

the WALL WALK

EXPLORING THE MĀORI-CROWN
RELATIONSHIP THROUGH TIME



FACILTATOR GUID



E tū ki te kei o te waka,
kia pakia koe e ngā ngaru o te wā



NEW ZEALAND
POLICE
Ngā Pirihimana o Aotearoa



**MINISTRY OF SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT**
TE MANATŪ WHAKAHIATO ORA

'The Wall Walk' is an interactive workshop designed and presented by Dr Simone Bull. It is based on research contained in Simone's doctorate.

'The Wall Walk' is designed to give people an understanding of the Māori-Crown relationship, and also explores historical trauma that still impacts many Māori today.

This guide has been written for those who will facilitate 'The Wall Walk' in the future. It has extracts from Simone's doctorate thesis throughout it.

'The Wall Walk', or versions of it, is not to be run for profit. Information contained in this guide is not to be recreated without Simone's permission.

WALL WALK

TORU

ONGOING RESISTANCE

1890

Māori held
40%

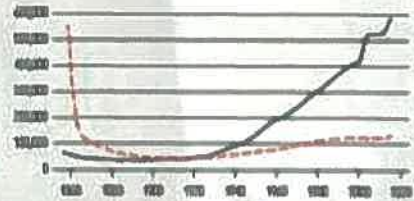
1910

Māori held
27%

1898-1945

**PENSIONS
AT A LOWER
RATE**

A Dying Race?

Māori 5% of
the population

**<1,000 CHARGES AGAINST
MĀORI P.A. UNTIL NOW**

1847

Education Ordinance



"English, English, English."

SIR ĀPIRANA NGATA

1898

**14% of charges against
Māori relate to dogs!**



1914

**11% of
charges
against
Māori for
Education
Act breaches**

**7% of
charges
against
Māori for
Defence Act
breaches**

1916



**The Wairua Tapu movement at
Maungapohatu**

1940

Sir A.T. Ngata's crusade against waiapiro



Etō ki te kō o te waka,
kō pōhā kō e ngā ngā o te wā

ASSIMILATION ERA

WALL WALK TORU

TORU

This section covers the end of the 19th century through to the end of the NZ wars. It looks at the ongoing resistance of Māori and the Government criminalising Māori defiance.

Participant presentations included during this poster:

- The 'Dog Tax War' of 1898
- Rua Kenana's arrest at Maungapohatu
- Te Puea Herangi's stance on conscription

Topic order:

Early 1900s	Smoothing the pillow/Māori thought to be on the verge of extinction
Personal story	Family photos
Participant topic	The 'Dog Tax War' – pensions at a lower rate for Māori is also included here, but not in the participant topic
1847	The Educational Ordinance
Early 1900s	Young Māori taking the political initiative
Participant topic	Conscription, including Te Puea Herangi's stance (key points included on Conscription page).
Participant topic	The Wairua Tapu movement, including Rua Kenana's arrest at Maungapohatu

PARTICIPANT TOPIC – KEY POINTS

The 'Dog Tax War' of 1898	Rua Kenana's arrest at Maungapohatu
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imposed in the Hokianga in 1888 to control the number of dogs in villages. • This was the first direct tax that the state seriously attempted to impose on Māori. • Māori were still not part of the cash economy, they literally did not have the money to pay it. • Hokianga Māori were arrested for refusing to pay the Dog Tax. Earlier five Arawa chiefs had been arrested and were put to work outside a Tauranga jail in a public demonstration on the power of the law. • A message was sent by dissenters to the Hokianga County Council that anybody who forced them to pay would be shot. • The government over-reacted and sent a military force of 120 men supported by a gunboat and sixty naval volunteers to Hokianga to arrest the dissenters. • MP for Northern Māori, Hone Heke (grand-nephew of the Hone Heke) persuaded Māori to lay down their arms. • Thus, the Dog Tax War ended without a shot being fired. Hone Heke, however, was accused in Parliament of agitating northern Māori into rising up against the Government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leader of Wairua Tapu movement based in the Urewera. • First summonsed to court for refusing to pay dog tax. Rua tore up the summons in front of a local constable. • Summonsed again in 1915 on five new charges. Sentenced to three months in jail for some 1911 charges, but 1915 charges were suspended. • Thought to be a German supporter during WWI, warrants were issued for the 1915 charges. Rua resisted arrest. • A military-style expedition was organised by Cullen, the Commissioner of Police. Seventy armed police converged on Maungapohatu to arrest Rua. • Thirty-one arrested, two killed and seven wounded (including four police) in armed conflict. • Rua held for nine month sentence imposed for 2015 charges. Then faces trial. Despite only being found 'morally guilty' on one charge, is sentenced to one-year's hard labour, followed by eighteen months imprisonment for 'reformatory purposes'. • Maungapohatu left impoverished caused by legal debt.

Te Puea Hērangi's stance on conscription

Colonial policy blocked colonised peoples from serving in the military in case they got it into their heads to turn their weapons on the colonists. That all changed during WWI, when troops from India were sent to protect the strategically important Suez Canal from Germany and the Turks.

Ngata and other Māori MP's seized on this precedent and argued for a Māori contingent who would ultimately pay 'the price of citizenship'.

Article 3 of the Treaty, both the English and Māori versions, guarantees Māori the rights of British citizenship. Yet Ngata and others felt that Māori were being treated like second-class citizens. Military service was seen as a way to overcome this. But while the pioneer battalion were consigned to garrison duties, there was no glory or honour. That came after they proved their worth as infantry.

New Zealand, at the time, was fixated on supporting mother England. We sent 100,000 troops (9% of our population). 58,000 of them were injured or killed.

Te Puea was not bridled by the politics of public opinion the way that the Māori MPs were. She refused to support Waikato men enlisting. So, when conscription was introduced, the men of Waikato were targeted for enforcement.

Police broke the law by using confidential census results to try and figure out which Waikato Māori to ballot. They still got it wrong. When they entered a Te Pūia marae, stepped over the King's flag and started calling names, nobody responded. So, they hand-picked the ones they thought were eligible.

Women of the 'white feather brigade' were strident in their expectations that men volunteer. They gave white feathers to so-called shirkers... a form of social bullying. Funny how the white feather symbolises peace for a number of iwi.

The first ballot took place on 16 November 1916. In June 1917 conscription was extended to include Māori. But subsequent ballots applied only to those living in the Waikato-Maniapoto District.

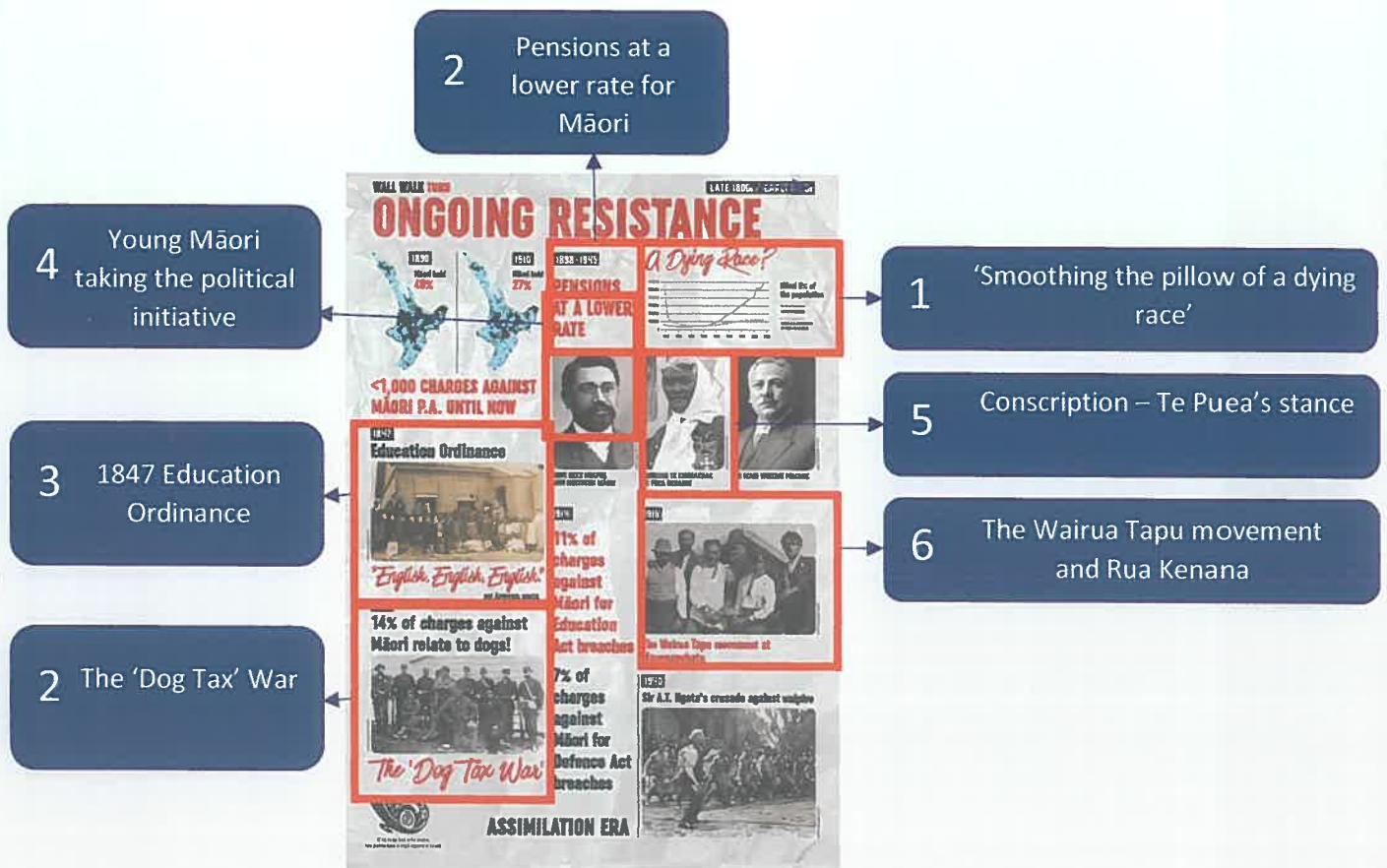
At first, Waikato men were taken to Narrowneck military training camp near Auckland. There, they endured military punishments for refusing to wear a military uniform. Punishments escalated for some who ended up in Mount Eden prison.

Te Puea would visit the Waikato objectors, sitting in a spot where the men could see her when they left their barracks.

After the war, returned Māori servicemen did not go into a ballot for Government land like their Pākehā counterparts. But the word 'Native' was dropped from official use.

WALL WALK TORU

THE STORIES



1. early 1900s 'smoothing the pillow of a dying race'/māori thought to be on the verge of extinction

At the turn of the century, Māori were thought to be on the verge of extinction.

The following quotes reflect the some of the attitudes of Pākehā towards Māori at the time:

In 1881 Dr Newman stated: 'Taking all things into consideration, the disappearance of the race is scarcely subject for much regret. They are dying out in a quick, easy way, and are being supplanted by a superior race.'

In 1884 Sir Walter Buller, in speaking before the Wellington Philosophical Society, said that it was a 'fact that the Māori race was dying out very rapidly; that, in all probability, five and twenty years hence there would only be a remnant left.' He quoted Dr Featherston as saying in 1856, 'The Māoris are dying out, and nothing can save them. Our plain duty, as good, compassionate colonists, is to smooth down their dying pillow. Then history will have nothing to reproach us with.'



After the turn of the century, what changes did the Government make that could be considered 'smoothing' the pillow of the dying race?

personal story family photos

At this point in the Wall Walk, Simone puts up family photos – her family through time (4-5 generations). She reflects on her whānau, the impact of Crown-Māori relationships and the 'paling' through generations.

Reflect on what stories you can tell through photos of your whānau, the impact it may have on telling the Crown-Māori relationship story, the effect it will have on participants and where it best fits in the Wall Walk.

Your photos and story should demonstrate:

- a personal connection – this takes the Wall Walk from book reading to something heartfelt
- that it's not that easy to get over things that haven't been resolved properly
- family connections – guilt, uprising, now I'm here

2. 1898 the 'dog tax war' & pensions at a lower rate for māori

Before you begin this topic, ask participants presenting 'The dog tax war of 1898' to present their topic. This should take them 6-8 minutes. What you include in your discussion will depend on what they have said in theirs.

In 1898, the 'Dog Tax War' erupted between Māori who refused to pay a new tax for keeping dogs when they owned more dogs and received no amenities in exchange for their taxes. The Dog Tax (imposed in Hokianga in 1888) was the first tax the Government sought to impose upon Māori. Māori regarded it as an oppressive symbol of Pākehā dominance. They did not have a great deal of cash available for paying large fees and knew that claims of 'sheep worrying' were unfounded. They resented the fact that the tax was often collected by Māori Councils, who were seen as Pākehā puppets. Elsewhere, for a time, the tax was collected by constables who received a commission on payments. They tended to enforce the tax rigorously.

Five Arawa chiefs had been arrested in 1891 for refusing to pay the Dog Tax. They were put to work with shovels and wheelbarrows outside Tauranga jail in a public demonstration of the power of the law. Reacting to rumour that they were to be exiled on an 'ice-bound island where the bones would crack from the cold' (the fate that had met the people of Parihaka), they banded together to resist further jailings. That resistance culminated in the 'Dog Tax War' of 1898. The Hokianga County Council, following a precedent set by other local bodies, imposed a 10s. tax on all dogs in its territory. A group of dissenters sent a message to the county office that they would shoot anyone who forced them to pay.

The Government over-reacted and sent a military force of 120 men armed with two cannon and two machine guns, supported by a gunboat and sixty naval volunteers, to Hokianga to arrest the dissenters. A potentially explosive situation was averted by the MP for Northern Māori, Hone Heke (grandnephew of the Hone Heke). He persuaded Māori to lay down their arms. Thus, ended the Dog Tax War without a shot being fired. Government had the dissenters charged with treason. Most were jailed for a year. Around this time, 14% of all charges and 15% of all convictions against Māori were for failing to register a dog.

Ngapua rose to prominence again when he objected to amendments to the Old Age Pensions Act that would exclude Māori. Ngapua's objections fell on deaf ears. Until 1945, all Social Security legislation was administered to disburse benefits to Māori at a consistently lower rate (at 50 to 70% of the rate paid to Pākehā). The extreme poverty of Māori communities became the rationale for different treatment. Māori poverty was a sign of lower expectations than greater need.



To what extent do you think Government's default response to any act of defiance by Māori was to criminalise Māori?

3. 1847 the education ordinance

The first school along European lines for Māori in New Zealand was established by the missionary Thomas Kendall of the Anglican Church Missionary Society in the Bay of Islands in 1816.

Lessons were held in the early morning and late afternoon, with the pupils spending the rest of the day foraging. Kendall developed the first published books in the Māori language to use in his classroom. By the 1830s there were numerous schools attached to mission stations, including those of Methodists from 1822 and Catholics from 1838.

Māori who had attended the schools returned to their villages and created their own schools. It is estimated that by the early 1840s half of the adult Māori population was able to read and write to some extent. All teaching was in Māori and, because of the lack of reading material other than the scriptures, Māori interest in the schools declined after the early 1840s.

George Grey supported the existing network of mission schools through the Education Ordinance 1847, based on four principles:

- religious instruction
- industrial training
- instruction in the English language
- government inspection.

The Native Schools Act 1858 built on this system, and added the stipulation that Māori students attending government-supported schools live away from their kāinga in a boarding situation. The plan was to phase out native schools once English had taken hold in a community. Initially, te reo Māori was allowed to facilitate English instruction, but as time went on official attitudes hardened against any use of Māori language. In later years many Māori children were punished for speaking their first language at school. And if their parents then refused to send them to school they were criminalised for breaching the Education Act.

For many years the insistence on English was generally accepted by Māori communities (including MP, Sir Āpirana Ngata), who were secure in their Māoritanga and wished their children to be prepared for success in the Pākehā world. They had not anticipated the affect that corporal punishment and criminalisation would have on the use of te reo Māori at home.



How does this knowledge affect your views on whether te reo Māori should be made available, or even compulsory, in all NZ schools?

4. early 1900s young māori taking the political initiative

At the turn of the century, the political initiative passed to the educated elite, notably an association of young men educated at Te Aute Anglican College in Hawkes Bay, known initially as the Association for the amelioration of the Condition of the Māori race (later the Te Aute Association, and later still the Young Māori Party).

Peter Buck, Āpirana Ngata, and Māui Pōmare were among its most prominent members. Their views were voiced at Māori meetings around the country from the 1890s, especially by Ngata in his role as travelling secretary. They also lobbied parliamentarians.

Young Māori party leaders were inclined to the view that Pākehā culture was the only road to progress. They transformed themselves into politicians; Ngata and Pōmare gained high office by the beginning of the 20th century. In this power-seeking process, they internalised many of the values of the Pākehā system.

The Tohunga Suppression Act

The rapid spread of Pākehā-introduced diseases and the profound anxieties they introduced into Māori life saw amateur tohunga proliferate. Māori suffering from illnesses such as influenza, measles and whooping cough sometimes died as a result of immersion in water by 'healers'.

The Tohunga Suppression Act was devised by Carroll and Ngata and vigorously endorsed by Buck, Pōmare, and even Wiremu Rātana, founder of the Rātana Church. As far as officialdom was concerned, tohunga were a symbol of unprogressive and anti-government influences. Existing legislation catered for anyone 'who pretends to exercise or use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, or conjuration,' or uses his 'skill or knowledge in any occult or crafty science' for fraudulent purposes. But something more specifically Māori was needed.

Māori councils were given the power to make bylaws, including one 'for regulating the proceedings of tohungas, and the punishment by fine of those who practise upon the superstition or credulity of a Māori in connection with the treatment of any disease'. Carroll presented a bill providing fines or imprisonment for 'designing persons, commonly known as tohungas,' who exploited 'the superstition and credulity of the Māori people' and so caused wasteful and unsettling disruption.

It was directed specifically towards those who misled 'by professing or pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment or cure of any disease.' It carried penalties of £25 or six months for a first offence and twelve months for a second or subsequent offence.

The Attorney-General introduced the new bill on 22nd August, claiming it could not be used oppressively because of a Native Minister's consent clause. Others stressed that the bill was aimed at the protection, not the oppression of Māori.

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But, in most cases, the legislation was not even applied and tohunga were simply driven 'underground'. The Government argued that prosecution was a matter for the Native Department. However, neither the Native Department, nor the Health Department, did anything much about it. The Act was scarcely ever used, mainly because Māori refused to give information. Thus, it was difficult to assemble sufficient evidence for conviction.

The Government itself did not invoke the Act until it appeared that the Act could be useful in suppressing the prophet Rua Kenana.

Key points:

- Māori were thought to be on the verge of extinction.
- Some Pākehā views were that this was a quick and easy way for the race to disappear.
- Young Māori politicians such as Peter Buck, Āpirana Ngata and Buck Pōmare were among the 'Young Māori Party', a political party made up of young, educated Māori, who were inclined to the view that Pākehā culture was the only road to progress.
- With the rapid spread of Pākehā-introduced diseases, amateur tohunga flourished, Carroll and Ngata devised the Tohunga Suppression Act, which sought to regulate tohunga.
- The Government itself did not invoke the Act until it appeared the Act could be useful in suppressing the prophet Rua Kenana.

5. 1916 te puea hērangī's stance on conscription

Before you begin this topic, ask participants presenting 'Te Puea Hērangi's stance on conscription' to present their topic. This should take them 6-8 minutes. What you include in your discussion will depend on what they have said in theirs.

With the outbreak of WWI, Māori MPs and Pōmare, in particular, believed it was essential that Māori showed themselves to be the equals of Pākehā in recruitment and casualty rates.

Only this, they believed, would prove that Māori were worthy of equal consideration in civilian life.

Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou, and Ngāi Tahu- gave men disproportionately. Others gave scarcely any men.

The Waikato, in Pōmare's own electorate, refused to enlist at all, and were conscripted towards the end of the war as punishment. Conscription was not applied to Māori in general.

Many Māori opposed the 1916 Conscription Bill. They were successful in that none of their people were forced into the army in time to fight, but not in avoiding mass arrest and repression.

13% of the pioneer battalion died.

Te Puea Hērangi was a granddaughter of Tāwhiao Te Wherowhero, the second Māori king. Te Puea emerged as a leader during WWI. She opposed the government's policy of conscripting Māori for war service, at a time when Tainui still felt lingering bitterness about the invasion and confiscation of their lands. The Government compounded Tainui feelings of injustice by responding with a general order for Māori conscription which applied only to the King Country-Maniapoto district.

Te Puea Hērangi maintained that her grandfather, King Tāwhiao, had forbidden Waikato from taking up arms again when he made peace with the Crown in 1881. She was determined to uphold his call to Waikato to 'lie down' and 'not allow blood to flow from this time on'. Te Puea maintained that Waikato had 'its own King' and had no need to 'fight for the British King'. If the confiscated land was returned, Waikato might reconsider its position.

When conscription for military service was introduced in 1916 it was initially imposed on Pākehā only. Pōmare and Ngata wanted it applied to Māori as a matter of self-respect. Māori blood had been spilt overseas, and Māori had a duty to respond; utu was required.

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Having failed to persuade Waikato, Defence Minister James Allen supported the extension of conscription to Māori in June 1917 but decided to apply it to the Waikato-Maniapoto land district only. The inclusion of Ngāti Maniapoto caused outrage, as their rate of enlistment was much higher than that of Pōmare's own Taranaki people, who were excluded from the ballot. There was a feeling that Pōmare was taking revenge on Ngāti Maniapoto-Waikato for the defeats Taranaki had suffered at their hands in the 19th century.

To make matters worse, Police compiled the register for the ballot using information that had been gathered in complete confidence at the 1916 census. This violation of the law was apparently agreed to by the Māori MPs.

When Te Puea offered refuge at Te Paina pā (Mangatāwhiri) to men who chose to ignore the ballot, Waikato were denounced as 'seditious traitors'. The revelation that Te Puea's grandfather had a German surname seemed to confirm her status as a 'German sympathiser'.

Colonel Patterson of the Auckland Military District wanted Te Puea punished and planned to goad her into making anti-conscription statements in front of reliable witnesses. This would allow her to be prosecuted under the War Regulations for 'inciting men not to enlist.' The Government knew that under Te Puea's leadership the campaign was at least non-violent. In 1916 two Māori had been shot and killed by police attempting to arrest the Tūhoe leader Rua Kēnana at Maungapōhatu, in part because of his active discouragement of Māori recruitment. The Government did not want more bloodshed.

Maui Pōmare advised Allen that those sheltering at Te Paina were 'merely waiting to be taken to jail'. A minimal show of force would suffice.

A crowd greeted police when they arrived at Te Paina on 11 June 1918. After being escorted into the meeting house, they read out the names of those who were to be arrested. Nobody moved and Te Puea made it clear that she would not cooperate. The police waded into the crowd and began arresting men they believed to be on their list. Mistakes were made. Te Puea's future husband, 16-year-old Rawiri Katipa, was mistaken for his older brother; a 60-year-old was also arrested. Each of the seven men selected had to be carried out of the meeting house.

King Te Rata's 16-year-old brother was also seized. Police caused great offence by stepping over the King's personal flag, which had been protectively laid before Te Rauangaanga. Te Puea intervened, calming the shocked onlookers and blessing those who had been seized. She told the police to let the government know she feared no law, or anything else 'excepting the God of my ancestors'.

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The prisoners were taken to the army training camp at Narrow Neck, Auckland. Those who refused to wear uniform were subjected, like other objectors, to severe military punishments, including being fed only bread and water and being supplied with minimal bedding. When this failed to break their resistance, some were sentenced to two years' hard labour at Mount Eden prison.

Tu Paea supported those who had been arrested by bringing them food and attempting to visit them in prison.

Maui Pōmare decided to make a direct appeal to Tainui to abandon their resistance. This personal approach failed dismally. The fact that their men were now in prison merely hardened Tainui's resolve. When Pōmare attended a hui at Waahi pā in 1918, he was greeted with an abusive haka composed specially for his visit. This culminated in the act of whakapohane (a bare-buttock salute to an unwelcome visitor).

Only a handful of Tainui men were ever put into uniform, and none of them were sent overseas. By 1919 only 74 Māori conscripts had gone to camp out of a total 552 men called up. When the war ended, the Māori in training were sent home, and all outstanding warrants were cancelled. Deciding what to do with the defaulters in custody was trickier. Despite the military's objections, Cabinet decided in May 1919 to release all Māori prisoners. This decision was never made public because the government was determined not to treat other defaulters so leniently.

The imposition of conscription on Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto had long-lasting effects. The wounds it caused were probably only healed by the Tainui Treaty settlement in 1995.

The popularity and the heroism of the Māori Battalion began to have a positive impact on Pākehā attitudes towards Māori.

But despite this, after World War I, Pākehā soldiers went into a ballot for land for resettlement. Returned Māori soldiers did not.

Āpirana Ngata thought it might be seen as 'improper [for] the Crown to earmark land for Māori soldiers when it was popularly supposed that Māori had sufficient land of their own'.

Provision for Māori was therefore made out of Māori tribal lands.

Key points are contained at the beginning of this section.

6. 1916 the wairua tapu movement and rua kenana's arrest at maungatapohatu

Before you begin this topic, ask participants presenting 'Rua Kenana's arrest at Maungapohatu' to present their topic. This should take them 6-8 minutes. What you include in your discussion will depend on what they have said in theirs.

In the early years of the 20th century, there were reactions against both the elitism of the Young Māori Party and the conservatism of traditional Māori leadership. One was Rua Kenana's Wairua Tapu movement based in the Urewera.

After a series of visions around 1904, Rua believed that he was the brother of Jesus Christ and the leader that Te Kooti had prophesied would arise to succeed him. Within four years, Rua had attracted over 1000 followers to the 'New Jerusalem' he was building at the rugged Maungapohatu.

Though a pacifist, he was a separatist leader of one of the last iwi (Tūhoe) to emerge from relative isolation into contact with Pākehā settlement. Over time, controversy developed over the (so-called) harmful nature of his influence upon his followers. By 1907, nearly all Māori of the Urewera and the Eastern Bay of Plenty were followers of Rua, who articulated their political grievances. Prejudiced and hysterical views about Rua and his followers were common among people who had never visited Maungapohatu. In December 1907, the local constable delivered the first summons to Rua – for refusing to pay the Dog Tax – and had it torn up in his face. In the end, Rua agreed to pay the tax. Nonetheless, this was the first of a number of examples of official harassment of Rua and his followers.

For years, Rua had been defying the Pākehā authorities. When he began deliberately selling liquor to Māori in no-licence areas, in an attempt to control supply, he ran into trouble. Essentially, he was trying to promote order, but this was unacceptable to the government and in 1911 he was fined on five charges relating to selling whisky (breaches the licensing laws). One further charge was held over. Indeed, heavy drinking became characteristic of his followers, and continued to be so long after Rua's death. Because of his isolation, however, Rua's defiance was largely tolerated, until WWI that is. Dissent became unacceptable and the law was now applied with greater vigour. On 18th May 1915, Rua was summoned on five new charges, all originating from a big hui held at Maungapohatu. He was charged because he acted as head of the community. Three others were also fined, although two of them chose to go to jail rather than pay. Rua was sent to prison for three months without choice. This, the maximum sentence possible, was imposed for the suspended charge of 1911. The 1915 charges, in turn, were suspended.

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Early in January 1916, the Minister for Native Affairs, William Herries, decided to revive the old charges. Partly, this decision was made in light of Rua's opposition to enlistment that was distorted by popular rumour into an active support for the Germans. On 19th January 1916, Rua's new summons was delivered. He dictated a reply that the constable wrote down for him. In it he stated that he was busy with harvesting and requested that his case be adjourned until the following month, at which time he would appear before the court. However, the magistrate was not aware of all the facts and so, when the court met on 22nd January, the letter was judged to be in contempt. In Rua's absence, the magistrate sentenced him to three months in prison on three charges, a fine of €100 and costs on the other two. These were the charges of 1915 for which Rua, along with some local police and media personnel, believed he had already served his sentence.

New warrants were issued for Rua's arrest. Early on the morning of February 12th, the two policemen sent to look for Rua found him at Te Whāiti but he would not accompany them, believing he had already been punished for the crimes of which he was accused. Rua's alleged responses to the police approach formed the basis of a new charge of sedition: because the state would not give him a liquor licence on the same basis as Pākehā, he would not only continue to discourage enlistment but also support also support the Germans against the British. The government had hoped to avert a confrontation by getting Rua 'to submit to arrest without resistance'. But that was never going to happen.

Consequently, a military-style expedition was organised by Cullen, the then Commissioner of Police. He strongly believed that armed resistance would be awaiting him. He also had a reputation for making events conform to his expectations and then misrepresenting them subsequently. On Sunday 2nd of April 1916, a force of seventy armed police converged on Maungapohatu to arrest Rua, resulting in what historians have called 'the last shooting in the Anglo- Māori Wars' and what the people of Maungapohatu remember as 'The War' of 1916.

Of the forty-eight men who were at Maungapohatu the day Cullen led his troops in to arrest Rua, thirty-one were arrested, two were killed and seven were wounded (including four police). Most of the others ran away. The police had been given no definite instructions. Their disorganisation soon led to chaos. Not one of the men arrested had been armed. Most of them were held for twenty-four hours. A few were kept prisoner for three days. The women were also brought together and kept under armed guard for some time after the shooting, though the police denied that the women were restricted in any way. Six men, including Rua and his son, were taken out under arrest and charged with assault.

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Rua was held, at first, on a nine-month sentence, imposed for the 1915 charges and now increased by his default of fines. The others were all refused bail. Rua was also tried on charges of sedition, of counselling others to murder or disable the police at Maungapohatu, and of resisting arrest at Te Whāiti. All the charges relating to resisting arrest at Maungapohatu were dismissed because it was a Sunday and warrants for commitment to prison were not supposed to be served on Sundays. Consequently, Rua's arrest was declared unlawful. It followed that it was legitimate for Rua to resist arrest, and for others to help him, even to the extent of inflicting serious wounds, so long as he did not order an attack upon the police. Thus, four of the original eight charges laid by the police were invalidated.

When the jury returned, declaring Rua 'morally guilty' on only one of the charges on events at Te Whāiti, and apparently unable to make up its mind on the Maungapohatu charges, Justice Chapman talked at length about Rua's 'long history of defiance of the law'. Clearly the real issue at stake was one of authority. To the horror of the jury, Chapman committed Rua to one-year's hard labour, followed by eighteen months' imprisonment for 'reformatory purposes'. He was released after serving nine-months and lived peacefully until his death in 1937.

As for the trials of other men arrested at Maungapohatu, one resulted in an acquittal, the second collapsed entirely because of contradictions in police evidence, and the remaining ones were abandoned as the dubious and tribal nature of the police accusations grew more apparent. However, six men were arrested and charged with perjury. Two admitted to concocting perjured testimony (which had been set up by the defence to counter police perjury). Both were sentenced to nine-months in prison. The others fought the charges and won their freedom. The community at Maungapohatu stayed more or less intact until about 1931. However, impoverishment caused by legal debts meant the community never really recovered.

Fewer than 1000 charges were registered against Māori every year up to now.

As a rate per thousand of the Māori population, the number of charges against Māori rose from eleven in 1910 to forty in 1919, rising briefly above the non-Māori rate.

This 400% increase in Māori offending rates in less than ten years represented a turning point.

During WWI, the per capita rate of charges against Māori for offences against people, property, and public order became higher than the corresponding Pākehā rates. The war signalled the end of any last vestiges of tolerance of defiance.

After the war, the crime rate among Māori remained high and the gap between Māori and Pākehā continued to increase.

Key points are contained at the beginning of this section.

additional information for facilitators: 1930s-'40s the great depression and movement to the cities

The Great Depression

The Great Depression started to make itself felt in New Zealand. Māori who were peripheral, 'unskilled' workers, hired to handle seasonal peaks and do odd jobs, were worst affected. Many Māori communities lacked land and/or the state's confidence in their ability to meet the demands of land development. These had to endure acute unemployment and lower unemployment benefits.

Sir Āpirana Ngata, along with Pākehā politicians, urged that Māori be given smaller benefits because they could grow much of their own food and live off the land in a way Pākehā could not. He worried that money without work would demoralise Māori. However, resources for Māori and land development were eventually cut too.

Late 1930s

The movement to the cities had begun, though most Māori listed as urban residents were living in Māori settlements like Ōrākei that had been engulfed by the spread of the cities. Most Māori had work skills that were not well suited to the urban environment, and no real attempt was made to 'up-skill' them. Moreover, unemployment was high and so jobs were difficult to find, which in turn probably contributed to the prevailing situation of economic hardship for Māori.

World War II

During World War II, the Māori War Effort Organisation, approved by Cabinet on 3 June 1942, operated with relative autonomy in profoundly Māori ways. Custom and tradition were central to the functioning of the voluntary organisation, which involved all tribes.

While its primary purpose was military (recruitment of Māori Battalion), it also came to have a welfare function. Some 315 tribal committees were formed, co-ordinated by 41 executive committees.

18% of the Māori Battalion died during WWII (a casualty rate 50% higher than the New Zealand Infantry average).

1944 – The Manpower Act 1944

According to the 1936 census, only 10% of Māori population was urban. Within a few decades the number would rise to over 80%. The massive shift was sparked by World War II.

The Manpower Act 1944 was used to direct young Māori men who were ineligible for the military to work in essential industries, often located in cities. Young Māori women were directed to work in factories in town.

additional information for facilitators: mid 1930s-'40s supply of liquor to
Māori

There was a sharp increase in alcohol consumption, arrests for public drunkenness and related offences, an increase in car ownership, and arrests for car 'conversion'.

The law only penalised the supply of liquor to Māori. Police, therefore, resorted to charging Māori found in possession of liquor with aiding and abetting its supply. Māori referred to alcohol as 'waipiro' (foul water).

Though this charge could be difficult to sustain, more Māori than Pākehā were convicted for illegally supplying liquor to 'Natives' during the mid-1930s and '40s.

