Chapter Seven

Now that we're all New Zealanders, how about we do things my way!

Kia Mataara
Nga Whiriwhiri me nga Whitiwhiti

He Iwi Kotahi Tatou
The Treaty of Waitangi was first signed on the afternoon of the 6th of February 1840, in the Bay of Islands at Waitangi.
It did not arise from warfare, as a Treaty of surrender, but was signed in a spirit of goodwill under the reigning conditions of Peace.
The Treaty was a Declaration of the traditional Maori rights of absolute authority over Aotearoa. Within this authority the signing Chiefs generously permitted the Crown a role.
The Treaty document is a statement of this concession and forms the fundamental constitutional basis of the Nation.
The Treaty was signed by the representative Chiefs, in the belief that it documented the natural and inalienable Maori rights of land and resource ownership, self determination and the Maori way of life. Simultaneously the Treaty assured Maori of continuing authority and unrestricted access, over all natural resources of Land, Sky and Sea, including Forests, Lakes and Waterways.
Additionally, the Treaty guaranteed to Maori the same protection and rights as British citizens. It permitted the Crown to act as the sole agent in land dealings. It also required the Crown to establish a lawful and just system of shared Governance, in compliance with the Treaty conditions.
The Treaty of Waitangi re-stated and re-inforced the position and authority of the Chiefs. It confirmed their right to exercise shared control over the powers of Governorship granted to the Crown.
I really enjoyed our Christmas holidays here, Nan! Every room in our little house was shared out among the whanau. Sometimes there were over thirty relations here!

Yeah—bit different from the Smiths down the road. That huge house for only four people—the place must echo!!
Our mates at school always slang off at us Nan—how come Maori families are so big?

Hika! No bigger than some Kobbika families, I know.

It's not quite the same as the Pakeha with Mum, Dad and two point five children.

Anyway, the more the merrier!

Our whanau is made up of that—AND...

Nannie's, koroua, uncles, cousins, aunts, nephews etc.
"We're really lucky!! We've got three other Nannies besides you – and our Pakeha mates have only got two!!"

"You'd better believe it, moko. And our whanau gets even bigger cos when the whanau gets together with other whanau – they make up a HAPU."

"And lots of hapu who are related to a common tupuna make up an 'iwi. The 'iwi was the important group, in te ao Maori."
The iwi co-ordinated military, political and economic affairs.

Different iwi are linked together by the waka, iwi belonged to...

...like Te Arawa and Ngati Tuwharetoa came off the Te Arawa canoe. And that's how we identify ourselves.

Ko te Arawa te waka
Ko Tangaro te maunga
Ko Taupo te moana
Ko Ngati Tuwharetoa te iwi.
Our Whakatauki and our social organisation point to our strong links with the land and birth.

"HAPU also means pregnancy

IWI means tribe and bone."

Whanau means family AND birth...

Nan, if we were grouped in this way—who were the leaders in Maori society?
We had our rangatira—their leadership was based on mana, whakapapa, knowledge, rituals and skills.

A rangatira had to be a knower and a doer.

Rangatira took the lead in certain mahi—

crop planting... canoe making

Usually the matamua of the tuakana line (the Ariki) was looked to for leadership.

Their marriage was very important.

If the eldest didn't have the personality to lead, some responsibilities could be passed on to a younger family member.
Were the chiefs like dictators, Nan?

They couldn't afford to be dictators _moko_— or else they would lose the peoples' support.

Do this! Do that!

And of course, tribal strength was vital in those days—the _iwi_ were important in terms of economic, military and political strength.

(Still are!!)

The opinion of everyone, Kaumataua especially, was taken into account when making decisions.

Korero was vital!!
Nan, we've seen pictures...
of tohunga and rangatira being fed by helpers—were they very tapu?

Their tapu was very powerful. If a rangatira was insulted, it could be avenged years later.

That's for calling me pigfood thirty years ago.

Wow, must've been a few scrapes in those days!!

I'll say!
"True! But our people had a highly developed system of debate and conflict resolution."

By the time the first Pakeha arrived, Iwi were basically settled in various districts—always on guard of course!

Korero mai!

Maori principles of kinship and leadership were very flexible and adaptable.

In 1817, the English passed an Act saying...

New Zealand is not within his Majesty's dominions...

So the Brits got out of having to take responsibility for their peoples crimes in New Zealand.
Then, how came the British Crown finally got involved.

C'mon! The new arrivals are real pains in the @*!!! and they've mucked up our plans for this place. You've got to step in!!

Well, a lot of it was due to the missionaries.

Ok! Ok! From now on, the Governor of New South Wales covers...

any territory which is or might be acquired by Her Majesty the Queen within that group of islands in the Pacific commonly called New Zealand.
THEN IN 1840, GOVERNOR GIPPS
ISSUED A PROCLAMATION
FROM NEW SOUTH WALES.

And I announced
that no land
title in Aotearoa
would be recognised unless
it came from
the Crown.

And I, Hobson —
became the new
Lt. Governor of
Aotearoa!!

Scuse us!!
WERE the
tangata
whenua!!

Huh? Says who?

Do you
mean to
say the
British
moved into
Aotearoa
even before
the Treaty
was signed?

Ae! And Hobson's instructions
were to get Maori agreement to
British sovereignty — it was just
taken for granted that Maori wanted that.
But our tupuna didn't agree to British sovereignty!!

"That's right, tama!"

The Treaty of Waitangi just reaffirmed what was in the Declaration of Independence. That's why we signed it.

The English text of the Treaty talked about a cession of sovereignty.

The Maori text which was what our people signed, confirmed our rangatiratanga. That term—rangatiratanga—was used in the 1835 Declaration of Independence.
The Treaty permitted the Crown to control its own citizens who were being nuisances here in Aotearoa. The Treaty would also uphold Mana Maori.

This sacred covenant was signed with our moko. It will uphold mana Maori and the Maori way of life.

"But... from that time on, Pakeha tried to impose Mana Pakeha over Mana Maori, testing their own monocultural and military power from the early 1840s on."
"How could anyone say that Māori had agreed to that?"

Well, it didn't really matter!

Ya see, luv - if we ever talked about the Treaty at all... Bay of Plenty Tribes found that out. Neither had signed the Treaty. They had a serious fight.

...we only talked about the English text. And under our law, once we'd declared NZ was ours, then it was!

I want to use the law against that lot.

But you can't because British Sovereignty only covers those who agreed to it by signing the Treaty.

The Colonial Office wasn't too impressed. I'm not impressed with this. It's up to us to say who's covered and I've said everyone is... and that's that!!
Wow! Amazing how they think! Good on Hone Heke for standing up to them. He'd be called a Maori radical nowadays.

Chopping this flagpole down is my demonstration of Maori pride.

A new flagpole—yay!!

My gawd! He's done it again—and he's burnt it as well!!

Oh no! What do I put in my report?!

Fitzroy

This is absolutely intolerable! Send in the troops!!

Hone Heke, Kawiti and four hundred warriors marched on Kororareka, into the stockade and...

"Wasted that flagpole ano!!"
But where did Pakeha get the idea that they could get away with all these things, Nan?

Well, dear— we have to go back a long time to understand that.

All aboard the Tardis for a real Dr Who adventure!!!

Many centuries ago in England, the leaders of different tribal clans fought it out...

...until the most powerful one could set himself up as king.
IF HE WAS STRONG, LUCKY AND STOLE ENOUGH LOOT AND TAXES FROM THE PEOPLE... SOMETIMES HE EVEN MANAGED TO HAND OVER HIS POWER TO HIS SON IF HE WAS OLD ENOUGH.

... AND IF HE HAD BEATEN HIS SUBJECTS, HE COULD LAST A LONG TIME!!

Keys to our - cops, kingdom, lad.

Mmm... I'm old enough to take the power, Dad.

THIS MADE LIFE IN THE FAST LANE PRETTY UNPREDICTABLE. IF YOU WERE JUST A PEASANT (AND MOST WERE), NOTHING MUCH CHANGED. YOU JUST GOT RAPED, KILLED OR BEATEN UP BY A DIFFERENT GANG - THAT'S ALL!!
In time, the idea developed that kinship was the right of one particular family...

This is where ideas like the King being appointed by the Bishop came from.

...that's where the word 'dynasty' comes from.

Now, how can I make sure they'll respect my son after me? I know—I'll get the Church to help out.

Kings convinced themselves and their subjects that they'd been chosen by God.

It was called the 'Divine Right of Kings.'
It worked for a while too.

But unfortunately, the king couldn't always be trusted!?!?

There you are—a knighthood for you... an estate for you... a dukedom...

...while nobles handed over the loot or prisoners to the king.

Lots of backstabbing went on! Both ways!! And eventually in 1215, the most powerful men (who couldn't get rid of the king altogether if they hadn't been so scared of the church) forced a particularly slippery king John into an agreement to share power with them:

Magna Carta!!

Fat lot of use the Magna Carta was to us!!
What came out of the
Magna Carta was...
Parliament.

Parliament was the
place where the
balance of power
between the King
and the Barons
was maintained.

No one was elected.
The aristocracy got the seats.
Parliament got control
of the money—
so of course,
the balance
changed.

If Parliament refused to give
the King any money—and it often did,
he couldn’t pay the army
to teach them a lesson.

And once
the King lost control
of money and
army, we got the
English revolution
—when Parliament
actually killed
the King!!

—all by
due process
of the
law!!
The Commonwealth, which they replaced the King with, under Oliver Cromwell, lost popularity after a time too. And Parliament invited the son of the King they'd executed to be King.

C'mon bro—let bygones be bygones!!

But they tied things up so that Charles the 2nd clearly had less power than they did.

And this was the start of what we know now as a constitutional monarchy.

(reduced to a figurehead)

At the same time, the monarchy was restored, the Church—thanks to Henry the 8th—got back together with the state thru the King or Queen.
If the King didn't have real power anymore, did that mean that parliament had it all?

Yep, it was a powerbase for men....

Choice!!

Anyone with a title could get a seat in the House of Lords....

Who were wealthy and owned land.

Goodie!!
Lady Fenella bartwarp hole....

Oh?

.... only they had to be male!!

Any man who owned land or other property worth a certain amount was allowed to vote for members of the House of Commons— and the more you were worth, the more votes you get.

choice system ok! The golden rule—he who has the gold— who has the rules!!

So the same people still controlled it.
A PARTY SYSTEM DEVELOPED...

AND SO DID THE BELIEF THAT DEMOCRACY MEANS MAJORITY RULES...

BY THE TIME THE SO-CALLED AGE OF EXPANSIONISM REACHED AOTEAROA, THE ENGLISH WERE FIRM IN LOTS OF THINGS...

Besides Christianity...

You've had your say — that's democracy, and now we'll just bowl on 'thru'.

Perfected system of Civilised Government
FOR EXPORT
The sun never sets on the British Empire

Englishmen are the best.

We have a duty to civilise the rest of the world.

English ways are what civilisation is all about.

Foreigners are inferior... especially natives.

Foreign languages are inferior and meaningless... and sound funny.

One Englishman is worth 20 foreigners

-- two years in prison for stealing a loaf of bread

English laws and customs are the only PERFECT ones.

We are doing other people a favour by taking over and running things our way because OUR way is best.
SO CONVINCED WERE THE ENGLISH THAT PEOPLE NEEDED THEM TO TAKE OVER...

hey- we'd already convinced the Welsh, Scots and Irish....!!!

... but if persuasion would work they'd give that a go too...

G'day mate!!

... that they were willing to takeover by force (as in America, Africa and Asia)
FROM THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW, FROM 1833 ONWARD, THEY WERE KEEPING AN EYE ON THINGS IN AOTEAROA THROUGH THEIR MAN “BUSBY” WHO WAS RUN FROM NEW SOUTH WALES.

plot!! plot! Must get the natives together... plot! plot! quieten the rabble!... need army... plot! plot! flag... mumble... mumble...

MEANWHILE, BACK IN THE COLONIAL OFFICE...

Isn’t that fellow taking himself a bit too seriously?

AT FIRST THIS WASN’T TOO GREAT A PROBLEM. ENGLAND WASN’T TOO KEEN ON TAKING OVER.

Our hands were full with problems elsewhere!

Shucks — we’re off to colonise Aotearoa ourselves.

But British — must step in!!
But of course, they decided to get involved. Hobson’s Instructions clearly stated that N.Z. was recognised as an independent and sovereign state, and that there would be no takeover without consent. As I said before, that didn’t stop them from declaring Hobson Lieutenant Governor anyway before the Treaty signing and in spite of the Declaration.

But how could Aotearoa belong to the English just by them saying it did?

It couldn’t! The Treaty and the Declaration upheld our tino rangatiratanga. Once they said it was theirs, they reckoned it was legal...

And legal according to whose laws? England and the other powers that carved the world up between them.

And that’s how its gone on... making up rules to suit them and saying it’s all legal. Not under tikanga Maori it isn’t.
In those early days there were lots of scrapes between the settlers and the governor, mainly over what they called "Native Policy."

The settlers finally won out in 1856 when they were granted "Responsible Government."

Of course, those of us who were responsible were...

From then on, the gloves were off. The battle was on between the South Island sheep-run holders and the North Island business sharks.

Tūio rangatiratanga ??!!

Hands off! We were here first!!

Give it!!

Male, Rich, White
What was the role of te iwi Maori?

The iwi had no role to play. Pakeha politics doesn't work that way!!

AS TE RUNANGA WHAKAWHANAUNGA I NGA HAHI SAYS...

**The Maori Way**
- co-operative
- unifying
- dialogical
- compassionate
- simple
- amicable
- conciliatory
- uncontroversial
- reconcilable

**The Pakeha Way**
- competitive
- adversarial
- argumentative
- ruthless
- legalistic
- antagonistic
- quarrelsome
- controversial
- irreconcilable

These are features of the preferred Maori way of Dialogue.

These are features of the Government vs. Opposition way of Pakeha politics.
Even individual Maori were kept out of Pakeha politics. Only landowners could vote—and that meant only those few Maori who had individual land titles.

By 1867, more Maori had become qualified and the settlers wanted to buy off more radical demands.

That's why the four Maori seats came about...

And Maori votes still depend on owning property, while every Pakeha man just had to be over 21!!

But today, everyone says the seats are special treatment for Maori.

Hardly! Just look how many votes it takes to elect a Maori M.P. as compared to a Pakeha one.
Gee its pretty obvious how everything was run to suit the Pakeha. What did our people do?

Our people never stopped affirming mana Maori.

For a while, the Maori economy stayed strong, using Pakeha technology in our own way. And many strong leaders continued to resist—Te Ua Haumene, Titokowaru, Te Makara, Te Whiti, Tohu...

Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi first raised the idea of Kingitanga in the early 1850s.

The reason for electing a king was to maintain the land. The king would help to implement the "pururi whenua" policy.

In 1858, Te Whero Whero of Waikato was made the first King.
Not all iwi joined the movement. Most showed some respect for the King, until the wars, when settlers played the old 'divide and rule' game.

Kingitanga allowed tribes to unite against the settler land grab. Bit like those 'land leagues' who resisted the English takeover of Ireland.

These natives ain't selling—bring in the ammo, guys!!

Before making war, the Governor called 200 chieftains to a hui at Kohimarama. His intended victims—Wiremu Kingi at Waitara and Te Wherowhero, weren't invited.

After three weeks discussion, the rangatira reaffirmed te Tiriti o Waitangi and their loyalty to The Crown.

The Government sent troops in to Taranaki and then into the Waikato claiming Maori were 'in rebellion against the Crown.'
Besides wanting the land the settlers just couldn't visualise the complementary relationship between Maori King & Pakeha Governor under the law of God.

The aukati (boundary) established by the Waikato was basically intact until 1880.

Maori were physically healthy, economically, spiritually fulfilled.

Land remained unsold.

The Chiefs weren't interested in the four 'Maori Seats' but wanted to pursue their own models of political development.

I mean... how many Maoris could you fit on one seat??

Alcohol was controlled.

The Kings mana was paramount.

In 1886, King Tanahao sent a bill to the Minister of Native Affairs to establish a legislative council of Chiefs... to deal with all troubles affecting Maori people, funded by Maori taxes.

Over a twenty year period, many runanga were held. Rangatira studied the Treaty and even under the NZ Constitution Act, realised that section 71 stated Maori could establish their own political forum.

Was he serious?
The Tainui Confederation of tribes formed the Kauhanganui or King’s Council.

The Tribes outside the King Movement established KOTAHITANGA MO TE TIRITI O WAITANGI.

What were their goals? The Kotahitanga Movement aimed to set up an independent Maori authority.

Both movements aimed to retain and develop land and to abolish the Native Land Court.

The Kotahitanga Movement met annually between 1893 and 1902. At its peak, it had over 40,000 members.
In 1894, Hone Heke, the M.P. from the North brought in a Native Rights Bill to "empower the aboriginal natives of N.Z. to enact laws for the government of themselves and their lands and other property," backed by 6525 Maori signatories.

Gee, and you'd think from the way Pakeha react today, that calls for a separate Maori political system were something new!!

Ae, our people have always been strong on our te tino rangatiratanga. But it wasn't easy, and over time, the Pakeha system drew in more and more Maori, like the Young Maori Party.

This group gained more influence as the Kotahitanga movement declined.

And Pakeha M.P.'s staged a walkout.
It's members were all graduates of Te Aute College...

Ngata, Buck and Pomare set up an association for the amelioration of the condition of the Maori race... to help civilise 'fellow Maori.'

I believe our suffering as a people can be overcome within the legislative and administrative framework of the government.

A school designed to turn young warriors into brownskinned Pakeha, but versing them in the European culture.

Ngata got crucified for alleged financial mismanagement.

Even though they were often softline, they were still too radical for some Pakeha.

Pakeha often quoted the 'softer' korero of the young Maori party to suit their own purposes.

Other korero would be considered very 'radical' today.

Sounds familiar.
Didn't Ratana get involved in Parliamentary politics, too?

Ae. Once Ratana was satisfied that spiritual matters were taken care of, he turned to the Treaty. The policy of the Ratana Party was to uphold the Treaty.

Ratana's son Tokouru stood as a candidate in the 1922 election. Eruera Tirikatene was elected as their first MP in 1932.

"I remember you telling us about Ratana's petition to have the Treaty honoured...

...the one that over 30,000 Maori signed but Parliament just ignored for years."

My policy is to stand for the rights and privileges of the Maori race, as embodied in the Treaty of Waitangi.

During the 1930s the Ratana Party joined with Labour, and the Maori seats have been foregone conclusions for Labour ever since.

It's amazing how they remained loyal even tho Labour would only support unthreatening Maori policies.
There hasn’t been much difference between National and Labour – they were both into ‘assimilation’ which then became ‘integration’.

Is that why Mana Motuhake was formed?

By 1979 Matiu Rata was so frustrated with the Labour Party, he quit and formed Mana Motuhake. The kaupapa was the Treaty and Maori self-determination.

At first it was exciting, but it didn’t really change anything.

We realised that Maori can’t win in a system where the Pakeha majority rules.

Many Maori people don’t even bother to vote.

In 1984 only 42% of potential Maori voters actually did vote. That’s a pretty clear vote of “no confidence” in the Pakeha system.
How can we change things so te iwi Maori can be true to nga mani o o tatou tipuna?

There's lots of ideas being floated. The Maori Council has supported Raukawa's plans for a two-tier system of government with Maori having equal votes to Pakeha in an upper House. They could veto laws against the Treaty.

Te Runanga Whakawhanaunga i Nga Hahi has suggested a pan-tribal non-aligned (party-wise) Maori Cabinet.

Others prefer a confederation of iwi, separate from the Government.

But what should we do now with the next elections?

That's a hard one, moko. Some want to set up boycott booths so people can make a no-confidence vote.

It's really hard to think of things outside the system. But I reckon our tupuna had the right idea. That's what tino rangatiratanga is all about, eh.
"Ae. The names of the politicians have changed, and things look a lot more complicated these days. For all its talk, this Labour Government is no different from all the others before it. The Kaupapa is still the same."

But the Treaty says:

RANGATIRATANGA IS SUPREME RIGHTS,
Kawanatanga means Qualified Rights,
Conferred by Rangatiratanga.

I like to think of it this way. The Pakeha government says...

Kawanatanga is superior. Rangatiratanga is inferior.

This is what our people fought for. And that is our challenge too, my mokopuna.