadership in the kinship groupings. All of them hold high positions in the Tribal Executive. Clarke and Henare by virtue of the fact that they are Welfare Officers, whose duties are to promote interest in tribal committee organisations, to supervise over the meetings, and to report the proceedings to the Maori Department. They are the mediators between the Maori people and the Government. In addition, however, these men are genuinely

1. The Judicial and governmental agencies of the city and country.
2. Cf. Ngata, Tribal Organisation, in the Maori People To-day, p. 169; this conclusion is based upon wide experience in both rural and urban Maori Communities as a member of tribal Committees and Executives.
interested in Maori welfare work to the city. While their positions restrict them somewhat, it is possible for them to widen the scope of their non-governmental activities on behalf of the Maori people, by engaging in leisure time activities.

Kahi Harawira, though a vocational guidance officer, possessed several other valuable interests. Unlike the others, his standing in the Tribal Executive organisation did not derive primarily from his work, important as it is. Though of course this helped, because he was able to secure employment in the city for people, who then looked to him for guidance in other matters. He was an ex-minister of the Anglican Church, a chaplain of the Maori Battalion, a Justice of the Peace and a member of the Auckland Rotary Club. He was also connected with the United Maori Mission and thus he was able to lodge people at the mission hostels. This ability to gain concessions for people in the negotiations with the European was one reason for his rise in popularity among the Maori people. But above all, he was, as has been mentioned, a good orator, a kaumatua possessing Maori skills, as well as a person of education. His connection with the Northern tribes also helped in his retention of the chairmanship of the tribal executive committee. The kinship groups of that area 'ganged-up' to retain Kahi Harawira in office, time and again.

Steve Watene was from Hauraki to the South. He had had a good education, was at one time an accountant in the Maori Department, which he left because he felt that he would not be able to rise any higher. He married a daughter of one of the leading men in Auckland and Waikato and this gave him good support. In his own rights Steve Watene won fame, first as a Rugby League footballer. He captained the New Zealand team that toured Australia. Then he was appointed local organiser of the Labour Party and he attained a responsible position in the Waterfront Workers' Trade Union in Auckland. When the need first arose for the establishment of a centre for the Maori people in Auckland, Waka Clarke and Steve Watene were among the leaders who campaigned, both among the Maori people and with the state for financial assistance. His education, standing in sports and in the industrial life of the community, his ability both in Maori and European things brought him into official positions in the tribal executive. Because he did not come from Ngapuhi, however, Steve Watene was rather offside with people from that area, especially when it came to the matter of electing officers to the Tribal executive.

One of the big struggles for leadership in the Tribal executive was between Kahi Harawira and Steve Watene. Personality differences and tribal
Plate 26.

The Maori in the City.

A. Maori entertainment group (United Maori Mission Hostels, Auckland.)

B. Young Maori Leaders' Conference, Auckland University College, Auckland.
differences were involved and the greater support from kinsfolk given to Kahi Harawaira enabled him to secure the chairmanship of the Tribal executive committee. Steve Watene also tends to become involved in protest movements of a radical kind, whereas Kahi Harawaira is the truly compromise leader who is preferred by the European municipal authorities and is found, therefore, to be more useful to the Maori community in the dealings with the European.

d. Sports and Recreation.

By far the most numerous groups were those to do with sports and recreation. These included Rugby football, Rugby League, Tennis, Basketball, Baseball, Dance Bands, Church Choirs, concert parties and social clubs. While some of these groups catered directly for the single activity referred to in the constitution of the club, others correlated a variety of activities in their programmes that were beyond the stated aims. Other sports and recreational groups were attached to church and kinship organisations. The Mormons had a dance band, a choir and a concert party. The Ratana Church also supported a dance band and a social club, while the United Maori Mission had a concert party for the young people who lived in its hostels. The Rarawa Social and Sports Club was primarily a kinship organisation and so was the Tairawhiti Club. The latter organised Maori concerts with a party from its members, while the former set up a sports club, a weekly dance and a social club as part of its work.

Although there was intermingling between Maori and European in sports, social gatherings etc., through the various clubs, the identity of the groups remained Maori and in the main catered for Maori young

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1. Kahi Harawira was appointed in 1954, through his European contacts in the Auckland City, as representative for the Maori people at the World Moral Rearmament Congress in Switzerland.
people. Their administration too remained in Maori hands. While some of the sports clubs joined the general European controlled competitions and a Maori representative was appointed to the Rugby Union and the Rugby League controlling bodies, there were at the same time several Maori controlled competitions. To a lesser degree than in the country, but nevertheless quite significant was the feature of inter-tribal competition and rivalry in sports.

The leadership of the sports and recreation bodies was in the hands of the rangatahi leaders, those specialists in sports, etc., qualified for the positions by their specific playing skills. More often, however, the administrative leadership was taken by an older person. These non-playing leaders were usually persons long established in the City, they knew their way around, and they recognised that young people coming into the city required a social life and sports activities arranged for them. Frequently, the profit motive in the clubs was the main appeal to the administrators. The young people, however, were satisfied as long as they received their fun. A shrewd administrator of Maori social and sports activities may use a tribal name to attract the young people from that district, or the initial steps of establishing the clubs may be fairly free of any thought of commercialisation. Soon, however, many clubs become money making concerns.

Mrs Grace Bidois is a well-known rangatahi leader in the Auckland Maori Community. Her husband, Jack Bidois, shares in her work. They control Te Rarawa Club. Grace Bidois has lived in Auckland a long time, this has been an advantage because she knows all there is to know about young people’s activities here. Grace belongs to Te Rarawa tribe in the North and is very well connected in it. She has an undoubted flair for organisation. She also has associations with leading people in the Maori districts around Auckland which gives her a scope for the organisation of competitions. She founded Te Rarawa Club to cater for her own young people, but to-day there are many non-Te Rarawa members in the club.
In connection with the Club, Grace runs a weekly dance which is attended by members of the club, as well as non-members. She has a monopoly of Friday nights at the Manchester Unity Hall. Associated with the dance is a Cafe which Grace runs nominally for the Club but, in fact, for herself. Her activities in the Club have been a financial success, the result is that she is quite a monied person. She has bought a new house and land in one of the best parts of Auckland.

Of course not all the rangatahi leaders are like Mrs Grace Bidois and her husband. There are others like Waka Clarke, Tom Smith and others who run clubs for the sheer fun of doing it. However, many of them are finding that the maintenance of the clubs require a ready supply of finance for the multitude of requirements necessary, and they are therefore being compelled to look for some means other than the subscriptions from their members to keep the clubs in operation.

The rangatahi leaders like Grace Bidois may find themselves being ushered into leadership positions in other groups. Grace is now a member of the Tribal executive. The general policy seems to be, where a club is strong, to try and keep its independence against the encroachments of the tribal executive who is trying to unite everybody, or to form another group apart from the club, though with club personnel, and call it a tribal committee, and thereby secure representation on the tribal executive and, at the same time, retain the separate identity of the club.

e. Women's Organisations.

Maori women's organisations attached to the churches have had a long history in the city. But the most important Maori women's organisation at the present time is The Maori Women's Welfare League. The forte of the League in Auckland is welfare and it is closely allied to the tribal committee organisation. Like tribal committees it is theoretically a territorial rather than a kinship organisation. But, by virtue of the fact

1. See section on the Maori Women Leaders.
that the Ngapuhi and Ngatiwhatua women outnumber the others, the leadership of the League tends to come from those tribes.

On the whole the Maori Women's Welfare League seem to be less bothered by outside influences, such as tribal or church affiliations. One of the reasons for this is that the interests are strictly in the field of women's concerns, the leadership is strong, and the emancipation of Maori women, something novel, is taking up the full attention of all. Maori women *per se* are in control of their own affairs. The Auckland League is part of the national organisation and some of its important leaders, including the National President, come from here. Again, despite the differences that divide the community, social functions like ceremonials, welcome to visitors and catering for meetings require the assistance of all women folk - the kuia, as well as the younger women. Thus, from their local branches the women move forward into the District Council and as members of the Council they perform the welcome ceremonials and the catering for visitors at the Maori community centre building.

Rau belongs to Ngatiwhatua. She is a widow and is one of the recognised *kuia* in Auckland. She is also a member of the Ratana church, and is related to the sitting Maori member of Parliament. Her age, her wisdom, her possession of Maori skills, her hospitality and generosity and interest in Maori welfare and appreciation of Maori values are among her qualifications for leadership. She is held by all who know her, in high respect, by whatever tribe. She is chairman of one of the branches of the league in the city area. There is a combination of both the traditional and the modern in her status and functions. She guides meetings of the League, assisted by a younger educated person as secretary, and by the local woman Maori welfare officer. On ceremonial occasions when visitors are welcomed to the Community Centre building, she graces the occasion with her presence alongside the *kaumatua*, giving the *karanga* or leading the *tangi*.

Mrs Taua belongs to the Ngatihine tribe. Her husband is an important man in the Maori Department and among his tribe. She is the daughter of the previous Maori member of Parliament and by birth is high up in the old ranking system of Ngatihine. She is also a member of the Church of England committee, and of the National Party branch, while she is trustee in a tribal committee. Mrs Taua is well educated, she has a lot of European

1. Whina Cooper, Ngapuhi.
ideas, but she is at the same time interested in Maori ideals and welfare. She is also a capable speaker and a competent administrator. She is rather of the younger type of woman leader and she has not, as yet, graduated to the rank of the kula like Rau. This total background helps her in assuming leadership in the Welfare League organisations in the city.

(f) Party Politics.

Party politics have held a wide interest for the Maori people in Auckland. This is natural because the people here work in industry and are therefore members of trade unions. The residence too of the Maori member of Parliament for the Northern Electorate in the city, and the recent arrival of his National Party opponent, further adds to the interest. The urban Maori is more dependent upon the wage packet received from his employment than the rural dweller. Thus, he is more open and sensitive to the usual party political propaganda concerning the close connection between economic conditions and politics. The two political parties, Labour and National, have their branches among the Maori people. Divisions of the community into political groups follow clear outlines. Certain tribal and religious groups support one or other of the political parties. The Ratana people and the Mormons are labour supporters, the Church of England and sections of the Ngapuhi and Waikato are with the National Party. The kind of employment, (white collar jobs), connections with recognised families seem to coincide with membership in the National Party. The industrial workers are with the labour. Leadership in the political parties roughly follow the same dichotomy.

Mat Te Hau is from a southern tribe, Te Whakatohea, whose traditional support of the National Party is known, and is secretary of the National Party in the City. He is a university graduate in history and a teacher in a City School. Mat Te Hau has not taken any leading part in the affairs of the Maori community in Auckland because it is a National Party belief that the tribal committee organisation is nothing but a tool of labour party. (Mat Te Hau has expressed this viewpoint to the writer). His education is a source of status and his leadership in party politics is made effective by his skill in both Maori and European skills. He is a good Maori linguist and is also a master of English.
The leader of the Labour Party in Auckland is Steve Watene mentioned above. His interest in labour politics arises from his close association with industry. He is local adviser to the Maori member of Parliament. He is a strong Mormon, and all his people in Hauraki are Mormons. Steve Watene had had a good secondary education and the fact that he has been chairman of the tribal executive committee etc., shows something of his competence as an administrator.

Mat Te Hau is the compromise leader in the city, Steve Watene is the protest leader, agitating for better conditions for the worker and a recognition of Maori rights to run their own affairs through the tribal committee organisations.

Leadership.

Leadership in the Auckland Maori community is comprised of a wide range of classes. The educated person is very much in evidence, so are the bureaucratic leader, the professional man, the woman leader, the administrator and the religious leader. It is to be expected that they would feature in an urban community close to European institutions, but then the kaumatua, the kuia and rangatahi are here too.

The pattern of leadership is practically the same as that found in the village community, the main difference is in the shift of priority. The educated person has moved to the fore in the urban community, while the kaumatua and kuia are called upon on specific occasions.

The bases of authority are not as clear cut as those found in the more homogeneous grouping of the village kinship community. Kinship affiliations in the city are important in developing leadership within particular tribes, or subtribes. Ethnic association and the embodiment of Maori ideals, however, are helping to cut across the restricting boundaries of kinship, though this, as yet, is difficult still in Auckland. Maori skills gain recognition in certain situations when Maori deal with Maori. The scarcity of those men and
<table>
<thead>
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<th>European</th>
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women with Maori ceremonial skills in the city places particular prestige on those who possess such skills. Of importance in this regard is the way the kaumatua status is frequently assumed by younger men and educated persons because of some facility in the required skills. Education and the possession of European skills are the highest qualifications for leadership in Auckland. This is necessary because of the close association with Maori and European. While the educated leader is given prestige by virtue of his education, he maintains his position through concretely expressed interests in the welfare of the Maori community.

Added to education and European skills may be mentioned the alliance of a Maori leader with European institutions. A clergymen is backed by his church, an adult education tutor by the university and the civil servant by the Government department.

The majority of the leaders in the City of Auckland are the specialists in charge of sports and recreation, or other youth activities. Here general kinship supported by outstanding skill in games or in administration in the clubs helps to give prestige. A player who has achieved national fame is highly respected in the Maori community and such persons may find themselves being transferred into positions of leadership in the other organisations in the community. The kaumatua and the kuia come into their own when distinguished Maori or European visitors are welcomed at the Maori Community Centre. Their main function is to give just that touch of Maori dignity and ceremonial to the gatherings.
II. The Papatoetoe Maori Community -

Nga Iwi O Papatoetoe

Setting.

The township of Papatoetoe is considered as an outer suburb of the city of Auckland. It is about 12 miles from the main city Post Office on one of the side roads to the south, and is a residential district for people who work locally and in the city of Auckland. The future of Papatoetoe is linked closely to the industrial expansion of the city. It is, however, fairly self-contained. There is one main shopping part to the township with homes spread around this centre. The churches, the schools, the commercial centre and the civic administration all converge upon the township of Papatoetoe.

The bulk of the Maori community is located on the western side of the town and spreads along several side streets. This locality is only beginning to be built upon and one may still find open sections of ground here and there not yet occupied. Though there are clusters of Maori residences along the streets, they are interspersed with European homes. But one may note a definite trend for Maori residences to be built in easy walking distance of each other.

Several young girls work in the local telephone exchange, but in the main the Maori community is employed in such jobs in the city as transport drivers, waterside workers and factory employees.

The children attend the Papatoetoe Primary School, while for secondary

1. There is as yet no special name - as in the case of Ngati-Akarana - given by the people to themselves. But one hears the reference being used by the leaders Nga Iwi O Papatoetoe. The tribes of Papatoetoe. The writer's home is about a mile from the area described and he is considered a member of the community. Information on the Papatoetoe Maori Community was compiled from direct observations made by the writer as a member of the community, also from data supplied in letters to the writer from Te Awa, a leader in the Community. (Chairman of the Papatoetoe Maori Combined Social, Cultural and Sports Society).
education a few go to the Otahuhu College, a short distance away.

There is some association between Maori and European neighbours, though the interaction between Maori and Maori is more intense and more frequent than that between Maori and European. A Maori woman may be friendly with a European woman across the street, Maori children may play with European children in the latter's backyards, and anyway the children all attend the same primary school. But there is more ease in the visits of Maori to Maori than of European to Maori and vice versa.

One or two local European citizens have taken a paternal interest in the Maori people, while at some public functions, such as the commemorative service for the Anzacs, the Maori group has been represented.

The local government authorities regard the Maori community as an integral part of Papatoetoe. The Maori and the European pay the various rates for the amenities such as lighting, roading, and water supply. But this is the extent of the connection with the civic authorities. There are no Maori members on the local government bodies.

The Maori people attend the local cinema, though they prefer to go to the city for their pleasures. Very few Maori people attend the other social functions promoted by European organisations, although during the war, affairs such as dances held for raising funds for the Forces were patronised by the Maori people.

The Maori people use the Papatoetoe commercial centre for the purchase of food, clothing, etc., though here again, both Maori and European often get their supplies from the city.

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1. See infra for a European member on a Maori Organisation.
2. April 25th, an annual event.
3. The Borough of Papatoetoe.
The relationship between Maori and European in Papatoetoe takes on the interlocking feature which is typical throughout New Zealand society. The Maori community in many ways exists as a self-contained unit within the wider Papatoetoe area. At some points there is sharing of common amenities, at other points there is a turning of the Maori community within itself. The intensity of social relations is greater within the Maori community than between the Maori and European groupings.

Social Structure

Kinship

The elementary or nuclear family consisting of a man and his wife and their children is the normal basic organisation. In some of the nuclear families an elderly relative, mostly a widowed male may be found, or among others frequent prolonged visits are paid to them by fathers and mothers, aunts, uncles or cousins from the country.

The Maori families came into the district about 1930 at the beginning of the economic depression. There has, therefore, been some 20 years of absence from tribal centres. Among most families the children have had very little acquaintance with Maori life as it is lived out in the traditional tribal districts. But a few of the families have kept up their connections in various ways with their former homes. Visits may be made on the occasion of important tribal gatherings.

The Maori families live like their European neighbours. The style of house is the same, the arrangement of flower and vegetable gardens, the hedge, lawn, etc., are similar. In some of the newer houses there is no visible difference. But the older houses in the Maori community tend to remain unpainted. Repairs are not readily carried out and there is a greater evidence of dilapidation about them. The interior organisation
of the house is also different. The housework is not done, the pictures are magazine covers, and there are Maori craft work hanging on the walls. On the other hand, there are radios, electric lights and stoves. The food is the same but its preparation and its presentation may differ. In most Maori homes the husband is considered the head of the household. However, there are other homes in which the status of the wife is definitely higher than that of the husband. In one case, the leader in an organisation was a woman, she was certainly the head of her household. She decided what other organisations the family should support, and which they should not, and the education, employment, and discipline of the children were her concern.

The meetings of the Maori community were held in the private homes as there was no public hall available. The main families offered their homes as centres for meetings. This was one indication which revealed what the people in the community themselves considered to be a sort of hierarchy among the families. The host family was generally regarded as the most important one in the community.

Like most Maori communities in the towns and cities, the Papatoetoe group belonged to several tribal origins. The majority of the people, however, are members of the tribes closest to Auckland, namely Ngapuhi in the north and Waikato in the South. The tribal links are retained in several ways. At the time of the general parliamentary elections the people declare their tribal affiliation. When a death occurs at home the family may return to the tangihanga, while visits from relatives also keep up the home connections.

1. Funerals.
Other tribes represented in the group are Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatipaoa and Ngatituwahere. Except in the case of Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto there is no active acknowledgment among the people here of their tribal leaders. With Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto the King Movement is a living force and governs the attitudes of the people to other organisations, and helps to keep up the traffic of visits with the home tribe or subtribe, particularly during the festivals of the movement.

Religious Organisations

Only in a few cases is there a strong group formation in terms of membership in a religious system. The Methodist Mission for a while kept in touch with its members though there was rarely an organised service. The Ratana church claim some followers and also do the Church of England and the King Movement (Paimarire).

Within each family household the husband may take a lead in religious practices of an elementary kind, when there is sickness. Faith-healing of sorts is not unknown. The practitioners here are a young married woman with a family and a kaumatu. But very little is known about their work.

The Methodist Church and the United Maori Mission have bestirred themselves to promote activities to cater for the religious needs of the people in the community, though the attention is concentrated on welfare work, women and children. The general attitude of the people here is that they prefer religion to be left alone as a private matter, rather than as an organised affair. Each family in its way takes care of the religious needs of its members.

Administration. The Papatoetoe Maori Combined Social Cultural and Sports Society.

Until recently the people of the community met at each others houses for discussion, or at the dances and other social gatherings. Permanency of residence and the increase in the families, together with the internal
rifts in the community largely owing to differences of kinship affiliations compelled some of the more outstanding men and women to seek ways and means for establishing some overall organisation. The outcome was the Papatoetoe Maori Combined Social Cultural and Sports Society set up by the people themselves. The aims of the Society were: (1) To unite the people of Papatoetoe together and to encourage them to forget their tribal and religious differences. (2) To promote social, cultural and sports activities for the people of the community. (3) To raise funds for the establishment of a Community Centre Hall where the young people may gather for dances, social events, church services, and the practice of Maori arts and crafts. The leading men and women realised that the children were growing up with little knowledge of Maori culture, thus the hall when built would embody in its architecture some Maori design, and a course in Maori language and other aspects of culture would be given there.

The leadership in the society was taken by what may be termed community leaders. Those people who gave the lead in the spontaneous activities held from time to time, and to whom people turned when in need or to whom they looked when anything needed to be done. Meetings were held in their homes. These community leaders were young and knowledgeable in the ways of the Europeans while at the same time showing an appreciation of Maori values and ideals, and one noted the tendency for the educated leader to gain prior recognition in the organisation that was set up, though in close association with the kaumatua leader. For instance, though the chairman was a knowledgeable community leader and the meetings were conducted according to European procedure, a kaumatua was always present. The kaumatua opened all the meetings of the society with a formal greeting in the Maori language.

The fundamental basis for leadership status in the Papatoetoe community seems to be the ability to focus the longing among the people for some kind
of unity between the various tribal fragments and the establishment of a corporate Maori organisation there.

Like most Maori organisations of this sort the Papatoetoe Society is on the way to accumulate to it the main administrative functions of the community. The leaders do not conceal their intentions to make the Society an all-purposes overall body. This ambition was revealed in reply to the suggestion that a tribal committee under the 1945 Act should be formed among the Maori people at Papatoetoe. The leading speakers objected on the grounds that such a tribal committee would be a threat to the status of the society. 'We do not,' says one 'want the Maori Department come poking their nose in around here. We want to run our own affairs'.

The chairman of the Society is Te Awa, a knowledgeable young man, who though not educated in the schools, yet by experience in work and living with Europeans is highly sophisticated. He was one of the first to come to Papatoetoe. He is a good mixer and finds his companions from among people of all tribes. Meetings are held in his home, and he is ever ready to lend a helping hand to those in distress. He is also a man with clear ideas, though his expression of them does not betray this clarity. He is certain that the Maori people at Papatoetoe to stay permanently, it is therefore necessary that they should place first emphasis on their loyalty to Papatoetoe and second only to their home tribe or subtribe. He is also sure that the Maori and the European at Papatoetoe can live together harmoniously, and that there should be more mixing between Maori and European. For this reason he advocated the appointment of a European to the Society. On the other hand he thinks the Maori people here should try to cultivate something of their culture.

Te Awa himself belongs to Ngatimaniapoto and he is a keen supporter of the King Movement but he says 'That, like my religion, is my affair, I am not going to embarrass people of other tribes by my insistence upon membership in the King Movement'.

Te Awa, who is known personally to the writer, is a leader of men in Papatoetoe because of his vision and ideals that so closely reflect the ambitions of the Maori people there.

Tiraka is a relative of Te Awa. They live together in Te
Awa's house. He is versed in formal oratory and is old, he is therefore regarded as the kaumātua of Papa-toetoe. He is called upon to give the Maori greeting at the meetings. It is also said that his advice is asked concerning the growing of kūmara by the younger people and that he practices faith-healing. He is a valued member in the Society for Maori matters.

Domestic Organisations.

As against the Papatoetoe Social and Cultural Society there were two other narrower groups partly socio-economic or socio-religious and partly kinship which were confined to people from particular tribes. Their main function, however, would fall into the category of administration. They administered the affairs of their own tribal adherents. There was at first, a feeling of tension between the Papatoetoe Society and one of these groups, but the relationships have improved through a tacit understanding concerning scope of activities of the respective groups.

One of these intra-group organisations was the local branch of the King Movement. Its primary function was to raise funds to send to the headquarters of the King Movement at Ngaruawahia. This was done through subscriptions and through the holding of dances. The influence of this organisation was quite marked, it decided whether or not its members should join the Papatoetoe Society, and it also provided religious services and exercised disciplinary measures over its members. The leader here was a woman, though she was surrounded by other kaumātua leaders of the Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto tribes.

Mrs Joe Kerapa, the leader of the organisation, originally came from Kawhia. She had a good education. Her father was a kaumātua leader in his own tribe, and was also a recognised tohunga in a district where tohungaism thrived. Thus, she achieved status in the organisation, by her home connections and by her competence as an administrator. She raised objections against both the Society and the tribal committee on the grounds that they were going to interfere with her group.

While the above group worked among the Ngatimaniapoto and Waikato
peoples, there was also another which looked after people from the Ngapuhi tribes. Unlike the Waikato one, the Ngapuhi Committee did not have any connections with the home district. The interests were quite local and these included the raising of funds to meet the funeral expenses of members. It also met to discuss welfare problems that affected its members.

The chairman was Tehere and came from Ngapuhi. He worked in the freezing works not far away. He also had associations with the Church of England as a lay reader. He owned a fine new house, which was the centre of the Ngapuhi people in the district. They regarded him more or less as their leader. They turned to him for advice, and having been a long time in the Town he was of service to them in guiding them about jobs and other matters. He was also very friendly with Te Awa. They worked together in the various community activities such as encouraging a local dance band, and providing a Christmas tree for the children. He was vice-president of the Papatoetoe Society. He spoke Maori very well and was in demand in Maori discussions. He was also keen to get unity among the people through an overall organisation. He agreed with Te Awa that the people here needed a hall for themselves, and also that the children should be given a chance to cultivate Maori arts and crafts.

**Leadership in the Papatoetoe Maori Community.**

Certain generalisations on leadership in Papatoetoe on the basis of the data that has been given can be made. The educated leader, meaning sophistication, is in great demand at Papatoetoe; sophistication in the sense of having useful insights into European society and its workings as these affect the Maori community. The outstanding leader here is the person who is able to get the feel of the ambitions among the people, the urge to retain their identity, while, at the same time, taking what they require from European society. This leader is developing the new loyalty towards Papatoetoe with a somewhat lessening of the allegiance to the home tribe. The *kaumatua* and the *kuia* are also here, with the *kaumatua* the most useful member of the duality. His function is assured at the meetings, in opening the proceedings with
the appropriate formal Maori greeting. The *kuia* functions are being performed by fairly youngish women when necessary, because there is really no special group of aged women *kuia* here.

The *tohunga* leader, though not very pronounced, is present, showing the existence of vast areas of uncertainties in the Maori community closely placed among Europeans. On the other hand, direct connection with *tohunga* ridden home groups probably also accounts for the existence of the *tohunga* at Papatoetoe.

Kinship factors, as the basis of leadership, are strong within the narrow local groups but as elsewhere in the City these are being countered by a growing desire to place the major stress rather upon the ethnic affiliations, the possession of Maori ideals and the concern for Maori welfare.

The main functions of the leaders here seem to be to stimulate a feeling of unity among the people by providing them with some kind of social framework; to strengthen the Maori cultural background focussed in the recognised physical symbols of a social centre, and yet fit them into the life of the wider Papatoetoe Community.
III. The Pukekohe Maori Community—Nga Iwi o Pukekohe.

Setting

The township of Pukekohe lies on one of the subsidiary highways south from the City of Auckland, about 30 miles. As with Papatoetoe there is regular transport by road and rail linking the township with Auckland.

The town, which is a borough, is situated in one of the most fertile vegetable growing districts in New Zealand. The soil is rich volcanic, and grows all types of household vegetables for despatch to various parts of New Zealand. The market gardening industry is controlled by Europeans and one or two Indian merchants. Over 50% of the labour in the gardens is supplied by Maori workers. Maori workers occupy all sorts of positions from field hand to foreman. The main attractions have been the easy seasonal work, the high wages, the proximity to Auckland city. The first Maori workers came to Pukekohe after the first world war. Until recently the Maori families were entirely dependent upon the growers for their housing as well as for their employment. This dependence created unsuitable worker-employer relations for Maori workers could not be independent of the growers. Unsatisfactory workers, or workers who complained against poor wages, long hours, and general conditions were dismissed. This state of affairs influenced the character of the leadership in the Maori community.

Race Relations.

Pukekohe is well-known throughout the whole country for the unders-

1. For some statistical data see New Zealand Official Year Book 1953 pp 36, 38. Material on the Pukekohe Maori Community was compiled through a survey the writer carried out in 1948, as a Teacher in a Local School and Secretary of the Pukekohe Maori Community Centre Committee. The data was incorporated in a Report sent from a Maori Sub-Committee to the Synod of the Methodist Church, Auckland District; A first class Social Survey of the Pukekohe Community was conducted by Rangi Royal in 1943-1944 for the Minister of Maori Affairs and is lodged in the Office of the Maori Department, Auckland.

2. The scheme involved housing a workman and his family in a cottage built by the growers. The tenants paid a rent and held the house for the duration of the employment. In 1951-1952, the State Housing Scheme which was started in a modified form earlier was extended giving Maori persons in Pukekohe greater independence and an increased sense of security.

irable features in the relationship between the two peoples. In very few other places in New Zealand are Maori people segregated. The Maori patrons at the local cinema are ushered to the very front seats, and they may not obtain tickets to go upstairs or to the back of the theatre for those places are reserved for European patrons.

The hairdressers in the main part of the town will not serve Maori customers, though there is a special hairdresser at the end of the main street who serves Maori and European persons.¹

The hotel bar is closed to Maori customers, though a special place is provided where they may secure a drink.

The local primary school segregated Maori children in special rooms while the general feeling among the European children and their parents and also the administrators was one of antagonism to Maori children attending the school because of alleged uncleanliness.² The school committee which was European in personnel succeeded in establishing a separate Maori school in the township. But the stores, shops and other commercial places cater for Maori as well as European. Maori children attend with European children at the Pukekohe High School for their secondary education. These Maori children become prefects, team captains and in every way are a credit to the high school. However, many if not all of these children come from the surrounding districts, rather than the community we are discussing.

The churches in theory, extend a welcome to the Maori people to attend services. The Methodist Minister visits Maori families for meetings. He is

1. The writer found out about the cinema and the hairdresser through personal experience—being refused admission in both cases. It was only after the writer became better known in the district that he secured the necessary services in the case of the cinema, through protests from European Teachers working in the same school. Segregation was imposed at the beginning because of the undisciplined behaviour of Maori youths in the cinema and the Hotel and the dirt ridden nature of Maori persons seeking service from the hairdressers. Maori sanctions of control were non-existent in the Maori Community and the facilities in the houses provided by the growers were not conducive of cleanliness.

2. In discussing this matter with the School Officials the writer received the following comments. (a) The Headmaster—the cleanest child in the School was a Maori girl: chosen head girl. (b) Member of the school committee there was no need to have separate school, Maori children could be separated into different class rooms from those of European children (as at that time) (c) Chairman of School Committee; it was most helpful to Maori children to have their own school where they can be taught their culture. (d) Education Department; Against segregation in this case, but will make the separate school and institution of which the Maori people will be proud.
not a native of Pukekohe, and he only stays in this circuit a short while. But no Maori people join in with the church life of the town.

The attitude of the growers to the Maori workers differ. Some they think quite good workers, other workers are severely criticised. There is however very little attempt to provide any useful amenities and facilities for Maori workers. The houses which the growers provide, lack the amenities which go to make life comfortable on the levels to which Europeans are accustomed.

The Maori on the other hand regards his work as temporary and seasonal, here to-day and away to-morrow. Others again recognise that they are fairly permanent workers in the gardens. The crux of race relations problems seems to lie in the connection of Maori workers with their employment, and the conditions under which they work. These conditions and relationships are relevant to the kind of leadership promoted in the Maori community.

The local Borough Council in reply to criticism that came from outside press reports and government departments, established a rest house for the Maori people as a centre where meetings could be held and around which some sort of social life may be evolved.

Many European leaders were critical of the treatment meted out to the Maori people, but apart from public statements explaining the official point of view and giving advice to the Maori people, very little of an effective nature was done to let down the barriers raised against the Maori.

In sports organisations, Maori teams were incorporated in European controlled competitions. This was the case in Rugby Football and Basketball. Some of the finest players in both games who represented the district in important matches were Maori.

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1. Under the Maori Purposes Act, 1935 (Sec.9) the sum of £500 was set aside from Maori monies held in trust by the Maori Department Auckland, for the competition of the Rest House, and a further amount of £50 per annum voted for its upkeep.

2. The writer addressed the Pukekohe Rotary Club Women's Organisations and Church groups on the treatment of the local Maori people, pleading for easing of segregational regulations; while everyone agreed relations could be improved those responsible were unwilling to take the lead.
The Social Structure

Kinship

Some 12 tribal and subtribal groups comprised the Pukekohe Maori community. The majority of the nuclear families were from Waikato, Ngapuhi and the Ngatimaniapoto tribes. In season there was an influx of Maori families. During the harvesting of potatoes they lived with friends, relatives or in make-shift accommodation near their work. While many of the families returned to their homes after the season was over, others stayed on and were added to the more permanent residents, in cottages provided by the growers or in those built through government aid.

In the main the connections with the home tribes were maintained. With Waikato and Maniapoto, the King Movement connections were strong and these served to maintain loyalty to the traditional leaders back home. Visits to the rural districts of origin, return visits from relatives, attendance at tribal gatherings of importance, were the contacts which helped to retain tribal influence. There was also a committee of the King Movement in Pukekohe under the direction of a recognised kaumatua who lived with some of his relatives there. This kaumatua was sent for, when there was any big gathering of the tribe, and his presence in the Pukekohe district tended to keep green the associations with the tribe. Again there was a greater number of Waikato and Maniapoto people here to maintain the particular group sentiment, as compared with other tribal groups.

Peehi Tu was from Ngatimaniapoto. He was one of the leaders of the King Movement. His forte was genealogy. It was also said that he was a tohunga, a faith healer. He was the head of the Paimarive sect associated with the King Movement. He also excelled in formal oratory. At the mortuary rites conducted in one of the private houses here, Peehi Tu was in charge
of the speeches, he was also there during a Maori wedding, welcoming the guests etc. He was very close to the Maori King. When the latter went to Wellington on a deputation, Peehi Tu was one of the kaumatua leaders attending. At the celebration of the Sex-Gentennial anniversary of the arrival of the traditional canoes at Ngāruawāhia, he was a valued member of the Tutuki (genealogical experts) and he was a principal speaker in the gathering. He also conducted at Pukekohe a class in tribal history and genealogies. His status arose from his skills, his kinship background in the Māori and Maniapoto Confederation and his close link with the Maori king.

**Church organisations**

There were representatives of the Ratana, the Paimarire, (King Movement), Anglican, Mormon, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in the district. Maori ministers of the Anglican, Ratana, Mormon and Paimarire churches lived there. The Mormon, Methodist and Anglican clergy spread their efforts to the surrounding areas, the others confined their services to the Pukekohe area. The first four churches above comprised in that order the majority of the people. Regular services were held by the Mormons, Anglicans, and Paimarire. The others were more casual. But the nominal membership was real enough to the people themselves and people knew each other's religious denomination. The church affiliations may be considered as rivalling the tribal associations, for church membership has been known to decide people in a communal matter, with little regard for their tribal association. The most important place where this was done was in the dealings of the Labour-Ratana combination with community affairs, such as housing, establishment of tribal committees etc.

**Sports and Recreation**

The organisation of Maori teams in the various games differed. For instance many of the rugby footballers in the senior grades were taken by one of the local European clubs and also by an outside Maori club, both of which participated in the general competitions. The local Maori community had a junior Rugby Team; then many men and women joined with Maori players from other districts in the formation of all-Maori Football and Basketball
teams for Maori controlled competitions against outside tribal units.

Two good basketball teams have played in the European controlled games here for many years. Though attempts have been made to combine them, these have not been successful. The teams incorporated extended family units as their nucleus and belonged to Ngapuhi and Maniapoto respectively.

The most important context for leadership of the rangatahi kind was in the administration of Maori sports teams.

Joe Hepi was from Ngapuhi. His daughter was one of the leading basketball players in the district. He built a team around his daughter as captain, recruiting players in the main from the Ngapuhi young people in the district. Joe Hepi was a good administrator, he also had the means to equip his team, and the transport to take them around. One felt that Joe was trying not only to find status for himself through his team and his daughter but that the tribal affiliations were coming through in his team in rivalry with other tribal groups.

Tom King was from Ngatimaniapoto. His wife Te Ha was really the sports leader, the rangatahi. She was a woman of good education, respected by the Europeans and the Maori people alike. She showed interest in communal matters, and she organised a basketball team from the girls from Waiate and Ngatimaniapoto. While her team played in the general European controlled competitions, she also prepared them for the Maori controlled competitions at Ngaruawahia on the occasion of the Coronation Celebration of the Maori King. She was closely allied with the King Movement. The big day for her team were not the matches at Pukekohe but those at Ngaruawahia.

Administration

The Maori community was part of the Pukekohe Borough for local government purposes. However there was no connection with administration at that level except as consumers, payers of rates etc. The picture of the Maori community and its groups at Pukekohe was one in which the people was part of the wider community in many activities but comprised a separate entity in others. In theory they could enter the municipal authority and take part in local government with the Europeans; in actual practice they never did this. Thus there were areas in the life of the community which required some form of administrative machinery. Leading men thought too that an over-all organisation was necessary to bind diverse groups into a unity, and that some of their immediate problems both in the interaction with the European and among themselves could be solved by setting up such a group.
The meeting to the effect this purpose was held in the Rest House in the town on a Sunday morning. The writer joined with people from Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto in sponsoring the meeting. About thirty were present including people of both sexes, with a predominance of elderly people. The recognised kuia and kaumatua of Pukekohe were there and also were the rangatahi leaders and some Mormon preachers.

The writer was chairman of the meeting, on the suggestion of the Ngatimaniapoto group who thought that an outsider would be free from the conflicts that existed among the people. The writer explained the object of the meeting which was to set up a committee whose main aim was to raise funds to buy land on which a hall would be built as a marae for the people of Pukekohe. All those present agreed, though kuia and her grown sons and daughters-in-law strongly objected. The kuia said that there was already a committee in existence in Pukekohe which was the point of contact of Government officials with the Maori people. She was the head of the committee. Further she was not in favour of any outsider coming in and running things. Let all the people here join up with her, and she would guarantee that they would get whatever they want. The debate continued on the point of setting up the Committee. In spite of the protests of the kuia, the committee was organised with the writer as Secretary. The Committee was called the Pukekohe Maori Community Centre Committee. The membership of the committee included most of the sections of the people though it was apparent that many joined because of the novelty, and because of the status of the writer who was then associated with the King Movement and a teacher in a Secondary School not far from Pukekohe.

The function of the committee was, as has been mentioned, to raise money to buy land and establish a hall. But it was found in time that the committee assumed the leadership of the Maori people at Pukekohe. For instance when the local Europeans wanted to set up a separate Maori school for the Maori

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1. The Kuia mentioned was a leader in the local Ratana Church, and a supporter of the Labour Party. She was a member of the Maori War Effort Organisation during the War; although she was a member of the Ngapuhi tribe the writer did not find this out till later because of the emphasis laid upon her church and political associations.

2. After an amount of money was raised the writer approached a European land owner who advertised land for sale proposing to purchase the land as a site for a Maori Community Centre. The initial approach was made through a European school teacher friend of the writers. When the land owner discovered that the land was for a Maori Centre she refused to sell.
children they approached the Committee for its support. Further the committee expressed the views of the Maori people to Government Departments and to Trust Boards on such matters as Maori Housing and Maori Market Gardening projects. Another function of the Committee was to negotiate with the Cinema people, the hotel-keepers and the hairdressers with the idea of eliminating the discrimination against Maori patrons.

What therefore was set up primarily as an administrative organisation actually in the end became rather a body to represent the Maori people in the interaction with the European. The relationships between the committee and the Maori community was not very effective in that only a small section of the Maori people were brought into its membership although many more attended the functions organised and even contributed to the funds. Many of the people had come to accept their conditions and others feared that the existence of an organisation among them would have a detrimental influence upon their relationship with the European growers and consequently their jobs.

Among the leaders in this administrative committee at Pukekohe was one Charlie Barrett. He belonged to Ngatimaniapoto and was one of the oldest residents, though not in age, in Pukekohe. He was familiar with the problems of the people, the attitude of the European and that of the Maori towards the European. He was well educated in the broadest sense. He was a cripple and was therefore able to devote quite a large proportion of his time to voluntary welfare work. He was the kind of person people turned to when they needed anything done for them. He filled in pension forms for the elderly Maori folk, he was consulted about the best doctor to get, and even on maternity cases Charlie was brought in. He was the mediator between the Maori and the European because the European found him reliable in everything he did. Charlie also had sound ideas. He was in favour of establishing a Maori community centre for the people where they could entertain their guests or run their social functions, and he favoured initiating a Maori housing scheme in the town for Maori people. He agreed that a Maori school, a hall, and private residences built together within the borough would be a fine thing for the Maori.

1. This is an interesting phenomenon in what the writer terms an unstructured situation - such as that of the newly founded urban Maori communities. A strong organisation fixes its authority over a wide field of interest, so that it becomes a multi-purposes body.
people, and to this end he worked very hard. Just after the writer left Pukekohe to take another appointment, Charlie had persuaded the committee, which was a purely informal body to become reconstituted into a tribal committee under the 1945 Act, to enable it to secure greater authority and the opportunity to secure monetary subsidies from the state to assist in its community projects.

Leaderships at Pukekohe

The most important kind of leader may be termed a community leader. These were the men and women who showed real, live interest in the welfare of the community. But then they were also fixed at the heads of smaller groups such as families, church groups, sports organisations and the administrative system. Many of them had gained the approval of the European employers and this fact added to their status in the Maori community.

Leadership Interaction

The general pattern of leadership in the Maori Community at Pukekohe was one in which the different leaders operated independently within their own respective groups, and the absence of a superordinate organisation acceptable to all the leaders, prevented them from working together. There was free interaction between the different organisations under their own leaders and other groups in the community, but such interaction was mostly one of conflict and opposition rather than co-operation. The cause of this condition derived from internal as well as external factors. The integration of each group strengthened by common values, systems and sentiment drew the groups inwards. The pressure exerted by the European upon the Maori, instead of bringing the groups together, rather had the effect of keeping the groups apart. On the other hand the wide geographic distribution, the lack of any really fundamental common denominators apart from the ethnic one also compelled intra-rather than inter-group cohesion. The conflicts within the community came out in the form of jealousies among the leaders, and the fear lest another would gain a higher status than the other. The cause here was traceable to the uncertainties, the instabilities in Maori society arising from the intensive
impact with European systems. In the case of the people at Pukekohe, the uncertainties arise from the attempt of Maori leaders to please the European employers so as to secure higher social status and economic security, while at the same time continuing an association with the Maori group.

One may also see here the conflict between leaders, based on divisions of interests in terms of politics, kinship background, religion, and even generational levels. But geographic location, economic occupation, ethnic similarities and sympathy with each other's point of view, maintained a degree of unity although such informal relationship did not rise to the comprehensive level of a defined organisation.

Leadership and Race Relations

Maori leadership in the Pukekohe community was influenced by the condition of tension between Maori and European. The main role of the leader was to please the European, in order to secure concessions for the people and status and work opportunities for himself. The Writer, who lived in the district for two years, noted the apparent fear of some of the leaders of offending European sensibilities. One leader remarked: 'We have to live here with the Europeans, and we are dependent on them for work'. The Writer as an outsider was given tacit support in his agitation against the conditions under which the Maori people worked, but he was told to go slowly by the Maori people themselves. Then too the Maori leaders who seemed to have secured substantial status from European association, reflected the point of view of the European regarding 'the low class' Maori persons in the community, who made conditions bad for other Maori people. Thus the Maori leaders acted as agents for the European in order to persuade the Maori to change his ways. One good instance of this role of the Maori leader was seen during a cleanliness campaign. Maori leaders, at the suggestion of the Europeans bought soap and boot polish, installed water taps and basins, and conducted gratis a washing, bathing and polishing programme among untidy and dirt ridden Maori youths.
The Writer found from his experience that it was a most difficult task to get the European to give up his stereotypes concerning, first of all certain Maori persons, and then, all Maori persons in Pukekohe. Social prejudice had changed into group prejudice and had become part of the recognised European attitude. The reason for the uncleanness among the Maori population was largely the lack of bathing facilities in homes provided by the growers for their Maori workers, however, many Europeans apparently did not accept such an explanation, but preferred to identify social and economic causes with physical and psychological differences.

There was a combination of protest and accommodation factors in Maori leadership. The protest features were mollified\(^1\) and agreement was expressed with the European in order to gain concession for the Maori. An example of this was the agitation by both Maori leaders\(^2\) and Europeans for a separate school for the Maori children. The objective was similar but the motives were entirely different. The Maori leaders saw in this an opportunity to promote an institution that they could control themselves, thus securing for them a feeling of pride and status in the wider society. The European saw in the school segregation, a logical continuation of the policy which expressed the lower status of the Maori as a person not yet quite fit to enter into equal social relationships with the European.

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2. Though a section of the Maori people and many Europeans strongly disapproved of separate schools in the Pukekohe township within a mile of each other, the Writer and other local leaders contended that such a course was necessary for educational and cultural reasons. The need of the Maori Community at Pukekohe was for unity and cohesion. A factor that would contribute to this condition was a physical centre that would serve as a symbol of group cohesion, a Maori school administered by the Maori parents, equipped with a specialist staff in Maori education, a curriculum adapted to the health and education needs of Maori children, and amenities - playing grounds and a hall - which both children and their parents can use on social occasions. The Writer devised the petition and presented it to the Minister of Maori Affairs in support of the Maori school.
SUMMARY

The Social Structure of the Urban Community

Some significant features stand out. First, the Maori urban group functioned in part as a separate cultural and social enclave within the wider European community despite the dependence of the Maori upon the facilities and resources of the European, and the proportionate difference in population. Second, the Maori community attempted to reproduce something of its kinship-based social organisation and village social life in the urban district. All three groups and their leaders worked energetically for the establishment of central meeting places, impregnated with elements and values from the marae. The people of Auckland were known loosely as Ngatiakarana, the people of Papatoetoe, Nga iwi o Papatoetoe and those at Pukekohe Nga iwi o Pukekohe. Third, there was the extreme proliferation of the Maori community into a multitude of organisations and groups, which helped to give individual migrants up-rooted from their original kinship associations, a degree of adjustment to the more impersonal life of the city and town. Fourth, the pervasive influence of the church and kinship associations was felt throughout the various groupings. Fifth, owing to the inwardly oriented nature of each group, the recency of their establishment, there existed a social condition in the urban community that may be termed an unstructured pattern of inter-group relationships that required the application of organisational devices by leaders to promote the unity of the community.

Leadership

The pattern of leadership classes found in the rural districts is also being reproduced in the urban area, owing to the attempted re-creation of the village social life here. The

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Kaumatua, the Kuia, the religious leaders, the educated person, the Rangatahi, may be found in the urban community. The main difference between the rural and urban leadership pattern is the priority given the educated person and the tendency for the educated person to assume some of the roles of the Kaumatua, owing to the comparative scarcity of the Kaumatua. The Kaumatua and the Kuia come into operation when the ceremonial occasions arise which make a demand on their particular skills.

Kinship of the superior kind means little here as the basis of status in community leadership, except in its own specific circles. Kinship associations here may indeed be a handicap to acceptance in community leadership. Features receiving emphasis in the urban leader are general ethnic affiliations, the embodiment of Maori ideals and values, and the possession of a combination of Maori and European skills.

European approval for Maori leaders is most important in the city and towns, for the reason that such leaders gain concessions for the Maori from the European. The civil servants and other educated persons derive status from the European institutions in which they hold positions, but their acceptability with the Maori group depends on their expressed interest in Maori welfare, ideals and values.

The roles of the urban leaders appear in particular situations. The Kaumatua and the Kuia perform the ceremonial functions of welcoming visitors and offering Maori hospitality and courtesy. They focus Maori values and ideals in the urban community, and are freely consulted by the people when needed. The educated leader is the most important class in the urban community because he negotiates with the European and he advises the Maori group on European matters in a situation of close association between the two peoples. His primary function in addition to effecting the necessary communication between the Maori and his European environment, is to bring about the adjustment of the Maori group in terms of conduct, habits, and customs to the demands of the city or suburb in which the people live.

1. Senior birth of a Ngatiporou person is respected only by Ngatiporou; similarly Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto regard with favour their own traditional leaders not those of other groups.
SECTION 3

CHAPTER 13

THE MAORI LEADERS IN EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS

It is now over 100 years since the first European settlement was established in New Zealand, and the country and its people were incorporated into the British Empire. Within that time by means of war, sponsored immigration schemes, overseas financial loans, imperial legislation and improvement in transport and communication, New Zealand has made rapid progress as a young virile nation.\(^1\)

Externally she has assumed an acknowledged place among the nations of the world, participated in major wars, joined international organisations, made military alliances, and concluded peace treaties, as an independent nation. Nearer home she has assisted in the evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations, a political, cultural and economic organisation of world wide proportions. From her membership in the Commonwealth, New Zealand draws a feeling of confidence, a sense of high status, and economic and military security. But it is as a British European nation that New Zealand is recognised abroad.\(^2\)

Within New Zealand itself, the British European group is in undisputed control and dominance. New Zealand institutions - government, law, religion, commerce, education and culture - are essentially British in origin and sentiment. The value systems, codes of ethics, and fundamental philosophies now accepted by Maori as by European, stem from the same sources. The contemporary situation of social change reveals immense pressures coming from European society to Maori society through the institutions into which the Maori is drawn. The traffic of ideas, values, and customs to-day is largely one way - from European to Maori.

The ownership of the resources of the country is in the hands

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of the European majority. One million eight hundred thousand Europeans directly and indirectly control sixty three million acres of the total sixty six million acres in New Zealand, while one hundred and twenty thousand Maori people own three million acres of inferior land.\(^1\) Commerce, industry, finance, administration and the transport services are controlled by the European. Where the Maori is included he is found distributed among the employee section of the clerical or labouring classes.\(^2\)

In law, in government, in commerce, owing to the wide disparity in numbers, and the cultural, educational and economic difficulties attending the Maori community, the European is dominant.

**Bureaucratic Systems.**\(^3\)

In common with other types of technologically advanced civilisations, European society in New Zealand to-day has developed a range of systems to which the term bureaucratic may be applied. The dominance of European society, its spread into Maori communities, the access afforded the Maori into European institutions have meant that the Maori people are brought into the scope of the bureaucratic systems.

The systems and their leaders are bureaucratic in the widest sense because the structure is highly formalised, authority stems from the office in the organisation and the functions of the leader in it is to transmit European values.

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2. See Table.\(^12\)
and to execute European approved policy in Maori society.  

The ideal bureaucratic organisations are obviously found in government departments and the church, though in the Maori view professional men and academics are placed in the same category as the civil servants and the clergy. Government and Church are European sponsored, controlled and directed systems, whose sole aim is the transmissions of European values from European into Maori society and the promotion of changes in the latter to make it approximate more closely to the norms of the former.

Although, for instance, the Maori Department was organised to deal with Maori affairs, the motives and purposes actuating its work and procedures are naturally rooted in the European systems and culture. The policy is like the 'laws of the Medes and Persians' no questions should be asked, for the moment anyway it is quite absolute and unchanging. This is the essence of the bureaucratic system. Imposed upon this absolute feature of policy is the logically conceived and well-articulated patterns of organisation. Each position in the organisation is fixed, appropriate prestige factors are ascribed to each position, while the roles are clearly defined.  

1. See Gouldner Alvin W., Studies in Leadership, New York, 1950, pp. 57-60; an assumption fundamental to the present discussion is the distinctive culturally determined points of view between Maori and European. This distinction while inherent in the writings of politicians, sociologists and ethnologists in New Zealand is stressed in the works of Maori leaders like Buck, Kohere, Pei Jones etc. and also Firth, I.L.G. Sutherland etc. See especially Ngata, The Maori People Today, pp.149-150 and Sutherland, The Maori Situations, Chap.10. Sutherland's whole criticism of the Royal Commission's Report set up to investigate abuses in Ngata's administration of the land development scheme is based on a distinction between the European and Maori view points regarding the wider sociological and psychological significance of Maori land development. According to Ngata, the State is governed by (a) What it considers to be the most suitable form of land settlement, (b) Its inclinations, possession of power to impose its will, survival of the superiority complex, and (c) Favors the European ideal of individual holdings. The supervision by Europeans stresses primary responsibility to administration.

The church too is a bureaucracy in this way. It claims itself to be the caretaker of an unique divine revelation, and it is motivated by an inward compelling force to evangelise the world. The body of doctrine and practices committed to the church have assumed an absolutist form. Each denomination while admitting common membership in the universal church, tends to regard its own particular form of the sacraments and church policy as being the closest to the original. Conservatism is therefore a feature of the church that safeguards the unchanging character of the ecclesiastical systems.

Though only the Anglican and the Roman Catholics lay claim to Apostolic Succession for its clergy, the hierarchy of positions organised according to doctrines of ordination among the other churches, also helps to confirm and make rigid the positions occupied by leaders in them. The roles which flow from each position are inevitable and logical.

The church also aims at transmitting values which, though not fully accepted in European society in New Zealand, are none the less basic to the European way of life. The church imposes a policy upon Maori traditionalist society with the object of raising the Maori people into a condition of conduct and belief similar to that which is conceived by members of government departments. Both government and church move in a one way traffic. They purposely aim at assimilating Maori traditionalist society to the values and norms of European society. The hierarchies of positions in both institutions are rigidly fixed and framed to carry out a policy and to transmit specific values.

Leadership in European Institutions

The bureaucratic leader is the person who secures his status within one of the European sponsored bureaucratic systems we have mentioned. The person concerned is of course a Maori by definition, that is he belongs ethnically and culturally to the Maori group and he works as a rule among the Maori people.1

1. For discussion of the term Maori see pp. XXX and also pp. 301-308.

Native Land Amendment Act, 1912 (Sec.17); Maori Affairs Act, 1953, pt. 29 (Secs 46, 54).
Bureaucratic Leaders.

A. T. Ropiha, Ngatikahungunu, Secretary, Maori Department.

B. J. Herekiekie Grace, Ngatituwhatetoa, Private Secretary, Minister of Maori Affairs.

C. M. Wikiriwhi, Te Arawa, Land development Scheme Supervisor.

D. P. Awatere, Ngatiporou District Welfare Officer.
The basis both of his status and of his functions, is in the European systems. The social context which gives him his position and prescribes for him his roles, is the European system. In terms of government departments and of the church, the most important classes of bureaucratic leaders are the Maori civil servants and the Maori clergy. One may also include Maori professional men, Maori leaders in commerce and industry as well as the occasional academic in the same category. In the case of the latter, one may easily discover the framework in which European society fixes their position and provides them with roles. The essential common feature is first the transmission of values and then the orientation from the European system toward Maori society with the aim of assimilating the latter.

Features of the Maori Bureaucratic Leader.

This kind of leader is relatively educated, in the sense that he has passed certain specific examinations required for entry into the positions. The range of examinations passed may stretch from the most minimal requirements as laid down in regulations, up to a university degree. Examinations are important as means of admission and promotion. A pass in an examination may not necessarily indicate the possession of a liberally educated mind. This distinction between a formal examination pass, symbolised by certificates and a trained creative mind is important, for the bureaucratic system

1. This is wider than Weber's conception of bureaucratic systems. Bureaucracy to him included government, science, religion and industry. To the Maori all European systems possess the same characteristics of bureaucracy, as the concept is used here.
2. This two-fold concept is basic to the argument in the present section.
Dr M. N. Paewai, Ngatihungunu.
(European Nurse and Patient)
demands obedience, subservience and machine-like efficiency, rather than creative thought. The bureaucratic leader is educated in the former sense. It is possible that the more creative leader may find positions in the bureaucratic system, but generally he operates in leisure hour activities, thus giving vent to his ambitions, or he may be given consultative positions at the highest levels, closer to the source where policy is made. Very few Maori leaders attain these high level positions and yet at the same time retain their individuality. In fact one of the complaints of the Maori bureaucratic leader is that he is deliberately blocked from the higher positions in the system. These he alleges are reserved for the Europeans. If this allegation is true, and there is a great deal of evidence to support it, the European systems' suspicion of lack of full Maori trustworthiness as a bureaucratic leader, may account for it.

From the bureaucratic leader's point of view his economic well-being is closely allied to his position. He is dependent on his job for his livelihood. He is also dependent on the system in which he holds a place, for his social status, in the European group as well as in Maori traditionalist society. These facts keep him closely to the system and help to determine his attitude toward his employers and toward the people with whom he comes in contact. The result is the development of a type of personality and attitude toward the employing system, an attitude of unquestioning obedience, and towards the people - especially the Maori - dogmatism and

1. The popular view concerning bureaucracy as being inefficient is not accepted here. Weber's definition of bureaucracy also emphasises high efficiency.
4. The Writer recognises that a great deal more definite evidence is required to support the views stated here. Such views are, however, held by civil servants known to the Writer.
The bureaucratic leader is a cog in a well formulated, properly articulated machine. He gains his position as part of the system, and the same system determines the functions which he should perform. Because of the multiple relationships existing between his position and the variety of others in the system, he tends to become strongly impersonal as he recedes into the protective care of the institution. The responsibility for decisions is thrown back on to the system and he is seen as merely the one who carries out a policy. This characteristic in the bureaucratic leader saves him from having personal involvement with members of the Maori public. This is a source of much irritation and dissatisfaction among Maori who values so highly and expects so readily the interests and sympathy of Maori leaders in high positions.

To sum up, the Maori bureaucratic leader is expected to be efficient, impersonal, hedged about by regulations and an obedient 'channeller' of policy.

Status

The status of the bureaucratic leader occurs by virtue of his position in the European system. We have seen how the

1. The inherent interpretation here is a logical inference from the definition of bureaucracy adopted.
2. MacIver, R.M., The Web of Government, p.87; Merton, R.K., Bureaucratic Structure and Personality, Social Forces, Vol.18, 1940, p.560. Cf. Selznick, P., An approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy, American Sociological Review, Vol.8, 1942, pp.51-52, 54. Concerning the Bureaucratic leaders he states: (1) The pressure and the range of problems caused delegation of functions to those with skill. (2) A bifurcation of problems arise from a divergence of interests (a) some are in the realm of theory; (b) others in that of action. (3) Then a hierarchy of values is attached to various kinds of work, in accordance with the degree of association with the source of power in an organisation. (4) The leader who is treated with respect owing to his position acquires a vested interest in it. (5) Bureaucratic leadership depends on the degree of independence from ranks, because the power base must not be controlled by the rank. (6) Yet a leader must seek a personal base within the group. (7) Bureaucratic leaders construct an ideology peculiar to their social position, namely (a) Centralisation of control; (b) Autonomy of structure; (c) Collective submission to collective will; (d) Conservatism.
government departments are linked in the Maori mind with the Crown, which has always held a place of honour in the sentiments of the Maori people. A position in the civil service is therefore regarded as existing within the same circle as the Crown, the Government, and the Law. It is this comprehensive view that causes the Maori to place such a high premium on positions like that of a member of parliament. It is, however, not quite true to say in the modern period that European associations per se are a source of prestige. Status is given government departments because of their association with the Crown and in a sense, only by virtue of this connection. Furthermore the Maori does not readily distinguish between one government department from another or between one position and another. It is the fact of holding a position in a government department which is important. However, if a Maori finds a government department useful in his affairs, he will tend to ascribe increased prestige value to positions in that department. Also, the proximity as indicated by constant association of Maori bureaucrats with recognised European heads of departments or cabinet ministers in almost any capacity, will tend to give importance to their positions.1

This is also applicable to the church, and indeed to any bureaucratic system. More particularly in those districts where the tradition of the missionaries is still strong, the hierarchy of positions created by those systems is held in very high regard. But here again Maori attitudes toward status positions in the church may differ from one tribe to another. Where one tribe respects, another may reject. The measure of respect and rejection is determined largely by historical association or by the practical usefulness of programmes carried out by such religious organisations among the tribes concerned. Where the church organisations are accepted, and well-known, the status of the positions in it is very high. Otherwise such

1. Selznick, P., An Approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy, op. cit. p.54. The Private Secretary of the Minister of Maori Affairs is a very important person in Maori eyes.
positions may be regarded as sinecures and may even be despised. This difference in attitude is more noticeable in respect to the church than to the government departments, and may be traced to the past historical associations or the usefulness of these organisations in the present.  

In the case of Maori professional men, such as doctors or lawyers, the essential basis of status is the fact of having acquired the knowledge and the skill of the European in callings highly considered in European society. These same factors account for the restige ascribed to academics and successful business men. They are seen to fit into the European scheme of things through their own merits, in pursuits primarily reserved, according to Maori thinking, to the European. Every Maori projects himself on to these successful people and is pleased to know from concrete evidence that a Maori is able to occupy those positions. Here too we see the scarcity value of these positions, thus enhancing them in the eyes of both the European and the Maori. In a vague fashion, professional men, industrial leaders and the academics also hold fairly well fixed positions in various systems of social relations that are rooted in European society and institutions.

Another important aspect is formalisation of the positions in the bureaucratic system. The most important point here is the rigid, formal definition of the position. It is easy to see how in a government position formalisation is fairly well clear cut. The same applies to the hierarchy of positions in the

1. The Methodist Church Leaders are highly respected among sections of Ngatiwhatua in the North because of the influence of missionaries like Rev. Gittos (Te Kitoha). Among other subtribes of Ngapuhi, the Anglican Church Leaders are respected - the name of Marsden the founder of the C.M.S. is loved and esteemed.

2. The concept of formalization is repeatedly discussed throughout the thesis, but it is of particular importance in the study of the bureaucratic leader whose status is delineated by regulation within a legally constituted structure.
church. The location of the positions in the system is definite as is also the inter-relations with other superordinate and subordinate positions. With the other classes of leaders we have mentioned such as the professional men, the business men and the academic, identifiable and recognised symbols of status such as wealth, university degrees or some outstanding skill seem to have the same effect, for the Maori, in ascribing this formalised character to the positions concerned.

The question of status of the bureaucrat is associated more closely with the possession of European skills than is perhaps realised by the leaders themselves. By training these leaders have acquired a series of what might be termed technical European skills, necessary in the performance of their duties within the system. Both from the point of view of the system and from that of the Maori people, these skills are significant. The bureaucrat secures promotion in his position because of them, and he is progressively acceptable to the Maori people for the same reason. On the other hand, the kind of skills which the Maori people need or deem to be worthwhile may not always correspond with those which the European considers to be necessary in the positions. However, from the Maori side the fact that the Maori bureaucrat is as competent and efficient as the European, is important. Particular European skills are attributed to certain positions even though by the very nature of those positions such skills are irrelevant. The principle of specialised skills does not concern a Maori. Whether a bureaucrat is a member of the government, of the clergy, a professional man or an academic, as far as the Maori is concerned, such leaders possess similar stores of knowledge and skills.

We come now to kinship as a factor in the structure of bureaucratic leadership. Superior kinship is valid when a leader is working within his own tribal district. Maori groups are, however, unwilling to allow these persons to serve as bureaucrats in other tribal areas. Indeed for persons of superior kinship to serve in such European sponsored positions at all is rare except in times of emergency (as for instance when Tonga Mahuta, uncle of the Maori King, was appointed officer with the Maori War Effort Organisation confined to the Waikato district during the war.)
General kinship has practical value, though ethnic affiliations, the fact that a bureaucratic leader is a Maori, may serve equally as well as general kinship connections in gaining acceptance for a Maori leader in a Maori group. In both these instances general kinship and ethnic affiliations, the genealogies which signify relationships between Maori groups, are given comprehensive interpretations that it is possible to find some kind of interconnection between tribes as far remote as Ngatiranginui in Tauranga and Ngapuhi in North Auckland, or between old historical enemies as Ngapuhi and Waikato to enable a Maori civil servant or clergyman to move into these groups. A Maori group will follow one of its own relatives, whether the connection is intimate or distant, or even another Maori person, who may at the same time hold a position in European organisations, in a manner that the group will not do a European. However the significance of kinship and ethnic affiliation in the case of the bureaucratic leader, is not to give leadership status but to bring about acceptance in a specific Maori group. The status and standing of the bureaucratic leader come rather from the position he occupies in the European institutions.

The inherent tension between traditionalist values and values of European institutions, is frequently reflected in the dilemma presented to a bureaucratic leader. Should he obey the call of the tribe and his cultural group, or should he harken to the uncompromising demands of the bureaucratic system that gives him his economic livelihood and his social status? The dilemma, in the case of some Maori bureaucratic leaders is not fully resolved except by resignation or the total identification with the values, ideals and policies of the bureaucratic system. The vast majority seem however to be able to find a solution by the exercise of leisure time duties in the interests primarily, of the Maori group.

While the general rule for bureaucrats is to gain promotion within the system, many Maori bureaucratic leaders have come into the government from outside. This is permissible by regulation. Frequently Maori leaders who have made their mark in other spheres of activity in the Maori field, providing they
secure the sufficient support and influence from the heads of the system, transfer into important positions in the bureaucratic system. Many of the present day Maori bureaucratic leaders have secured their positions in this way. By personality, outlook, training and experience they are considered worthy to hold a place in the system. This tendency to carry over basic status factors from one position to another is significant in building up the prestige of the bureaucratic leader in his new job.

**Role**

We have seen that the bureaucratic leader gains his status largely through membership of European institutions. This is fundamental. Given such a background his main function is to represent the European to the Maori. In this respect he faces in one direction, for only incidentally does he become the mouth-piece of the Maori to the European. Clustered around his position are European values and ideas, reinforced by the appropriate European symbols, speech, dress, signs of prosperity and decorous behaviour. Situated in this way the bureaucratic leader may then be regarded as the agent of change per excellence, especially in so far as that change is directed by the European. Put another way, his role may be seen as that of transferring European values and ideas into Maori traditionalist society. Now this transmission of European values must not be considered in any static or passive sense, the whole process is dynamic, for the final aim is the assimilation of the Maori into the ways of the European.

**Some Illustrations**

To-day the Maori Department has increased in size and influence. This is partly due to the fact that the functions of government are being extended over a wider area of Maori life. The Welfare State in New Zealand encourages the control by government of activities generally reserved for the smaller and more informal organisations. For instance, the Welfare Division of the Maori Department aims at the systematic supervision of the social and

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1. This tendency to transfer prestige is familiar to the reader from discussions in the section on Traditionalist Society.
economic affairs of the Maori people. With a very few exceptions, personnel in the Welfare Division is Maori. This includes the holders of the highest positions. The controller of Maori welfare is Rāngi Royal of Ngatiraukawa and Hauraki. The assistant controller, C.H. Bennett, is from Te Arawa. Among the female Welfare Officers are people like Mira Petricevich, (Maori-Dalmation), Mrs. Rumatiki Wright and other well-known national figures. Senior District Welfare Officers are men like Himi Henare of Ngathine, Peter Awaters of Ngatiporou, Tony Barrett of Ngaitahu and others. The local Welfare Officers too are men considered highly in Maori communities. One may mention Waka Clarke who comes from the chiefly lines of Ngatiporou, Kelly Harris of Ngatikahungunu, Hei Rogers of Ngapuhi, Viv Nicholls of Hauraki and Tainui. These people have been brought forward and have been ascribed status by virtue of their positions. They are men too who possess adequate European skills for their work. Whether they are conscious of it or not, and apart altogether from any personal feeling which they may have toward the significance of their positions, they are as a matter of fact integral parts of the system which gives them their job. One suspects in studying these men that in actual practice they tend to feel the conflict between what they think as Maori and what they are required to do as members of European institutions. In other cases known to the Writer, it has been impossible to effect a satisfactory compromise. The result has been the resignation of bureaucratic leaders from their positions in the system. On the other hand some working arrangements may be achieved by the pursuit of outside interests and activities by these persons. In this way they tend to move alternatively in the European and the Maori societies.

One notes also in the above random samples the tendency for successful leaders to operate in their own respective tribal districts. For instance Waka Clark is undoubtedly a leader in the

2. Sociologists have tried to classify bureaucratic leaders. For example Reissman gives 4 kinds: (1) Functional who seeks recognition from outside the bureaucracy and avoids identification with the office group. (2) Specialist who seeks recognition from within his department and advancement through the bureaucracy. (3) Service bureaucrat who seeks recognition from a group outside the bureaucracy. (4) Job bureaucrat totally immersed within the structure. When applied to the Maori situation the important points are the bureaucratic leader seeking recognition, outside from the Maori people and inside from European institutions. (Reissman, L., A Study of Role Conceptions in Bureaucracy, in Social Forces, March, 1949.)
Auckland Maori community. But this fact arises not so much from his superior kinship background and its acknowledgment, but rather because the Maori community in Auckland is so cosmopolitan and he is a Welfare Officer. In the same district Himi Henare was appointed District Welfare Officer over the head of Waka Clark and his success rests on the fact that the majority of the Auckland Maori community belongs to his own tribe and it was convenient for this reason that he should receive senior administrative position. Himi Henare, however, is a competent administrator in his own rights. The policy of appointing persons with kinship affiliations as bureaucratic leaders in various districts has been proved to be sound because it has assured initial acceptance of such leaders and their programmes.

Again with the examples given and others ready to hand we may see how that men who have gained status in one sphere may transfer with prestige into a bureaucratic position. For instance, Himi Henare, C.M. Bennett, Peter Awatere, were all commanders of the Maori Battalion, while Tony Barrett and Bangi Royal were army officers who were decorated for gallantry. The mana gained on the battlefield readily transferred into that of peace time activities. Mira Petricevich was the first Maori woman to gain a university degree and she was also the first to be awarded an overseas scholarship. In addition she took part in a national New Zealand beauty contest. The mana of these attainments undoubtedly reflected themselves in her position as Maori Welfare Officer. Mrs. Rumstiki Wright had won fame as a leader among her own and neighbouring tribes in the field of Women and Children's Welfare. In her case too prestige in one sphere helped to gain enhanced status in another.

The highest position held by a Maori in a government department is that of under secretary of Maori Affairs. Tipi Ropiha the holder of the office, at present, comes from Ngatikahungunu. He was an important officer in another government department. He gained his position partly through his own technical efficiency for the job required to be done and partly because of the political situation which reigned supreme at the time. Briefly, Labour Government policy showed liberality in the appointment of Maori personnel to the highest positions, because the Maori vote was important to Labour.

In the case of Tipi Ropiha ethnic affiliations rather than
Kinship was an important factor in assuring acceptability for him in Maori communities. The whole Maori people was buoyant with expectation for a change in the character and policy of the bureaucratic system on the appointment of a Maori as under secretary. Such changes however do not readily occur in bureaucratic systems and though restricted in his movements, the under secretary is attempting as best he can to effect a compromise between the diverse claims and his important position. Ropih'a's personality, background and training all help him to become fitted into his position as a bureaucratic leader. The Writer well remembers when a recently devised Maori Land Legislation came under discussion by Maori groups, how that the official advice from the Department was that the Writer should use all his powers to persuade the Waikato tribes to accept the legislation. This same tendency to conform which is a feature of the bureaucratic leader may be illustrated further from the case of another Maori of senior descent from certain important tribes in the North Island. This person was first of all a Maori land agent. There he took full part in the social and municipal life of the European township, being a member of the hospital board, and the local masonic lodge. Though he was a member of another tribe his possession of European skills and his membership in European institutions did enhance his reputation among the Maori people of the district. Now this person was not only thoroughly efficient, but he had the mind and personality of a potential bureaucratic leader. He was logical in his methods with a tendency toward the impersonal in his dealings with the Maori public, and he sincerely subscribed to the view that the Maori should be assimilated into the European as quickly as possible. That was the reason for his constant patronage of European institutions. His next step up the Bureaucratic ladder was his appointment as private secretary to the Minister of Maori Affairs. Here was a position in which he fairly and squarely faced Maori society on behalf of the European. The success with which he performed his functions is seen in his next promotion as liaison officer between the Prime Minister and the Maori people, a position that was especially created for him. At this stage he undoubtedly became the most powerful person in the Maori world. The weakness of the elected representatives of the Maori people at the time combined with the efficiency and personality of the leader concerned compelled the government to rely entirely upon the advice and guidance of the latter. Two personal experiences which the Writer had with him will show the bureaucratic leader at work. For some years the state had attempted to purchase the remnants of Maori land at Orakei, suburb of the Auckland City. In the absence of the Prime Minister, the bureaucratic leader negotiated for the government. The Writer, who was present at the discussion noted the very dogmatic manner in which the government case was stated; not only did this leader speak for the Prime Minister personally, but one felt that he considered himself to possess the same powers as the Prime Minister. The second instance occurred in the Writer's own tribal district over the purchase by the government of some ancestral land which was proposed to be set up as a tourist resort.
The Maori people had refused to sell the land though it had no particular practical value to them. The person concerned arrived on the scene and immediately commenced negotiations. In this case too, though he did not meet with success, his whole manner, bearing and approach were full of self-assurance and dogmatism. He was there as the very mouthpiece of the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and despite the objections and the arguments put up by the local people, the bureaucratic leader never once swerved from his main purpose.

The two instances given show in the first place the power of the system to compel the individual to conform to its pattern, and second they show the kind of personality that is evolved to assure the functioning of the system. It may, of course, be argued that both the Maori bureaucrats referred to were sufficiently high up in the system to influence the actual making of policy. Facts, however, rather deny this possibility and stress the rigidity of European values and influence in the actual making of policy.

When a Maori was appointed Under Secretary of Maori Affairs it was thought that at long last the Maori Department would become a vehicle for the expression of the Maori point of view. This was a mistaken view because by its very nature European sponsored institutions of a bureaucratic character must necessarily channel the policy originated by the European. In order to hold his position, a bureaucratic leader must needs conform to the demands of the system. In other words he must become a Pakeha - European - in outlook. The alternative course left for him is to resign; and when he accepts the policy he identifies himself with the aims and purposes of the bureaucratic system.

A process of checking and counter-checking of responsible Maori bureaucratic leaders in a government department is alleged to the Writer by fairly reliable informants. However the matter requires a far more intensive investigation than has been possible for the present study, because of the tendency of personal prejudices to colour the opinions of the persons concerned.

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2. The Writer was secretary of the Waitemata Tribal Executive, Auckland, a body that was linked to the Welfare Division of the Maori Department. Formerly the Tribal Committees and Executives had direct access to the Maori Minister through the Controller of Maori Welfare, Wellington. Recently, this direct access has been closed. The local Registrar of the Maori Department is now the point of contact with the Minister. Decentralisation may or may not be a product of the checking process.
Only a very tentative statement can therefore be made on these matters for the moment. The techniques of ensuring conformity to regulations are, of course, necessary parts of the apparatus of any bureaucratic system, whether the Maori Department, the church, etc. in order to guarantee its continued functioning. However, the allegation is of particular relevance to our study of the bureaucratic leader for three reasons. In the first place, the apparent failure of Maori bureaucratic leaders to give expression to Maori viewpoints in policies is a logical outcome of their position, and may not necessarily convey any hints of their own personal wishes or desires. The constant checking holds them in place. In the second place, such counterchecking may reveal the existence of European suspicions concerning the particular tendencies and biases of Maori bureaucratic leaders which are largely culturally determined; and therefore calling for the safeguarding methods of checks in order to prevent any really extreme departures from normal practice. In the third place, the application of checks would seem to support at least indirectly the underlying thesis in the present discussion, namely that the bureaucratic system substantially embodies the policy of the dominant European in power or at any rate, a policy originating from the European, one which he considers to be right, good and proper for the Maori. Further light may be cast on these aspects by the consideration of the case of the Maori leader who rose in the bureaucratic scale, as a civil servant under one political regime to a position of great command and influence with rather unique free-lance duties in Maori affairs. Change of government with the consequent change in policy saw not only the abolition of the office occupied by the leader concerned, but also his relegation to another position in which his influence in policy was nil.

The church, too, as has been stated, offers a social context for the Maori bureaucratic leader. One thinks of the Revs. T. Haddon

1. It should be stressed that this viewpoint is the result of the logical application of the analytical concepts outlined in the theoretical section of this study. The Writer's own personal views are altogether apart from the present submissions.

2. Cf. Ngata, The Maori People Today, p.149-150 suggests a clash in viewpoints as between Maori and European emerging in the land developmental work of the Maori Department.
and E. Te Tuhi, Maori superintendents of the Methodist Maori Mission, of Bishops Bennett and Panapa of the Anglican Church and other outstanding members of the Maori clergy scattered throughout the tribes. The sanction of their positions is rooted in the doctrine of ordination administered by the European officers of the Church. To varying degrees they have been technically trained to an appreciation of the values evolved in the system. Traditionally too their families and tribes have been associated with these churches while, with the exception possibly of the Rev. Haddon, they were nurtured in the faith. In other words, these men had become in their thinking, in their living and in their feelings identified with the church systems which they served. In this way they gained their status and acquired their special functions. The symbols of their status are those determined by the church system, consisting of special clerical garb, etc. Their possession too of European skills, such as facility in the English language, knowledge of scripture, all added to status. Both the Rev. Haddon and Bishop Bennett were outstanding orators. However, one suspects from a close study of both their English and their Maori sermons that the Maori language is constantly made subservient as a venue of expression of European ideas, sentiments and values. For instance, Maori oratory, as used by these men is different from that used by a Kaumatua leader or a Tohunga, for the whole set of concepts in the former case comes from the European.

In spite of the fact that they frequently express sympathy with Maori ideals, these men rightly belong to the category of the European sponsored leaders. Their main function is to transmit European Christian values into Maori society so that the latter is assimilated into the former. Furthermore, these men are purveyors, not makers of policy. Recourse to the data may perhaps clarify this point.

There have often been attempts made by the Maori lay members of the Methodist Church to change or amend certain parts of church policy

1. The Writer knew all these men personally.
so as to conform more closely with Maori desires and ambitions. This agitation has been met sometimes directly with a negative, more frequently indirectly by a deliberate evasion of the issue. Then the fact that the Maori clergy as such in the Methodist Church has no voice in the policy making bodies of the church, renders any endeavour to express the Maori point of view quite impossible. 1 In the Anglican Church the agitation for the appointment of a Maori Bishop was fairly prolonged. The European point of view saw no necessity for this innovation and at first Maori leaders sought a compromise through the appointment of a European holder of the office. Other Maori leaders, however, insisted on the Maori Bishop being in fact a Maori. The clash over this matter was resolved by the appointment of a Maori but the reduction of the position itself to the status of suffragan to a European Bishop in a European Diocese. 2

Despite these and other adjustments of the European sponsored policy in the church system, the general trend remains constant and that is, the policy is devised by the European for the Maori. The Maori bureaucratic leader accepts such a policy.

When we come to the professional men and the academics, we see the factors we have mentioned well exemplified. The Writer has in mind in particular a Maori dentist and a Maori doctor.

The Maori dentist comes of a high born family in an important tribe. Since the war he qualified as a dentist, married a European wife and started a practice in the city of Auckland. All his patients are European, and all his interests are set in the circle of European ideas and values. Although he has superior Maori kinship connections, he is not interested in Maori affairs. Of course as a member of a profession he is thought highly of by Maori and European alike, but he makes no conscious attempt to influence Maori affairs.

The other man is a medical doctor to whom his Maori background has little significance. At the beginning he settled in a Maori community with the express purpose of providing leadership in the social and medical fields. After a period, however, his Maori clientele decreased while the number of his European patients increased. At the present time this doctor has only a very few Maori patients coming to him in a community with a very large proportion of Maori people. The reason for this change is obvious. At first the Maori community was glad to have a Maori doctor. Although he belonged to another tribe, he had shown by his qualifications that he, a Maori, was able to compete successfully with the European in the field of a learned profession. It is only fair to add too that this particular doctor was also a representative rugby footballer, a source of glamour prestige in Maori communities. A further prestige factor among a section of the people was the official

1. The Writer was a member of the Maori section of the Methodist Synods and Conference held in Waikato and Auckland on various occasions.
2. Ramsden, Sir Apirana Ngata and Maori Culture, op.cit., information in a letter from Bishop W.N. Panapa, op.cit.
position the doctor held in a church organisation. In actual fact he was a far more enthusiastic supporter of his church ideals than he was a keen medical man. A brief summary concerning this doctor, in what is admittedly quite a complicated situation, is that he holds very definite views concerning the assimilation of European values and ideals by the Maori. The Maori, he says, must conform to the standards of the European, and on such a point there can be no compromise. His relationship with the Maori community is not simplified by his assumption of the role of a propagandist on behalf of a particular church system which further emphasises his position as a bureaucratic leader. The Maori doctor turned to the far more congenial atmosphere of a European practice while the Maori people themselves continued their way along a course that pleased them.

On the other hand, and this may apply to all the bureaucratic leaders we have discussed, Maori groups do retain an open mind concerning European ideals and values, providing these are transmitted in a manner that has respect for Maori sensitivities. The process of transferring European ideals into Maori society through the bureaucratic or any other kind of leader is constantly occurring — for Maori society is in fact conforming to the standards and requirements of the dominant European. That is not the issue under discussion at present, but rather the fact, that the bureaucratic leader as such finds his status primarily in a European institution and carries out as an essential duty the assimilation of Maori society, transmitting into it European values and ideals.

A reference to one or two academics would reveal similar aspects to those we have mentioned. A Maori with a university degree has a certain status in the eyes of the Maori people. The scarcity value of academic attainment by a Maori, his successful competition with Europeans in European sponsored fields, a possession of European knowledge and skills and his association with the 'Houses of Higher Learning' of the European (Whare Wananga), all these add to the prestige of the academic. As with the professional person, so with the academic, the possibility of a two way movement is very great. The academic may choose to work either in a Maori sphere, or in a purely European one. The bureaucratic leader of the academic kind is the person who willingly chooses a position generally in the government as a means of lifting the Maori to the level of the European.

T.R. gained his B.Comm. degree while working in a government department, and he married a European wife, settled among Europeans and joined various European societies. All his values, sentiment and ideals were European and he had little patience for such movements as the
revival of Maori culture. According to him the most important aim for any Maori was to secure an economic standard of living of the same level as Europeans. This was fundamental, and its achievement required the full adoption by the Maori of the techniques and methods of the European. Assimilation of the Maori into the European was not only a desirable goal but it was already a foregone conclusion. His kinship background was quite sound, while his father and other members of his family were all supporters of tribal projects and ceremonial life. However, by training, early experience, and later association with the European, he himself had adopted the European point of view. He has, on occasions, moved quite freely within Maori organisations and his specialised knowledge has been a most useful asset to those bodies. T.D. is a bureaucratic leader because he is set within the context of the European system and as such he deliberately transmits their values with the aim of assimilating Maori traditionalist society.

We shall leave our sketch of the Maori Bureaucratic Leader at this point. We have in the main discussed four sub-divisions within the bureaucratic structure, the civil servants, the clergy, professional men and the academics, all of whom carry potential status as leaders. They are endowed with the mana of European institutions and their particular kind of work takes them into Maori communities. By virtue of their positions and the skills which they exercise, the Maori people regard them as leaders in matters of European concernment. The European institutions which support them - the government department and the church in particular - also regard them as leaders, leaders in the sense that their task is to bring the Maori people to an acceptance of those values and ideals which the European consider to be good for the Maori. Strictly speaking, kinship is irrelevant as a factor in this bureaucratic status. The value of kinship, and this also applies to general ethnic affiliations, is in the way that Maori people will accept innovations from the European side more readily through their own relatives and their own people. However, these persons are essentially bureaucratic leaders because they channel values, ideals and policies originated by the European, in one direction from European institutions into Maori society.
CHAPTER 14

General Conclusions.

The problem set for the study was to discover what had happened to Maori leadership and its social context since the coming of the European. We have tried to analyse specific periods of time with this object in view, and many of the changes are clearly implied throughout the investigation and need not further occupy our attention. There are however, several main themes that may well be given emphasis at this stage.

1. Contextual Background.

The process of social change has introduced new interests, values and institutions into Maori society, and, as a result, Maori society has become extensively proliferated. Associational formations arising from specialised interests are found, providing a background for Maori leadership. But more - Maori society is no longer an isolated entity, it is merging to become a close integral part of the wider New Zealand society. With this intimate relationship it is inevitable that Maori society should continue to draw upon the resources, institutions and value systems of European society, and thus to affect the basic structure of Maori leadership.

2. Classes of Leaders.

The most obvious effect of social change on Maori leadership is the multiplication of classes of leaders. Traditional society supported a fourfold hierarchy of leadership classes, the ariki, the rangatira, the kaumatua, and the tohunga. These classes were separated by easy genealogical distance, which instead of absolutely separating one class from the other, actually brought them together.
The bonds were primarily those of kinship. Today the ariki is on the decline, the rangatira has disappeared, while the tohunga continues a spasmodic existence. The kaumatua is the most persistent and universally found class of leader left over from traditionalist society, but with the increase of associational formations which we have mentioned above, we find a corresponding increase in classes of specialised leaders. The relationship between the specialist classes of leaders and the more traditional kinds is one both of co-operation and conflict, characterised by a differentiation of functions and a delegation of authority with the former depth of hierarchical positions reduced to a minimum, or eliminated altogether. Whether the relationship is one of co-operation, or of conflict, depends upon the situation in which the leadership classes find themselves. In one situation the Educated Person stands subordinate in the advisory capacity to the ariki and kaumatua, and in another situation the educated leader comes to the fore, while the ariki and the kaumatua stand in the background and assume a symbolic function.

3. Bases of Authority.

Another reason for the multiplicity in Maori leadership classes is the change which has occurred in the kind of factors from which leadership status stems. The shifts in the bases of authority in the situation of social change may be summarised, as follows:

(a) Kinship: Superior kinship or primogeniture is now only rarely a significant factor in leadership construction, found in those areas where the integration of tribal organisation for various reasons, is high. Even in those parts, the differentiation of functions which lead to a delegation of authority is very marked.
Superior kinship performs symbolic functions, while the more active political roles are exercised by specialists possessing the required skills. Although superior kinship may not be as significant as in pre-European times, general kinship is important as an initiatory factor in leadership. A person with the right kinship connections to a subtribe or tribe is placed on a rung of the ladder that ascends to leadership status. Once general kinship is acquired by birth or frequently indirectly by a generous manipulation of the genealogies, the person concerned must then be supported by specific skills required in certain situations. Otherwise such general kinship avails little in giving the necessary superordinate status of leadership. The initiatory role of general kinship may sometimes be substituted for by ethnic identity or affiliation, but even there the extra specific skills are also essential to status elevation.

(b) Maori Values and Skills.

General kinship and ethnic affiliation in their turn must be geared not only to special skills, but also to Maori values and ideals. Often Europeans are accepted as leaders in Maori groups because they embody Maori values, although this is very rare, and such leaders do not fall within our definition of Maori leadership. But Maori values while possible of oral expression, must ultimately declare themselves in the practice of some corresponding skill or activity. It is this outward and utilitarian expression of Maori values that is important in the making of status.

(c) Wealth: Wealth is not as yet per se, raison d'être, for Maori leadership. There is admiration and frequently an attitude of awe, toward a wealthy Maori, but such a
possession of wealth is not by itself a passport to Maori leadership. Wealth must be supplemented by kinship association, and must also be harnessed to Maori values and skills. In other words, wealth is only a stepping stone to leadership when it aids in the promotion of communal projects affecting the welfare and reputation of the tribe or subtribe. In this way, the wealthy man takes his place as a father of the group, and may then be ascribed leadership status.

On the other hand, wealth is quite essential to the maintenance of a position of leadership similar for instance, to that of the Ariki. In olden times the economic factor was necessary for the provision of facilities required by his position. The modern economic system demands a ready source of money supply to be accessible to men of rank to enable them to provide amenities for visitors and guests. In this way wealth helps to maintain, but does not necessarily create, positions of leadership.

(d) Education: A similar principle applies to a person of education as to one with wealth. Both wealth and education have somewhat opposite effects - they may either help a person to become a leader, or they may turn him into an outcast from his group. Education, while invoking respect, a sense of awe and admiration, and while also giving a trained mind and an acquisition of European skills, must nevertheless be linked to Maori ideals in some practical form before it brings a person into positions of leadership. The crux of the matter is the expression of Maori ideals and values. Both the wealthy and the educated person have special temptations in New Zealand society, to move over and find their satisfactions among the Europeans. When this happens, they then lose status in Maori society.
(e) **Membership in a group:** The present study has revolved around the definition of leadership as an aspect of society. Society may express itself in the form of informal groups as well as in a formal organisation. Leadership is therefore, inseparable from a system of some kind. Its status comes from membership in a group, but the formalisation of positions in a group, or organisation, strengthens the status of the leader and may easily be regarded in modern times as itself a factor in authority. The personal qualities of individual persons are often irrelevant if they do not have membership in a group, and they do not express the values considered worthwhile by the group. Formalisation of the position makes up for the lack in personal qualities.

(f) **European Institutions:** European institutions are important sources of status for Maori leadership but, here again, the real effectiveness of such leadership depends upon the intimate association with Maori ideals and values. For this reason European institutions may utilise Maori methods, techniques, and a semblance of appreciation of Maori culture in order to gain full acceptance for the leadership which they sponsor. The combination of the European institutional background and Maori associations helps in giving leadership status.

(g) **The Charisma:** The charisma as a basis of status enters into the leadership structure of the modern tohunga and acknowledges neither bounds of kinship nor limitations of knowledge. However all leaders may be attributed an element of the charismatic, being regarded as successors to men of high degree, or as themselves men of destiny, particularly in rationalising their positions or their achievements.
4. Roles of the Leader.

Just as there have been shifts within the bases of authority, so there have been certain changes in the distribution of roles among the classes of leaders.

(a) Symbolic Function: The leadership classes which have survived from traditional society perform as a main function the focussing of Maori values and ideals. They hold the torch of cultural integrity. They witness to the validity of 'te mana Maori'. They may, or may not be leaders of superior kinship background. They may become national representatives, symbol of the ambitions of the Maori people for self-determination and group expression. They are conservative of the values of their society. Some among them may exercise more active roles, requiring the performance of Maori skills, but in the main they stand for those things in the modern world to which the Maori clings to help him keep his sanity in what for him is a confused and confusing world.

(b) Mediational Role: Other classes of leaders may perform the major role of mediation between the two societies. Here the function is to interpret the Maori to the European, and the European to the Maori. Generally these leaders attempt to live in two worlds, with their major interests on the European side.

(c) Transmission of European Values: Mediational leaders are only doing quietly and apparently passively what other leaders are doing more aggressively, and that is transmitting European values into Maori society. There is of course, no real need for this aggressive transmission, for Maori society is wide open and European society transmits its values through every available channel. Some classes of Maori leaders are specific about changing Maori society as quickly as possible into the pattern of European society - rapid assimilation is the goal.
(d) Protest and Adjustment: Maori leaders again may be found who protest against European encroachment. Generally those who perform symbolic roles at the same time embody elements of protest in their positions. Protest may, or may not be directly expressed. Maori leaders in the main favour the adjustment of Maori society in a constructive fashion, but they may protest just as strongly against the indiscriminate assimilation of European methods and techniques. The function here, is one of refashioning the core of Maori society to suit modern demands.

(e) Group Leadership Role. With the breakdown of the traditional hierarchy of leadership, which in fact was not so excessively articulated as in other more rigid social systems, group leadership, that is, a collectivity of leadership classes, is assuming greater importance. Maori leaders in this respect stress the equality of their positions, the collective nature of their relationships and the need to act in concert. The Maori Women's Welfare League, the Maori Sub-Commission of the National Council of Churches, and the Ratana movement are examples of the kind of group leadership that is meant. In their role as leadership collectivities they tend also to represent the Maori people as a whole in the negotiations with the European. In such a capacity, these groups inevitably express their sympathies with the Maori side, and speak with a united voice in the issues that affect the Maori people.
CHAPTER 15

The Modern Leader and his Philosophy\(^1\): A Personal Note

One is struck in the study of Maori leadership in both the pre-European and the post-European eras, with the massive strength of the value patterns, the fundamental convictions which dominated the thinking and work of Maori leaders. In traditional society the leader's ideology was imposed by the cultural values of his society. He embodied the whole spirit of the society which subjected all activities to the maintenance of that society, and the reinforcement of tribal and chiefly status. The methods used to carry this vision through were conflict, rivalry and opposition. The training and education of the chiefs and their influence at the head of the social structure were directed towards one end - the uplift of prestige, and the preservation of the tribe or subtribe.

The coming of the European heralding the interaction between the two cultures brought an almost unlimited extension to the horizon of the chiefs. From his pinnacle he surveyed the culture of the European and he recognised the features that would be useful to him. The chiefs borrowed from European culture, not in any servile fashion, but in full appreciation of the utility of certain features for his own purposes - not the purposes of the European. Chiefs, such as Ruatara, saw the need to adapt Maori culture by incorporating the techniques, etc. of the European. Tamati Waka Nene too realised early how important to the Maori people were the material goods and institutions that came from the European. They were alternative and more efficient ways of meeting the old needs. Adaptation was the principle that guided the interaction between the two societies because of the vision of the chiefs.

Hongi and Te Rauparaha had their visions and their plans.

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Hongi we are told, desired to gain control of the whole country in emulation of the European sovereign powers. Te Rauparaha too, had similar plans, the subjugation of other tribes, and the establishment of the mana of Ngatitoe.

Wiremu Tamihana had his dream - made concrete in the Maori King Movement - to block the flow of blood - hei puru i te toto - to create order and stability in a disorganised society, and to preserve the cultural integrity of the Maori people. Te Kooti Rikirangi, Te Whiti and Tohu, Titokowaru, and Te Ua Haumene, the order of charismatic leaders, looked to the supernatural for their dreams and visions, and as they gazed upwards midst the European pressures on land, the foundation of Maori culture, they heard voices that gave them hope and light in a darkened world. New Zealand was the land of promise in which the new society was to be built and the Maori people were to be restored to their former glorious estate, controlling the European, his goods, and institutions.

Then came the greatest leaders of all - the modern aristocrats of knowledge, Ngata, Pomare, Carroll, Bennett and Buck. These men saw their visions, the adjustment of Maori society to accord with New Zealand standards, the retention of the best in the old culture, and the achievement for the Maori and his culture of a worthy status in the wider society. That philosophy not only focussed the longings of the Maori people, but provides the leader of the present and the future with a blue-print to guide him.

The question might be asked, what is the philosophy for the leader in the future? The answer to this question must first of all be determined by personal and individual considerations, and then by some insight into the fundamental features of the inter-relationships between Maori and European societies. Some sort of basic evaluation of the nature of his work, and the goal toward which he is taking the people, must necessarily enter the purview of the Maori leader of the future. Leadership assumes not only followership, but also some objective toward which the followers are being led. The goal of the leader is related intimately to his personal, individual set of values,
and to those dynamic areas of experience constituting the process of interaction between Maori and European Societies. The distinctive pattern of ideals fixed within the framework of Maori Society and the standards and techniques that constitute European social activity also supply the raw materials that contribute to the formulation of the leader's philosophy. Space only permits for a direct consideration of the leader's personal value system, though this does not evolve in a vacuum but in a social situation as a result of the interplay of the various factors mentioned above.

What is a person's standards of values, what is the goal that a leader has set up for his own life, what are the dominant principles according to which he makes his preferences in choosing courses of action, in attributing priorities in his thinking, and in making his daily judgments? These may be identified not only in a consistent body of theory that logically satisfies the human intellect, but also observed in the overt behaviour scheme of individuals and groups. For instance, the leader may desire above all to be economically sound - the making of money will therefore be the focus of his pattern of values. This will determine his educational equipment, his choice of a career, his preference of friends, his arrangement of work programme in relation to leisure activities and so on. He may not be so materialistically ambitious, he may consider an academic career as the most satisfying to his desire for status and esteem. He will then organise his whole life and career in such a way as to enable him to pursue this course. He may be a Christian and adopt the Christian philosophy, in the belief, 'that man shall not live by bread alone'... He will stress spiritual values, ethical conduct, high morality and godliness. Righteousness to him exalteth a nation. Service to the Maori people will be a paramount motive. He may remain in the church as the avenue of service, or he may enter education, social welfare work, or even parliament.

These in fact are examples of the goals that are being delineated to the Maori leader by European society. There is a multitude of voices - sirens - that call the modern Maori
leader, and his choice will generally determine his philosophy for leadership. His basic philosophy of life will help in the construction of the vision toward which he will lead the Maori people.

It is important at this stage to discriminate on the one hand between the goal, the underlying motivations and ideals of a leader, and on the other the techniques and methods he will use to take him toward his goal. The methods, of course, will be governed by the nature of the goal in view, but methods are means to an end, not the end itself. The problem posed to a leader must be then, what is your own standard of values - what are the most important things in life to you?

The Writer himself is unable to find an appropriate alternative to the Christian philosophy as offering the most emotionally satisfying way of life and a body of doctrines that gives meaning to the paradoxes of human existence. Some social anthropologists who eschew the teaching of their cross-cousins the social philosophers, would disagree with this a priori statement, because of the implied belief in an absolute value system in view of his emphasis rather upon the principle of the relativety of values, and the purely sociological functions of religious belief. While the study of a diversity of pre-literate societies viewed from a rationalistic standpoint would seem to support the relativist school of thought, one cannot help wondering whether the social anthropologist is not rather confining his purview of reality, in his attempt to be consistently logical. The cultural details of societies differ, content systems vary, but to use a familiar analogy, these are organisational features that do not affect the structural fundamentals of wrongness, rightness, goodness and badness. The diverse cultural features, the organisational patterns may vary, but the massive structural absolutes remain.

If this general statement is true, and if for instance, the Christian ideal is an expression of the highest good known to man, however theologically explained, then that ideal must
be the personal credo of the leader. The logical inference from this is that Christ, the leader of men, is his example and guide. That was the conviction of men like Tamehana, the great Maori Statesman, of Te Kooti, the Charismatic leader, of Ngata, the aristocrat of knowledge, and of Bennett, a Maori bureaucrat and the first Bishop of Aotearoa. Given that personal vision then, the Maori leader must take the people along a pathway that Marsden, the missionary pioneer, visualised for them, in the form of Christian nationhood.1

Such a personal and collective goal will determine the personality of the leader himself, his qualities of mind, body and spirit, and the nature of the relationship between him and the people he aims to lead. His methods too will be in accordance with that ideal, for he knows that the end never really justifies the means.

He will primarily be in the category of a Maori-European sponsored type of leader. The reason for this is that Maori leadership, as we have seen, embodies Maori values and sentiments. He cannot lead if he does not become one with the people, but then in a new world he does not lead fully either if he is not apart from the people. His membership in European society, his possession of European skills in a world that is largely European are essential features. Such a person will therefore be bicultural and bilingual. He selects the best from each culture and he would wish the people to do the same. Here he is learning from the other great leaders, Ngata, and others who advocated not the annihilation of Maori culture, nor the rejection of European society, but the construction of a way of life that is constituted of both cultures.

He will not agree with Beaglehole2, who advocates the change from a Maori to a European character structure, in order that the Maori may gain some of the acquisitive qualities of the European, for such qualities are condemned by other sections

1. Elder J.R. Letters, op. cit.,
The Present and Future - Diversity in Unity.
of European society. Neither will he speak glibly of doing the impossible, rejecting European cultural features. His philosophy then, in brief, is best summed up in the advice given by the late Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata, to a granddaughter of the late Bishop Bennett.¹

'E tipu, E Rea, mo nga ra o te so
Ko to ringa ki nga rakau a te pakeha
Hei ara mo to tinana
Ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna,
Hei tikitiki mo to matenga,
Ko to wairua ki Te Atua,
Nana nei nga mea katoa.

... ...

Grow up, Oh tender plant in the mould of your day and age,
with your hands grasping the arts of the pakeha for your workly support,
your thoughts ever mindful of the treasures of your ancestors resting like a proud diadem upon your brown, and your soul dedicated to God, Creator of all things.

... ...

The man himself will be possessed with integrity, a sense of service, unselfishness, and a Christlike spirit of humility. Added to these will be a keen mind which is trained in the techniques of the social scientist; he will look at problems objectively, weigh issues, will be able to separate the true from the false, and so disentangle the strands of social processes, but at the same time he will think, feel and act as a member of Maori society. He will be a Christian sociologist. The cradle of this kind of creative leader of thought is not in the University alone, but in the University supported by the Church.

KA HEKE. x


x End of Orator's peroration - 'Tis finished.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>American Anthropologist</td>
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<td>A to J</td>
<td>Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives</td>
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<td>DMB</td>
<td>Dominion Museum Bulletin</td>
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<td>JPS</td>
<td>Journal of the Polynesian Society</td>
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<td>JRAI</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</td>
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<td>JRSA</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Society of Arts</td>
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<td>TNZI</td>
<td>Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute</td>
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SOME NOTES ON THE USE OF THE MAORI LANGUAGE

1. The meaning of the Maori text may be gathered from the context and from the translation and paraphrases given.

2. The current practice regarding the form of tribal names which include the special prefixes Nga-, Ngati, Aitanga-a- etc is not yet standardized. Some Maori linguists use the hyphen(—) to join the prefix to the body of the name, others dispense with the hyphen and write the prefix as an integral part of the name. For convenience, the second practice is preferred here, although the alternative usage is also given.

3. Dialectical differences are kept down to a minimum, the Waikato language being followed here. In a few places one may find tipuna instead of tupuna and other examples of alternative spelling. These are left in when an extract is quoted verbatim.

4. The word Pakeha is widely used in New Zealand for non-Maori or European. The present writer has adopted the term European when referring to persons other than Maori.

5. While the emphasis in the study is sociological rather than linguistic, the writer adds a non-scientific description of Maori sounds for those who may be interested:

   a. Vowels: a, e, i, o, u. (Only one sound, either short or long, for each)

   b. Consonants: (Always used with a vowel—no Maori syllable ends without a vowel)

      a, ha, ka, ma, na, pa, ra, ta, wa, nga, wha.
      e, he, ke, me, ne, pe, re, te, we, nge, whe.
      i, hi, ki, mi, ni, pi, ri, ti, wi, ngi, whi.
      o, ho, ko, mo, no, po, ro, to, wo, ngo, who.
      u, hu, ku, mu, nu, pu, ru, tu, wa, ngu, whu.

   c. Vowel sounds.

      a as in cut or as in cart
      e as in bet or as in bad
      i as in bit or as in horse beat
      o as in short or as in horse
      u as in boot or as in food.

      (Sometimes the long sound is written in the form of two vowels, or with a mark over the single vowel as... Mataatua or Mataatua.)

   d. The more difficult consonant sounds are:

      nga as in singa—g lost in the nasal sound.
      wha as in what with a little more pressure of the upper lip upon the bottom teeth than in the English equivalent.
      r is more like the Scots r than the English rolled r.
      Roughly the Maori R may be described as constituted of one flip of the tongue in a series of flips that make up a Scots r as heard by the writer's Maori attuned ears in Edinburgh.