

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

Maori & Alcohol: A History

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Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro:
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Maori & Alcohol: A History

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Nga Mihi • Acknowledgments

Engari taku toa, he toa taki tini e

My strength is not in my right hand, but in those who stand around me

This book owes its existence to many people, not all of whom I can name, but I hope have thanked along the journey. Drafts were commented on by a number of commentators, for which I am grateful. The contributors, Philip Andrews, Bradford Haami, Dr. Helen Hogan and Dr. Michelle Pearse, have added significantly to this work. The support of Lorraine Brooking and John Broughton is acknowledged, as well as the comments of Paul Stanley, which spurred me on more than he realised. In bringing this work to publication, I would like to acknowledge the mentoring of Dr. Philippa Howden-Chapman and Professor Peter Mancall, who shared with me a passion for the history of Maori and alcohol.

This book was modelled on John Broughton's history of Maori and tobacco, *Puffing Up a Storm* (1996), and inspired by Peter Mancall's *Deadly Medicine. Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (1995).

I would like to thank Dr. Ginny Sullivan for her editorship, in this second book of mine she has brought to publication. The support, encouragement and patience of ALAC – especially Dr. Mike MacAvoy, Valerie Norton and Kayleen Katene – were crucial. The aroha and support of Margaret Manuka-Sullivan is warmly acknowledged. Finally, as ever, Deborah Woodley.

Marten Hutt

Whakakape • Disclaimer

The research on which this book is based was originally funded by Te Kaunihera Whakatupato Waipiro o Aotearoa/Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand (ALAC), as part of an 'Historically-based Research on Alcohol Policy' project (Philippa Howden-Chapman and Marten Hutt, Department of Public Health, Wellington School of Medicine). This book does not necessarily represent the views or policies of ALAC or its officers.

This book was developed for publication with the support and funding of ALAC, while Marten Hutt was a postdoctoral research fellow at the Health Services Research Centre (a joint venture between the Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington and the Wellington School of Medicine, University of Otago). This book was readied for publication by Dr. Hutt during tenure of a Postdoctoral fellowship of the Health Research Council of New Zealand. Responsibility for this book and its findings (except for named contributions) rests with Marten Hutt.

Foreword to second edition

I am delighted that ALAC has chosen to re-issue this book as a second edition. It should be read alongside contemporary surveys of Maori use of alcohol, which can be accessed from ALAC's library catalogue on www.alac.org.nz

Rather than being intended for an academic audience, it was always the aim that this book would be used by students and also alcohol and drug counselling practitioners who work with Maori.

Since its first edition (1999), I have been humbled by the positive reaction to the book, both from practitioners and from schools who have requested class sets. Significant extracts have been used in the resource kit *Social Issues: Alcohol. A resource for health education teachers of Years 12 and 13 Students*, that many schools will be using in 2003 and beyond.

There is much yet to be said and written about the history of Maori and their contact with alcohol. There is room for a more academic treatment – it is a more fertile area for historical enquiry than the over-mined temperance movement for instance - and certainly for iwi-specific accounts, ideally by Maori researchers.

Finally, among many people who helped me in this journey, named in my foreword to the first edition, I wish to dedicate this second edition to two remarkable women. They are both formerly senior ALAC staff: Kayleen Katene and Margaret Manuka-Sullivan. Their humour, persistence and shrewdness in guiding me on this journey saw this book produced, and helped make it what it is.

Marten Hutt
Wellington, June 2003

Papakupu • Glossary

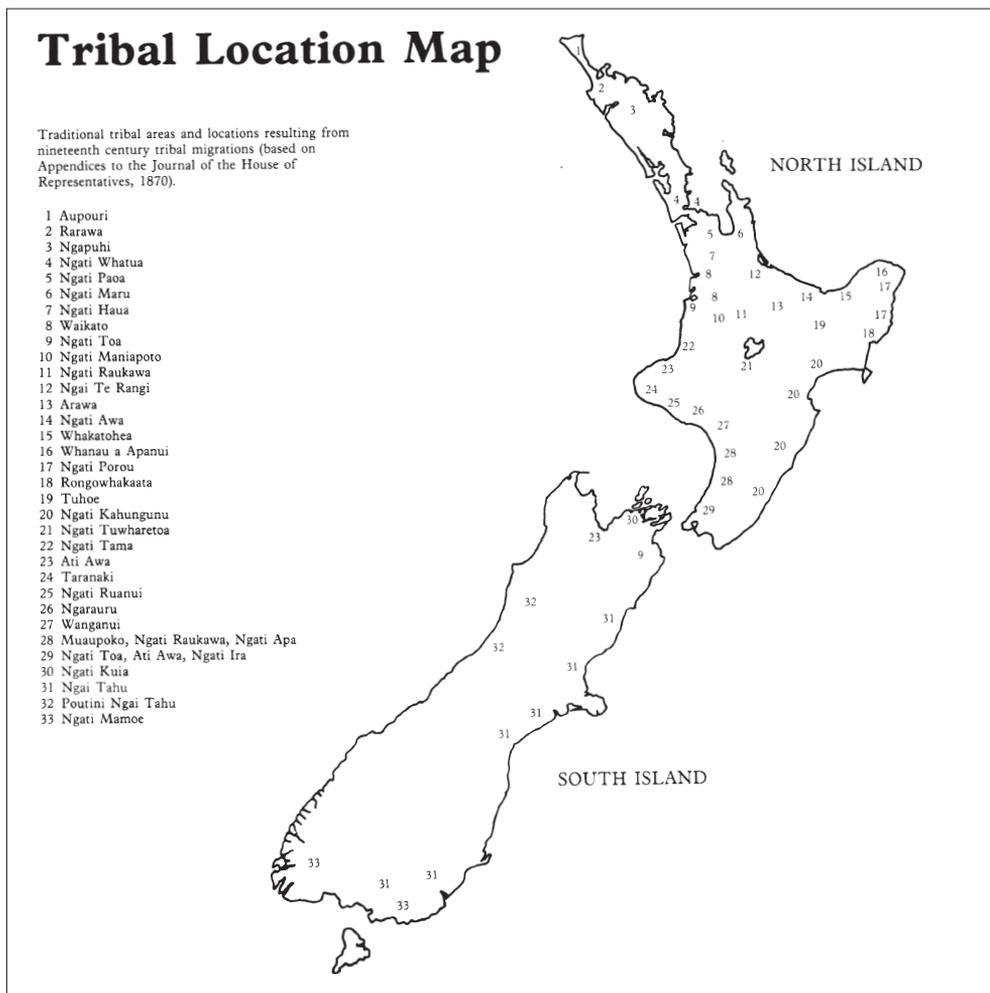
Words listed are primarily Maori words that may be unfamiliar to readers. Definitions are not exhaustive of the range of meaning of some of these terms, but will be enough to give a sense of their meaning.

aroha	love
haka	Maori men's dance
hapu	sub-tribe/extended family group
hui	ceremonial gathering/meeting
iwi	tribe
kahui ariki	royal family
kai	food
katipa (Ratana)	warden
kaumatua	elder; Maori man of mana and age
kaupapa	agenda/common purpose
kawa	protocol
koha	gift
korero	talk/discussion
kuia	Maori woman of mana and age
manaaki tangata	lit: 'caring for the people'/hospitality
mana	dignity
manuhiri	visitor
marae	Maori meeting-house/gathering place
New Zealand Wars	armed conflicts between Maori and settlers/British troops, primarily in North Island in 1860s; previously called the 'Maori Wars' or 'Land Wars'
pa	(fortified) village
Pakeha	non-Maori
pirihimana (Ringatu)	police
porangi	crazy
rangatira	chief
rangatiratanga	sovereignty
rangimarie	peace
runanga	ruling council or decision-making body
tangata tiriti	lit: 'people of the treaty'; sometimes used synonymously to denote Pakeha
tangata whenua	people of the land/hosts
tangi	funeral
taonga	treasure
tapu	sacred
ti kouka	cabbage tree
tikanga	protocol
tipuna/tupuna	ancestor
tohunga	healer
tomo	betrothal

Treaty of Waitangi	treaty signed between Maori and British in 1840; citizenship and sovereignty issues raised in the various translations of the text have been much debated since
utu	revenge
waiata	song
waipiro	alcohol
waka	canoe
wananga	learning/imparting of knowledge
watene (Kingite)	warden
whakaiti	humility
whakapapa	genealogy
whanau	family
whare	house
whenua	land

Note on Maori Text

For the sake of consistency, it was decided to use neither double vowels nor macrons in the Maori text in this book.



Tribal Location Map Source: Michael King, *Maori. A Photographic and Social History* (Reed, Auckland, 1996, rev. ed.), p. 280.

Ka kahi te toi, ka whai te maramaratanga

If knowledge is gathered, enlightenment will follow

*“Like bottles of good gin, they makes you cry,
but you still have to finish them off”*

The character Kui/Aggie Rose, on the need to listen to stories of the past.
From the play *Purapurawhetu* by Briar Grace-Smith.
Used with permission.

Nga Rarangi Upoko • Contents

Te Korero Tuatahi – Introduction	1
Did Maori have Alcohol before European Contact?	3
Tutu Berries	5
The Introduction of Alcohol to New Zealand	7
Maori Drinking Practices and Tastes: Obstacles to Acceptance of Alcohol	10
Bay of Islands	11
Post-contact Concoctions	14
Trade and Impact of European Goods on Maori Society Before 1850	16
Liquor Laws, 1830s-1850s	19
Maori Written Sources and Maori Literacy: Hone Ri <i>Helen Hogan</i>	21
Alcohol and Maori Economic Activity Before the 1860s	23
Continuation of Relative Temperance by Maori Before the 1860s	24
1860s: The New Zealand Wars and Increasing Use of Alcohol	27
Maori and “Ardent Spirits” <i>Philip Andrews</i>	31
Pakeha Drinking in the Nineteenth Century	36
Te Kooti	38
Te Whiti	41
Legislation and Temperance Activity, 1870s-1880s	42
“The Passing of the Maori”	46
James Carroll’s Speech to the Maori Contingent to the Coronation of Edward VII, 1902 <i>Helen Hogan</i>	50
Alcohol and the Young Maori Party/Maori Councils	51
Alcohol and Maori Crime	54
Rua Kenana	55
Role of Alcohol in Undercutting the Influence of Prophets and Tohunga	57

Legislation 1910s	61
1920s-1930s	62
Ngata and the East Coast: Dairy Cows Instead of Beer	65
Maori and the World Wars	69
1940s-1950s	72
Bella Patuwai (?1835-1951)	74
1950s-Present	76
Conclusions	82
Appendix 1: Rohe Potae (The King Country) and Alcohol	89
Appendix II: Wihiki Te Inu Matua, Hei Inu Whakaoho Korero/Whisky and History <i>Bradford Haami</i>	109
Appendix III: Cover Illustrations	113
Appendix IV: Picture Credits	115
Endnotes	121

Te Korero Tuatahi • Introduction

This book is intended to be an illustrated introduction to a subject that is sensitive, sometimes controversial and painful, but always fascinating. In being the first-ever book on the subject of Maori and alcohol, gathering together previously scattered materials, it represents a step forward.

The book begins with pre- and early contact with Pakeha, and charts the introduction of alcohol into Maori society through the nineteenth century. The impacts of the New Zealand Wars, increased trade and colonisation are considered, as is the role of alcohol surrounding the Maori prophets: Te Kooti, Te Whiti and Rua Kenana. The historical narrative, while it continues to the present day, is strongest pre-1950s, as hindsight is difficult to achieve for later periods. The conclusion summarises the historical narrative and considers the policy implications of the role of history in Maori alcohol policy formulation. The King Country is discussed separately through to 1954 in Appendix 1.

Endnotes and sections that suggest further reading have been included for the benefit of the reader. These sections have been designed to be user-friendly, with academic usages – such as *ibid.* and *op cit.* – omitted. The book is arranged broadly chronologically, charting for each period where Maori stood in relation to alcohol usage.¹

However, there is much more to be said. This book is written in 1999, aware of the wide range of views there are on undertaking research on and with Maori.² On this particular subject, there will be other works that follow, some academic, some not, some perhaps iwi-based or cross-cultural, or by Maori or written in te reo Maori. It would be especially valuable to have stories and histories grouped around particular iwi and hapu, or even regions, as the introduction of alcohol varied greatly in its historical impacts.³

On the history of Maori and alcohol we have much to learn. This book is but a beginning, a first step towards understanding how our shared past offers clues towards our shared future.

If readers wish to know the source or reasoning behind any statement, event or argument in this book, they are welcome to contact the author c/o ALAC, Wellington. This book was written and prepared for publication at the Health Services Research Centre, Wellington.

The Health Services Research Centre aims to promote excellence in academic research, to encourage interaction between researchers and policy makers and to mount policy-focused research as well as evaluative research. The Centre is a joint venture between the Wellington School of Medicine, University of Otago and the Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington. The Health Services Research Centre gratefully acknowledges the role of the Health Research Council of New Zealand in the funding of the Centre, and of Kaunihera Whakatupato Waipiro o Aotearoa/Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand in the funding of this book.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

Further Reading

He Putaki Maori. A Guide to Maori Sources at National Archives (Te Puni Kokiri/National Archives, Wellington, 1995).

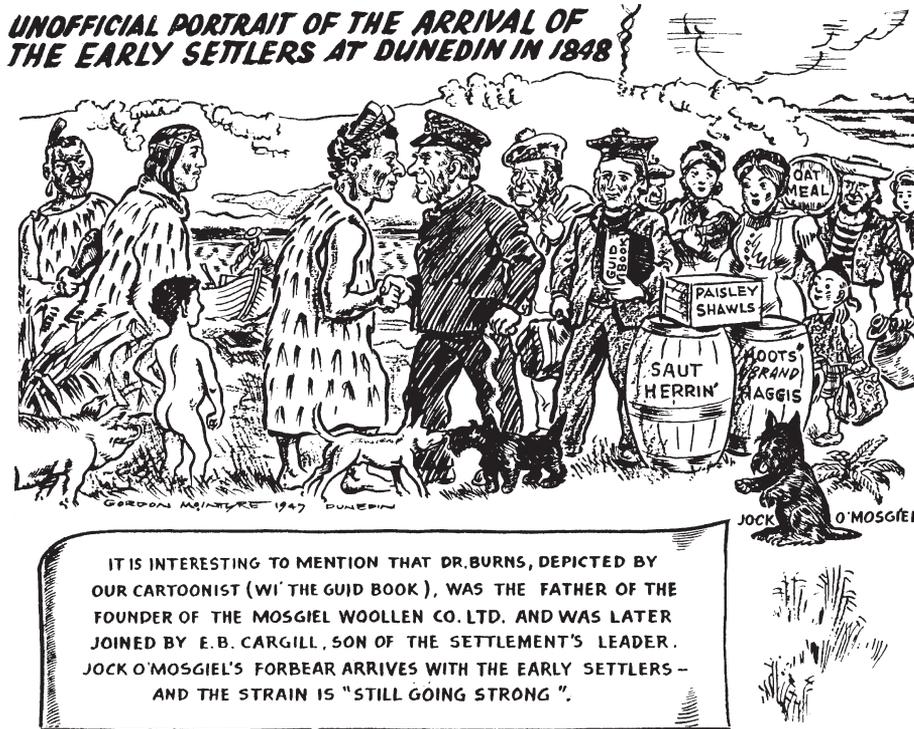
Chris Szekely (comp.), *Te Hikoi Marama. A Directory of Maori Information Sources* (Bridget Williams Books/Te Ropu Whakahaau, Wellington and Auckland, 1993).

Monty Soutar, 'A Framework for Analysing Written Iwi Histories', *He Pukenga Korero* 2 (1996), pp. 43-57.

Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, *Te Haurapa. An Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions* (Bridget Williams Books and Historical Branch, Wellington, 1993).

Did Maori Have Alcohol Before European Contact?

Prior to contact with Pakeha, Maori lived in one of the few parts of the world that had never developed alcoholic beverages. The Inuit people of Canada, the Trukese of Micronesia and a number of Native American Indian tribes share with Maori the attribution of being indigenous peoples who did not develop alcoholic drinks.⁴ As the temperance campaigner the Reverend W.J. Williams put it in 1930, "The white man and the whisky bottle came to New Zealand together".⁵



1848 and All That. Centennial Sketches by HEN [George Henderson]. Cartoonist: Gordon McIntyre, Dunedin, 1948. Collection of John Broughton.

New Zealand is too cold for the kava root widely used in Pacific Islands rituals. Kava was probably brought to New Zealand in the migratory canoes by Maori. The Maori word 'kawa' means 'ceremonial protocol', which also carries suggestions of the Polynesian rituals which accompany kava consumption.⁶ There is some evidence of the use of masticatories – gums from kauri, tarata and kiekie trees – but this was not widespread (and was generally reserved for chiefs).⁷

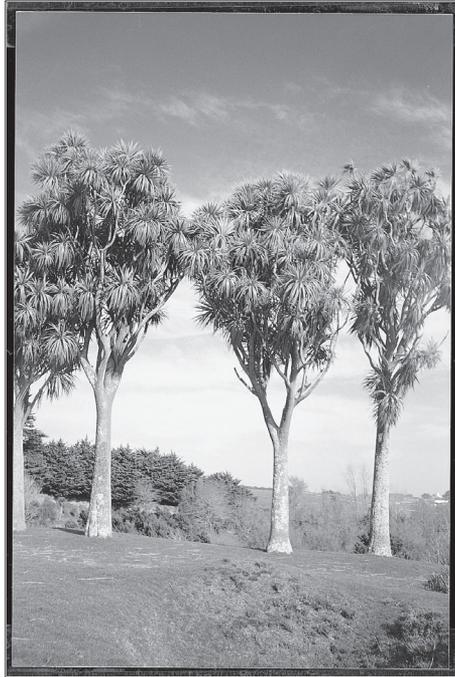
Pre-contact Maori mostly drank water, sometimes served in an open

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

gourd, with a fern frond as decoration and flavouring agent, or sweetened with the juice of berries. Crushed cabbage tree roots were used for sweetening, or tutu berries (these berries are toxic unless the seeds are removed).⁸

Maori children drank the sweet honey found at the base of flax plants, or shook it out of the stems. Also popular were sweet liquids obtained from rata blossoms, or from the roots of the cabbage tree.⁹

4



Cabbage Trees. Collection of Marten Hutt.

Further Reading

Peter C. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine. Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1995). Professor Mancall is the 1998 ALAC Research Fellow, and will be publishing further work on the history of Maori and alcohol in 1999/2000.

L. K. Gluckman, *Tangiwai. A Medical History of Nineteenth Century New Zealand* [inside] *Medical History of New Zealand Prior to 1860* (Published for the author, Auckland, 1976).

Maggie Brady, 'Drug and Alcohol Use Among Aboriginal People', in *The Health of Aboriginal Australia*, ed. Janice Reid and Peggy Trompf (Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Sydney, 1991), pp. 173-217.

Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994).

Tutu Berries

There are some accounts by European travellers and ethnographers that the fermented juice of the tutu berry could be intoxicating. R.G. Jameson (1842) described fermented tutu juice as having a “rather soothing and narcotic effect ... [which] reminded me of elderberry wine”.¹⁰ The ethnographer Edward Tregear recorded that –

The Maoris drank little excepting water, or water made sweet with the honey of the flax flower. They had nothing which could be called an artificial beverage, except the juice of the *tutu* berry. This juice had to be carefully strained to extract the seeds, which were highly poisonous, but if there were no seeds the drink was pleasant and wholesome.¹¹

A prophecy dated to around 1780 recorded the view expressed by Waikato chiefs concerning a gifting of Orakei block land, that “soon these two old [Maori] women will be drunk with the juice of the tutu”. This was referred to in the Native Land Court in 1868. The reference is limited, but does suggest knowledge of the fermented qualities of tutu, although not to widespread drinking practices.¹²

Among the copious notes on Maori pharmacopoeia made by Dr. Golan Maaka (the first Maori general practitioner in New Zealand) in the 1930s was the information that the juice of the tupakihi berry could produce a wine which was used as a drink and for medicinal purposes; although it is unclear whether this refers to post- or pre-contact Maori custom.¹³

Tutu berry juice, minus the poisonous seeds and skins, was often mixed with seaweed or fernroot to give it consistency. It was expected to be served fresh when guests were welcomed onto the marae. The sealer John Boulton drank copious amounts of it in the 1820s, after the berries had been washed and strained through woven bags.¹⁴

Post-contact, there does appear to have been some brewing of alcoholic wine from tutu berry juice. The missionary John Williams, writing of life in the Bay of Islands between 1842 and 1844, observed that –

The natives are dotingly fond of the juice of the tutu, doubtless for its mischievous qualities of inebriation. Their appellation for mischief is tatu [unsteady] – differing only in accent; they soak their fern root in the juice ... If made into wine, it should be well boiled with sugar, and slightly diluted with water and a little Brandy [it] improves and lightens the longer it is kept, partaking of the nature of French wines.¹⁵

Left to stand, tutu berry juice ferments and becomes sour in taste and

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

slightly intoxicating, although this occurred historically through serendipity rather than intent.¹⁶ The Pakeha historian G.W. Rusden (1883) and the Maori anthropologist Makereti (1938) both described the liquid juice of the tutu as solely “refreshing”.¹⁷



6

Tutu. *Coriariaceae* (feather like) family. *Coriaria arborea* (tree like). Photographer unknown. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Wilkinson Collection, G-937-1/2-W.

The Introduction of Alcohol to New Zealand

There are many reports by European explorers and travellers of initial Maori aversion to alcohol. “Water is their universal drink”, the botanist Joseph Banks wrote, while accompanying Captain James Cook’s visit in 1769,

... nor did I see any signs of any other liquor being at all known to them, or any method of intoxication, if they really have not, happy they must be allowed to be above all other nations that I at least have heard of.¹⁸

This was a view supported by Julien-Marie Crozet, who visited the Bay of Islands in 1772. He wrote that, “They [Maori] showed great repugnance for wine and especially for strong liquors; ... They drink a great deal of water”.¹⁹ The drinking of large quantities of water may have been as a result of the eating of fernroot, a staple of Maori diet.

This was also the view of later travellers: the doctor John Savage (1806), the painter Augustus Earle (1827), and the surgeon of the warship *Alligator*, William Marshall (1834).²⁰ The consistent aversion to alcohol can also be seen in actions such as the throwing overboard of large amounts of spirits by the Maori raiding party on the ship *Boyd* in 1809.²¹

In the early years of contact, sweet wine was accepted over spirits such as rum. Perhaps the distaste for bitter liquor resulted from the Maori preference for sweet beverages. Liquor was soon called “waipiro” [“stinking water”], or “wai kaha” [“strong water”], while other Maori called it “waipai” [“good water”].²²

In 1834, the traveller Edward Markham noted that, at Hokianga, he had met some Maori who “gave me some Whi-pi or Good Water, as Rum is no longer called Why-Pecker, or stinking Water”, indicating that some Maori were beginning to get a taste for hard spirits.²³

Until the mid-1830s, missionaries found little to record regarding Maori drinking. The Reverend Gideon Smales preached at Porirua in 1843:

I am not coming with waipiro – corrupted, smelling water, although I have learnt some of you like that; but I am bringing you waireka – sweet water. I am bringing you wairoa – the living water, I am bringing you rongoa – medicine – for your bodies; and rongoa – medicine – for your souls.²⁴

Alcohol was not generally used as payment for settling disputes, as other commodities were.²⁵ Nor was alcohol evident at Maori ceremonial occasions in this period. From the details of thirteen large and important feasts held between 1829 and 1878, it is safe to assume that there was no alcohol

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

present, but another commodity introduced by Pakeha – tobacco – was supplied in bulk at hui after 1844.²⁶

At a peace meeting held in Puhirua in 1844, the Rotorua missionary Thomas Chapman vividly described the activities at a meeting that lasted seven days and had 800 participants, noting that there was “no gaming, no drinking, no swearing”.²⁷ Ernest Dieffenbach, author of *Travels in New Zealand* (1843), noted that he did not see “one instance of drunkenness amongst them, common as the vice is amongst the Europeans”, stating that alcohol was “contrary to their [Maori] taste and inclination”.²⁸



8

‘A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840’. Coloured lithograph, published on the cover of the *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture* (January 1949). Artist: Leonard Cornwall Mitchell. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, D-P242002-A-CT

Maori and Alcohol: A History

At the various signings of the Treaty of Waitangi that took place during 1840, blankets, clothing, pipes and tobacco were offered as koha, but not alcohol. At Waitangi itself, on the fifth of February 1840, there was no liquor inside the grounds, but street vendors sold stout, ale, brandy and rum outside.²⁹ A British doctor, John Bright, who was present at the signing, later wrote an 1841 *Handbook for Emigrants*, which stated that the “majority of the grog sellers [in the Bay of Islands generally] were far more heathen than the Mow-rees; they induced them to drink ...”.³⁰

By the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February 1840, alcohol had been widely introduced by traders. This was a point noted by Tamati Waka Nene (Nga Puhi), who urged that the Treaty be signed:

Had you spoken thus in the old time, when the traders and grog-sellers came – had you turned them away, then you could well say to the Governor, “Go Back”, and it would have been correct, straight, and I would have also have said with you, “Go back” – yes, we together as one man, one voice.

But now, as things are, no, no, no. What did we do before the Pakeha came? We fought, we fought continually. But now we can plant our grounds, and the Pakeha will bring plenty of trade to our shores. Then let us keep him here. Let us all be friends together. I am walking beside the Pakeha. I’ll sign ...³¹

9

Further Reading

Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1987).

Ronald Bruce Hamilton Sharp, ‘Alcohol in New Zealand 1642-1840’ (B.A. [Hons.], Massey University, 1976).

More generally, on early travellers and explorers, see Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and European, 1642-1772* (Viking, Auckland, 1991); Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans, 1773-1815* (Viking, Auckland, 1997).

Maori Drinking Practices and Tastes: Obstacles to Acceptance of Alcohol

Besides this lack of tradition in consuming liquor and a preference for water, a significant obstacle to acceptance of alcohol was the traditional method of drinking by Maori. According to long-standing custom, water was poured from a container, or from a stream, directly into the hands, and scooped or funneled into the mouth. The drinker's lips did not touch the container.³²

In early contact with missionaries and traders, some Maori waited until tea had cooled before they drank it out of their cupped hands. This practice had sacred origins in *tapu*, as explained by F.E. Maning (1863):

A native whose personal *tapu* was perhaps of the strongest ... would drink the water [offered by a Pakeha] and then gravely and quietly break the cup to pieces ... The new *pakeha* would immediately fly into a passion, to the great astonishment of the native, who considered, as a matter of course, that the cup or glass was, in the estimation of the *pakeha*, a very worthless article, or he would not have given it into his hand and allowed him to put it to his head, the part most strongly infected by the *tapu*.³³

Thus, until these customs were abandoned, much alcohol would have been spilt if it had been purchased, and wider acceptance of equally expensive glasses would have to have preceded consumption of alcohol.³⁴ This would not have occurred until the 1840s.

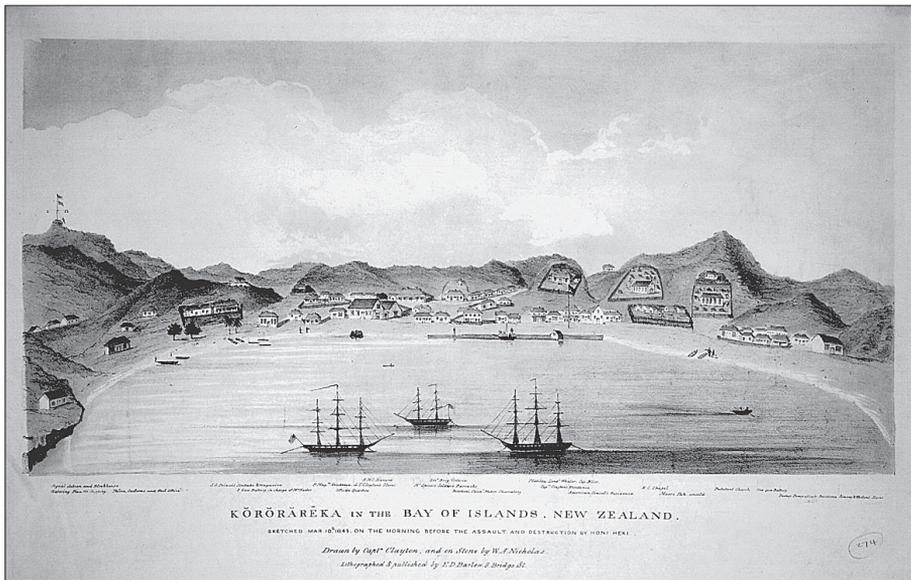
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Frederick Edward Maning ('a Pakaha Maori'), *Old New Zealand. A Tale of the Good Old Times, Together with a History of the War in the North of New Zealand against the Chief Heke in the Year 1845 as told by an Old Chief of the Ngapuhi Tribe, also Maori Traditions* [1863] (Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, n.d. [1948]).

Bay of Islands

The first sustained use of alcohol among Maori was by those who had prolonged contact with Europeans on ships, especially at the port of Kororareka from the 1820s. The Bay of Islands (north of Auckland) was the focal point of pre-1840 contact between Maori and Pakeha, and it was in this region that alcohol was first introduced on a large scale, and where the history of Maori and alcohol truly begins.

By 1831, there were only approximately 250 Pakeha permanently settled in New Zealand, but there were some seasonal fluctuations at Kororareka, with sometimes a floating population of, at the very most, 1,000 at any one time by the 1830s. The land at Kororareka was unsuitable for agriculture, and Maori were thus willing to sell it to merchants and grog-sellers in the pre-1840 period.³⁵



Kororareka, 1845. Lithograph, George Thomas Clayton. Ref. No. C-010-022. Copy Negative: 1/2 -081578-F, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa.

This Pakeha population quickly earned a reputation for lawlessness and hard-drinking, and this reputation – quite possibly exaggerated – contributed to the British decision to annex New Zealand and the Treaty of Waitangi, and to Maori concerns.³⁶ Hone Heke argued that the British should be encouraged to stay, for if they left, “then the French people or the rum-sellers will have us Natives”.³⁷

There were grog shops at Kororareka in the 1820s and 1830s, although most of these establishments’ clientele in this period were Pakeha.³⁸ In the

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

mid-1830s, the American whaler John B. Knights wrote bitterly of the many whalers and traders who were lured to Kororareka by Europeans who lived among the Maori tribes, and who assisted sailors to drink to the value of the property they had taken on shore as security.³⁹

In the 1830s there was certainly public drunkenness – it is no coincidence that the first book printed in New Zealand was entitled *Report on the Formation and Establishment of the New Zealand [Kororareka] Temperance Society* (Paihia, 1836),⁴⁰ – but Kororareka was quickly overwhelmed by settlers in 1839, and soon after became a sleepy port, now under the name Russell.⁴¹

Although most of the grogshop clientele in this period were Pakeha, in temperance propaganda referring back to this time, as in the facing illustration from a book published in

1930, Maori were presented as being the victims of alcohol, reliant on paternalistic Pakeha, such as the gentleman in top hat, for laws and treatment. These images are still powerful.

There are two important historical points to be made here. The first was that Pakeha *expected* Maori to quail before the vices of Europeans. In 1840, Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, wrote to all Lieutenant-Governors in Australasia,



Illustration from Rev. J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray, *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand* (New Zealand Alliance for the Abolition of the Liquor Traffic, 1930), facing p. 193. Collection of Marten Hutt.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Between the Native, who is weakened by intoxicating liquors, and the European who has all the strength of superior Civilization and is free from its restraints, the unequal contest is generally of no long duration; the Natives decline, diminish, and finally disappear.⁴²

The second was that drunkenness was a major social characteristic of the young British colony. Not until 1870 did drunkenness comprise less than half of all causes of convictions. However, in the 264 cases of drunkenness brought before the Police and Magistrate's Court at Wellington for the period 1844-48, only one was for "Natives". The court records note that, "The native population is remarkably free from drunkenness – indeed from any use of ardent spirits".⁴³

Further Reading

Kathleen Shawcross, 'Maoris of the Bay of Islands, 1769-1840: A Study of Changing Maori Responses to European Contact' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1967).

James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996).

Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840. Early Years of Western Contact* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1959).

Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity. British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847* (Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1977).

Post-contact Concoctions

In the post-contact period, and especially after 1840, Maori and Pakeha alike experimented with innovative usages of native plants for making alcoholic beverages. Some changes to drink preferences did come with European contact.

Popular among pre-1840 Bay of Islands Maori was 'stirabout', a boiled mixture of flour, sugar and water.⁴⁴ A Canterbury Pakeha settler in the 1840s recorded that gourds were made into wine containers for fermenting, but "with the advent of 'waipiro' it no longer became necessary to make tu-tu wine".⁴⁵

Colonists certainly had recipes for tutu wine, as well as for wines made from the juice of wild turnips, makomako berries, peaches and kawakawa.⁴⁶ Pakeha were inventive, and were copied by Maori.

In 1856, a Clyde publican at Dairy Creek sold powerful mixtures of milk and spirits.⁴⁷ A similar drink, called 'syllabub' (cream or milk mixed with wine) was enjoyed during Upper Wanganui River evenings by Lara Taylor, a missionary's daughter, in 1853.⁴⁸

Sygdur Wisniowski described drinking mead outside of New Plymouth in 1877, a drink which was distilled "from honey collected ... from the neighbouring trees, which were full of wild bees ... The liquor is ... white in colour, light, and no stronger than beer".⁴⁹ In 1879, a Taranaki Pakeha settler had seventy of his one hundred bottles of homemade gooseberry wine, stored under his house, explode.⁵⁰

One of the early infamous nineteenth-century Southland illegal stills was run by Owen McShane, who converted the sugary pulp of cabbage tree roots (ti kouka) into a concoction similar to brandy or rum.⁵¹

The use of native plants for the brewing of alcohol was one of the very first activities of Europeans. Captain James Cook had brewed the first beer in New Zealand in 1769 by boiling rimu and manuka twigs with molasses and wort (unfermented beer).⁵² Cook's crew praised the result. One enthusiastically wrote that "After a small amount of rum or arrack has been added, with some brown sugar, and stirred into this really pleasant, refreshing and healthy drink, it bubbled and tasted rather like champagne".⁵³ Although it would not suit today's tastes, it undoubtedly helped to stave off the effects of scurvy among Cook's crew.

Missionary and Maori alike made beer from ti kouka.⁵⁴ Beer was also made from sow thistle juice, supplejack roots, matai sap, or from kohekohe bark and bush honey.⁵⁵ Matai beer was described by a Taihape newspaper in 1912 as tasting "like used machine oil ... When a deep swig is absorbed, one has all the sensations of having swallowed a lighted kerosene stove".⁵⁶

The leaves of the kohekohe or kupapa, or rimu twigs, were used to give a refreshingly bitter taste to the various concoctions. Maori "home brew" was called "paikaka" and was made from maize, potatoes and kumara.⁵⁷

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Further Reading

Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994).

Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh. Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand 1840-1915* (Reed, Wellington, 1984).

Gordon McLauchlan, *The Story of Beer. Beer and Brewing – a New Zealand History* (Viking Penguin [in collaboration with Lion Breweries], Auckland, 1994).

Trade and Impact of European Goods on Maori Society Before 1850

By 1830, pipe smoking, and European hair styles and clothes had become relatively common among Maori keen to trade. Alcohol was evident in some instances. Several chiefs in the Hokianga, Akaroa and Port Nicholson acquired stocks of rum for trade and personal use.⁵⁸ Although missionaries often claimed that Europeans were trading with Maori in alcohol, there is very little evidence for this trade in liquor before 1840. A less typical, but revealing, missionary response was that recorded by the Reverend James Watkin, the first missionary in the South Island, in 1840:

Another objection to the Missionary is that it will make the Natives too knowing i.e. in matter of trade, but from the specimens I have [seen] already, I think my duty would be to make them less knowing.⁵⁹

In other words, by 1840, many Maori were enthusiastic and successful traders with Pakeha.⁶⁰ This acumen was facilitated by the experience of the numerous (as many as 1,000) Maori who travelled overseas before 1840, the vast majority of whom returned with trading expertise, as well as thousands of others in close contact with European populations in New Zealand.⁶¹

Maori were reluctant to trade in alcohol, and only engaged in trade in



Village of Parkuni, Hokianga River. Engraving, n.a. n.d. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, C. 1777.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

liquor to a moderate extent through the 1840s. There were exceptions. For instance, in 1843, two Waikato chiefs ran hotels, catering for European clientele.⁶² Pomare, a Nga Puhī chief, owned two pubs, the Sailor's Return and the Eagle Inn in his Otuihu pa in the late 1830s.⁶³ In the early 1840s Te Rauparaha sometimes left his Kapiti Island stronghold for trading and recreational trips to Wellington, and frequently pulled his canoe up to the shoreline and had a few free rums in the Thistle Tavern.⁶⁴

Tobacco, blankets and muskets were used far more frequently as trading commodities than was alcohol.⁶⁵ In 1840, J. S. Polack wrote to prospective emigrants that in land deals, “your *moni torra* (dollar or silver money) will be smoked away in tobacco (*tupakka*)”.⁶⁶

John Broughton has demonstrated that tobacco in nineteenth-century New Zealand quickly became popular with Maori.⁶⁷ In 1844, the painter George French Angas could easily exchange tobacco for food.⁶⁸ Tobacco was often given as *koha* by settlers, who found this to be well received,⁶⁹ but alcohol was not offered as *koha* until the last third of the nineteenth century. F.E. Maning (1863) and Robert McNab (1913) record numerous instances of trading involving blankets, tobacco and muskets, but none involving alcohol.⁷⁰

The log of the American whaler *Mary Mitchell*, in New Zealand waters during 1836, records that the crew often had to accede to requests from Maori to trade in “their darling Tobacco Muskets and Pipes”, but with no mention of requests for liquor.⁷¹

The so-called Wakefield land purchases of 1839, which secured most of Wellington and Taranaki for goods worth £9,000, included 300 red blankets, 200 muskets, 600 pencils, 204 mirrors, 12 hats, 276 shirts and 3,200 fish hooks, but no alcohol.⁷²

In 1839 Devonport in Auckland was purchased for goods which included 20 blankets, 10 hats and 100 pounds of tobacco, and Auckland itself in 1840 for goods including 50 blankets, 4 casks of tobacco and 1 box of clay pipes – but again no alcohol.⁷³

On the rare occasions when alcohol was used in relation to trade, it was generally as a medium for relaxed discussion of terms. When the *Deborah* anchored at Port Cooper on Bank's Peninsula on 5 April 1844, Tuhawaiki, a Ngai Tahu chief, met the party on board. The party included the surgeon David Monro, who recorded the scene for the *Nelson Examiner*:

He was most correctly and completely dressed in white man's clothes, even to the refinement of a cotton pocket handkerchief ... Sanguinary John is not one of those natives that climb up a ship's side, and forthwith squat down upon their hams on the deck. After shaking hands he pulls out his watch, and asks you what time you make it, and, having satisfied himself on this point, he pulls out a dollar, and orders the stewards to fetch him a bottle of wine. In the evening we had him in the

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

cabin, where we both profited and were much amused by his conversation ... On many subjects he surprised us by much shrewdness and very considerable drollery.⁷⁴

While some chiefs and tribes lost mana through changes wrought by contact with Europeans, others gained mana. In other words, as James Belich has recently (1996) argued, dependency in the pre-1840 period was mutual. The argument that Maori dependence on European technology corrupted Maori society both underplays the degree to which Maori adapted or appropriated Pakeha goods to their own needs and contexts, and buys into the myths of 'fatal impact' and conversion.⁷⁵

Maori determined which aspects of European technology were accepted, and in what form, specifying their wish for small axes over large ones, heavy blankets, and large nails for chiselling, adapting these artifacts in often ingenious ways.⁷⁶ As Belich has written, only those commodities and activities which could be readily adapted to Maori economic practices were accepted: sex, pork and potatoes, but generally not rum, goats and geese.⁷⁷

18

Further Reading

James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996).

John Broughton, *Puffing Up a Storm. Volume I. 'Kapai te Torori!'* (Ngai Tahu Maori Health Research Unit, University of Otago, Dunedin, 1996).

Liquor Laws, 1830s-1850s

However insignificant alcohol was in Maori life at this time, many colonial administrators were convinced that it would contribute to widespread social dislocation among a Maori population they paternalistically viewed as vulnerable to liquor abuse. Thus, it is not surprising that there were a number of efforts to keep drink out of Maori hands.

There were some attempts, with the support of Maori chiefs, to control alcohol and collect customs revenue in the Bay of Islands in the 1820s and 1830s. One of the more significant attempts was the outcome of a meeting held at Mangangu in the Hokianga on 21 September 1835. The meeting was attended by some Pakeha and over 500 Maori. To patrol the Hokianga river, two Pakeha, a Captain Young and Henry R. Oakes, were joined by Moetara, a Maori chief. Their first action was to seize an Australian vessel and empty its stores of rum.⁷⁸

However, the most significant legislative measure was the Ordinance to Prohibit the Sale of Spirits to Natives of 1847. This Ordinance, with a maximum fine of £10 for sale of alcohol to Maori, suffered from a lack of effective policing.⁷⁹ The Ordinance gave the Governor the power to forbid the sale of liquor in any area, although this power was not invoked until the 1860s.

The Ordinance was in accordance with Governor Grey's desire to promote 'amalgamation' of Maori and Pakeha, and followed an 1845 Arms Ordinance to prohibit the sale of muskets to Maori. The Arms Ordinance was at least partially justified, with memories still fresh of the disastrous 'Musket Wars' between various Maori tribes, primarily in the 1820s. Most Pakeha politicians viewed the 1847 Ordinance as a paternalistic act, and resisted pressure from brewers who wished to expand into the interior of the North Island, and who asserted that the measure was an affront to Maori independence.⁸⁰

The historian Peter C. Mancall, writing of the 1847 Ordinance, has recently (1998) argued that we should view this Ordinance (and subsequent alcohol legislation) in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi:

What did Maori think of such efforts to limit their access to alcohol? Some Maori leaders probably did agree that alcohol was a threat in their communities and they quite likely supported these proclamations. But the documents that survive tell a different story. Some Maori chiefs might have agreed that drunkenness caused problems in their communities, but they objected to laws that treated them differently from Pakeha. Didn't the Treaty of Waitangi, after all, promise to treat Maori as equal subjects of the Queen? If so, shouldn't alcohol have been declared off limits to Pakeha as well, espe-

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

cially given the fact, evident in the 1850s, that Pakeha convictions for drunkenness outnumbered convictions for Maori by a ratio of almost three-to-one? ⁸¹

However, as Parliamentary reports from the 1850s demonstrate, Pakeha politicians saw such legislation in a paternalistic light. The report of the Board of Enquiry into Native Affairs (1856) stated that liquor laws that discriminated against Maori with regard to alcohol were seen by Maori as being “the benevolent exercise on the part of the Government of a parental authority interposed to protect them from a dangerous enemy”. ⁸² However, many of the petitions that were presented to Parliament in the 1850s indicated not only concern at the potential and actual impact of alcohol on Maori, but also indications of Maori-initiated resolve regarding liquor. A group of Waikato and Waipa chiefs sent the following letter to Parliament in 1856:

20

This is our word to you – do not let any intoxicating drinks come to this land to Waipa, but let it be kept there [Auckland] at the inns. Let the Maori law, which has been asserted to by all the chiefs of this place [Waipa] and Waikato, be sacred, namely that the Natives be not allowed to drink spirits ... This [alcohol] is the worst thing hitherto brought to New Zealand ... we have determined, therefore, not to allow it to be used. ⁸³

Such petitions are an indication of an increasing confidence among Maori in using their ever-growing literacy to press for action on issues of concern, such as alcohol control.

Further Reading

For this and other sections dealing with legislation, it is best to go to the legislation itself, listed in Parliamentary sources (available through most libraries; National Library/Alexander Turnbull Library for older material). On the 1847 Ordinance, the background and implications of this legislation are currently being researched by Professor Peter C. Mancall (forthcoming, 1999).

Maori Written Sources and Maori Literacy: Hone Ri

Helen Hogan

The acquisition of Maori literacy was a reciprocal process begun in the early part of the nineteenth century. Before the missionaries could provide tuition in reading and writing te reo, Maori had to teach them to speak and understand it. Once printed material, at that time almost entirely of a religious nature, was available, Maori people mastered the skills very rapidly and with great enthusiasm.

Although by 1860 (when the numbers of Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand were about equal) there was almost certainly a greater number of literate Maori than there were literate Pakeha living in New Zealand, there had to be access to materials such as pen, paper or printing press for Maori writing to survive. A number of Maori manuscripts written in this period have been retained and are to be found in library and museum collections. Hone Ri's writing, quoted here, comes from one such collection.

During the nineteenth century there were a number of Maori journals published, the earlier ones very heavily influenced by government or Pakeha agenda. But later in the century, there were several much more independently run Maori newspapers issued. One of these was *Te Pipiwharauoa*, a monthly journal that was published from 1898 until 1913, mostly in Gisborne. The Henare Kohere extract quoted on p. 50 appeared in this journal.

In pre-literate times, oral accounts of travel were made to an audience most commonly composed of members of a close community with shared experience and responses, and the words were naturally accompanied by facial expressions, gesture and varying tone of voice. Consequently, the narrator did not have to depend on statements of emotion to convey how he felt.

Perhaps because written Maori narrative stemmed so recently from oral traditions, Maori prose writers in the nineteenth century and up to the First World War did not emphasise emotional response to the events they were recounting. Maori prose writing of the period was always economical and never padded, and so, if a detail was included, the reader must understand that its selection had a special significance to the writer.

Nothing is known of the author who gives his name both as Hone Ri and its English form, John Lee. From internal evidence it appears that Hone Ri lived in the Hokianga region, and that he was writing about the year 1850. His manuscript is an account of a journey he took working as a crew member on a trading cutter. He decided to stop in Sydney until the sailing vessel returned. He was not happy there, for he was often hungry, short of

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

money and unwell. His principal comfort was that he was able to stay with a Maori family.

Sydney was then a penal colony and Hone Ri witnessed the quarrying work the convicts were required to do in great heat and hampered by leg chains by which they were bound. Clearly he was puzzled and perhaps not a little worried by the operation of English law and retribution, for he returned to the topic of imprisonment from time to time throughout his narrative. He particularly concentrated on the law as it related to drunkenness.

As can be seen from the first extract, he was himself prepared to sample alcoholic beverages. He does not tell us how he liked them, but it would appear that it was a novel experience for him.

22

From the manuscript of Hone Ri

[The following extracts are from different parts of the manuscript. It is housed in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Ms papers 32 (McLean): 735.]

[As they reached Sydney Harbour their cutter was approached by a bum-boat.]

Ko tenei hanga hoki o te poti, tini ana. Ka u mai ano te poti hoko pititi, merengi, waina ki to matou kata. Ka homai e te Pakeha ko te tau au waina maku – ko te pititi, he kotahi.

As for boats, there were lots of them. And a boat came out to our cutter, selling peach, and melon wine. A Pakeha gave me some. The wine tot [?] for me [i.e. the wine I was given] was the peach wine. [I had] one.

Na, ka haere ano ahau kia kite i te w[h]are herehere, i te watiauhe. Ka haurangi te tangata i te rama, ka kawea ki taua w[h]are ra; mutu ano, ka puta ia ki waho.

And, I went also to see the prison and the watch-house. When someone gets drunk on rum, he's taken into that building; afterwards, he is released.

Ka 3 aku tino wiki ki Poihakena, ka matau ahau ki nga ritenga o te Pakeha. Ka haurangi te Pakeha, ka kawea ki te watiauhe. Ko nga katipa hoki hei kawea ki taua w[h]are ra, he haere tonu ta ratau mahi i te ao, i te po. He iwi pai te Pakeha; e kore e pokanoa te riri. Me tahae ano, katahi ano ka riro ki te w[h]are herehe[re].

After I had been in Port Jackson for 3 weeks I understood the ways of the Pakeha. When a Pakeha is drunk, he is taken off to the watch-house. It is the job of the constables to take him to that building; all the time they are going around, by day and by night. The Pakeha are an even-tempered people; they will not become angry for no reason. But if you steal, that is when you get taken off to prison.

Ka haurangi te tangata, ka riro ia ki te watiauhe i nga katipa. Ka haurangi ki roto ki te w[h]are, e kore e tangohia e nga katipa.

When someone gets drunk, he is taken to the watchhouse by the constables. When he is drunk inside his house he will not be taken by the constables.

Alcohol and Maori Economic Activity Before the 1860s

Well into the 1850s, most European settlements were dependent upon Maori trading and provision of foodstuffs. Beginning around 1830 and continuing until the late 1850s, many Maori profited from new commercial opportunities, owning significant numbers of flour mills, coastal vessels, crops and livestock.⁸⁴

There was a hotel built by Maori on the Waikato,⁸⁵ but Maori tended to be more interested in building flour mills or developing coastal shipping fleets. There were some instances of this emerging economy including alcohol.

Some East Coast Maori were using liquor as items of trade in exchange for produce in the 1850s. The principal Pakeha trader on the East Coast at the time, Captain G.E. Read, paid for wheat shipments with liquor. East Coast Maori also brought back casks of liquor from Auckland in their coastal schooners and sold them to both Maori and Pakeha at this time.⁸⁶

Despite this use of alcohol in trade, there was a long history of successful Maori initiatives on the East Coast to control alcohol. For instance, in Poverty Bay in the mid-1850s, a central body of chiefs forbade the consumption of liquor and fined offenders. There is some evidence that an enforcement squad was maintained to prevent Maori from entering liquor stores.⁸⁷

Continuation of Relative Temperance by Maori Before the 1860s

The relative temperance of Maori – though with significant regional differences – was remarked upon by a number of writers well into the 1850s.⁸⁸ John Robert Godley, visiting Otaki in 1850, noted that “No-one touches spirits, a regulation which the Maoris adopted of their own accord”.⁸⁹ A large feast held at Ngaruawahia in 1858 listed no alcohol among the provisions.⁹⁰

An important point to make is that Maori consumption of alcohol varied greatly. There were regional differences in the introduction and prevalence of alcohol: there is anecdotal evidence that alcohol use among Maori was more pronounced in the North than the South Island, for instance.⁹¹ The complexity of responses to alcohol within Maoridom must be stressed.

East Coast

There were some exceptions by this period. The East Coast had a large Maori drinking population, albeit well-controlled. However, the missionary Thomas Chapman recorded, in a letter of 1858, that in the gumdigging districts in the Far North,



Gum diggers, North Auckland. Photographers: Northwood Brothers, c. 1910. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Northwood Collection, G-4936-1/1.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

... much drinking prevails among Ngatiwhauae [Ngati Whakaue] & that saved money is very scarce, eating & *drinking* consuming almost all they can earn ... I fear they are doing themselves little good – neither can they be much improving in mortality or learning ...⁹²

But this was a distinct area, with a heavy and rapid concentration of Pakeha, drawn in by a profitable but labour-intensive extractive economic activity, which partially explains the drinking habits its Pakeha and Maori residents displayed.⁹³

Chatham Islands

On the Chatham Islands, while abuse of alcohol by Maori and European was common, it was low amongst the Moriori (Chatham Island Maori). On the Chathams, by the late 1840s, Maori traders used the profits made, in part, from exploitation of Moriori slaves, to purchase horses and large quantities of rum.⁹⁴

Still, controlled drinking remained in the 1850s, at times leading to disputes and acrimony between Pakeha and Maori. A Resident Magistrate, Archibald Shand, was sent to the Chathams in 1855, on the urging of Pakeha settlers who felt that their relationships with Maori had deteriorated when the latter had obtained several barrels of spirits from a wrecked ship. Chief Toenga Te Poki (Atiawa) later wrote letters to the government accusing Shand of drunkenness and supplying liquor to women in order to seduce them. Nothing was proved, and it appears that Toenga was motivated, at least in part, by Shand refusing to give commercial concessions to members of Toenga's family, and only after Shand had remonstrated with Toenga about the way the Moriori were being treated by Maori.⁹⁵ Not until the 1890s was there evidence of adverse social effects involving alcohol amongst Moriori, which resulted in the sale of alcohol being banned on the Chatham Islands on New Year's Day 1893.

25

Auckland Urban Maori

Despite the relative temperance of Maori, there were signs of increasing consumption of alcohol in the 1850s. From 1853, the colonial authorities began collecting separate statistics on Maori alcohol-related offences.⁹⁶ By the 1850s, drinking was becoming a more noticeable problem among Auckland urban Maori.

Parliamentary Petitions and Pakeha Paternalism

There were also numerous petitions being presented to Parliament by Maori at this time. For example, in 1856, petitions and letters were presented to the House of Representatives by Ngati Mahuta representatives, praying that drink be kept from them:

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

It is a drink, fit only for the foolish, and for the evil spirit; – it is a drink which causes men to die; – it is a drink that bring [sic] about murder ... we advocate the principle of its being done away with, and that it be not given to the Native people.⁹⁷

Perhaps as a result of hundreds of similar petitions, in 1858 the Native Districts Regulation Act empowered the Governor in Council to make regulations concerning local affairs. Among the sixteen subjects were drunkenness and the restriction of the liquor trade. Maori generally resented that these restrictions applied only to them.⁹⁸

However, the mood among Pakeha politicians was one of paternalism. An 1856 Board of Inquiry into Native Affairs averred that Maori recognised “benevolent exercise on the part of the Government of a parental authority interposed to protect them from a dangerous enemy”.⁹⁹

1860s: The New Zealand Wars and Increasing Use of Alcohol

In the 1860s, surviving documents record the fact that alcohol had begun to appear at hui. Herbert Meade recorded attending an Arawa hui in 1864. While tobacco was banned, the tables “groaned under huge piles of bread and butter and biscuit, besides a small quantity of brandy, rum and cider”. A misunderstanding led Meade to empty his glass too soon, forcing him to ask for his glass to be refilled: “I fear that our good intentions may have been misconstrued, and that we were looked on as men who had obtained a double allowance of grog under false pretences”.¹⁰⁰

In the evening, brandy and tobacco were consumed, and Meade records the toasts that were made:

Each chief in turn had to propose a toast, and it was rather amusing to compare their remarks with similar specimens of post-prandial eloquence at home. The Queen was the most frequent toast, and one of the wildest-looking characters present said, whilst proposing her Majesty: “... She is the fountain of all good – before her reign all things went wrong, but now we have good laws. It is she who gives us this brandy (a polite fiction). May she send us plenty of powder, plenty of rum, and may both be strong! And may she send and open a public house here”.¹⁰¹

This sophisticated use of etiquette surrounding drinking showed that Maori alcohol consumption at this time was starting to be linked to political allegiances and alliances. Further, the appropriation by Maori of European customs surrounding alcohol, such as toasting leaders, also reflects the demographic impact of a fast-expanding Pakeha population, becoming less dependent on Maori economic activity for their own economic survival.

Certainly, by the 1860s there was an awareness of the behaviour brought on by drinking. In 1861, on Bank’s Peninsula, the Rev. James West Stack recorded the observations of a group of Maori watching a boat sailing oddly:

There was the vessel, still sailing up and down the bay, and why it should be doing so, for no apparent purpose, puzzled them all very much. At last they came to the conclusion that all on board must be very drunk, for none but idiots could behave as they were doing.¹⁰²

But there was also an awareness that there needed to be proactive responses. The previous year, his wife, Eliza, noted that in Poverty Bay,

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

The natives are now so disgusted with themselves for being unable to resist the temptation to buy the strong drink sold in all the stores here, they have made a law forbidding purchases of any kind to be made at a store where intoxicating drinks are sold. They have stationed policemen at these stores, armed with muskets to prevent any person entering them.¹⁰³

28



Unidentified group outside a shop, probably Wanganui. Photographer: William Harding, c. 1860s. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, W.J. Harding Collection, G-13-1/1. It is while waiting for urban Native Land Court hearings in such groups that many historians believe that Maori racked up credit for, among other things, alcohol.

In the late 1850s-early 1860s, the Waikato chief Wiremu Tamihana had insisted that every European settled in his territory sign a bond to pay £1 for every Maori found drunk on his premises or land.¹⁰⁴ The Bay of Islands runanga passed restrictions against the acquisition of liquor by Maori in 1862-63, with rewards for Maori informers. But this prohibition did not work: the authorities and grog-sellers, both Maori and Pakeha, were themselves involved in the liquor trade, and gangs of Maori youth intimidated informers.¹⁰⁵

In 1863, the doctor John Batty Tuke recorded that “in the neighbourhood of the settlements, many Maoris are much addicted to spiritous liquors”.¹⁰⁶ In the same year, F.E. Maning published this tirade in his *Old New Zealand*, bemoaning the loss of Maori warrior virility:

... the present generation of Maori are a stunted, tobacco-smoking, grog-drinking, psalm-singing, special-pleading, shilling-hunting set of wretches; not above one in a dozen of them would know how to cut up a man ... Pshaw! I am ashamed of them.¹⁰⁷

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Some contemporary observers suggested that kupapa (Maori who fought on the side of the Crown in the New Zealand Wars) helped spread a taste and habit for rum which had been included in their daily rations.¹⁰⁸ Certainly tots of rum were used by many of the militia to keep warm in the wet and cold guerilla-type campaigns of the New Zealand Wars.

Concerns about growing Maori drinking were reflected in legislation. The 1858 Native Districts Regulation Act was proclaimed in the Upper Waikato district (1861), followed by the Bay of Islands in 1863, with liquor licenses to be issued only by the Resident Magistrate.¹⁰⁹

Although most alcohol legislation of this era can be seen as paternalistic – designed to keep Maori away from alcohol which, so the argument went, they had no traditions to cope with or physiology to withstand – some legislation paints quite a different picture.

In 1860, the report of the Select Committee on Distillation argued that distillation of spirits should be retained in a few large South Island distilleries, to keep the methods of manufacture away from Maori entrepreneurs.¹¹⁰ This particular decision indicates that Maori were not merely the passive victims of European vices such as alcohol, but were active potential commercial players. Thus, in this instance, alcohol legislation that discriminated against Maori was made on commercial as well as benevolent grounds.

Petitions to Parliament by Maori continued. In 1866, the House of Representatives received a petition from six Arawa chiefs praying that no license be allowed on their land.¹¹¹ Some Maori joined temperance or-

29



Staged portrait of a group of Maori warriors, c. 1870-1900. Photographers: Pulman and Son. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, B. 8200.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

ganisations and, in 1866, several Maori chiefs, including King Tawhiao, wore the blue temperance ribbon or signed total abstinence pledges.¹¹²

This activity continued into the 1870s. Among Ngai Tahu populations in the 1870s, there was growing resistance to alcohol. In 1879 all South Island tribes petitioned Parliament for the total prohibition of alcohol in the southern provinces. This had followed Ngai Tahu groups in Canterbury and Otago turning away from liquor in the mid-1870s.¹¹³

Further Reading

James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1986).

James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996).

Maori and “Ardent Spirits”

Philip Andrews

In this section, the impact of alcohol is related primarily through the writings and comments of Rev. Thomas Chapman (1792-1876), but also through those involved in the burgeoning tourist industry around Rotorua at this time (prior to the Tarawera eruption of 1886).

In February 1834, Chapman had noted at Kororareka large amounts of alcohol being consumed. The staggering of drunken sailors provided amusement for local Maori, but some of the ‘whare karakia of Satan’ – the ironic Maori term for the grog-shops – were also supplying rum to those chiefs with a relish for it.

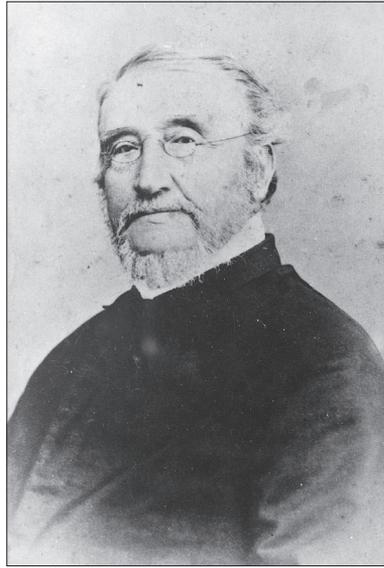
Despite missionary and Maori pleas, British Resident James Busby refused to prohibit spirits at the Bay of Islands, believing it contrary to the constitution of England to thus restrict British subjects. This refusal led the Rev. Henry Williams bitterly to observe that “I suppose we shall be able in a short time to float our ships in Spirits”.

While the missionaries’ concern was for the defilement of the Sabbath and fear of the bad example being flaunted, there seems to have been no widespread Maori taste for spirits in the early 1830s.

Chapman himself was no ‘wowsers’: he enjoyed porter and wine, but he could see that excessive drinking of spirits could become a danger to Maori. “How at variance with the trader’s true interests”, Chapman commented on the coastal trade in alcohol, “are these doings. Drunkenness and poverty are just not the best things to help along trade”.

When Chapman operated mission stations in the Rotorua district in the late 1830s and throughout the 1840s he had no occasion to record in his letters and journals any cases of Maori addiction to alcohol: it was tobacco that was then all the rage.

But during his time at Maketu in the 1850s, when more Maori had contact with shipping, or travelled to Auckland, or worked at the gumfields



Rev. Thomas Chapman. Rotorua Museum of Art and History/Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa, CP 96.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

or goldfields or at roadmaking, they became more exposed to European habits. Chapman recorded that the trader Abraham Warbrick “had brought down with him a large allowance of Spirits” and that another trader, Black, had tried to smuggle a cask inland but had been prevented by concerned Maori. On the East Coast William Williams observed in 1853 that “The habit of drinking is growing upon the natives and it is evident that some of the Englishmen living here furnish the supply, which is contrary to the law of the Legislative Council”.

Chapman’s annual report to the Church Missionary Society in 1859 mentioned sadly the decline in cultivations as many Maori from Taupo, Tarawera, Rotorua and Maketu selling gum in Auckland began “to use stimulating and spiritous liquors, which on account of their smallness in bulk are easily conveyed from place to place, and which is rapidly lowering their standard, and character”.

There were also Maori involved in trafficking spirits. Wi Marsh (presumably Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke of Ngati Rangiwewehi) was reported in 1864 as having bought twenty pounds’ worth of rum from the master of the *Kate*, an amount surely not intended for his own consumption.

32

Edward Clarke in 1861 corroborated Chapman’s earlier observation that Maori at Whakatane were great consumers of spirits, and noted that, imitating the lucrative trade developed by pakeha traders, Maori vessels were returning from Auckland with twenty to sixty pounds’ worth of spirits for sale at exorbitant prices, despite the opposition of a Maori minority. Some Christian settlements – among them Ohiwa – prohibited alcohol, but at Opotiki drinking was by 1861 reckoned to be worse than at Whakatane, with women and children seen drunk.

On their own side of the Mohaka, Maori interdicted the introduction of spirits into Maori-owned areas, while in the Wairoa district Maori had excluded spirits altogether and successfully opposed a public-house licensed by the Provincial Government. Upon smuggled spirits consumed by Europeans they turned a blind eye.

When Chapman shifted to Auckland in the early 1860s, Maori groups visiting Auckland were seldom seen as a consequence of the wars, but by the end of that decade he noted that “drinking ardent spirits has acted so very injuriously on others, that my Church for the natives is now not regularly opened”.

In 1871 he lamented, “I can give little hope at present of reformation in the natives’ now confirmed habit of drinking; unless a partially operative ‘Permission Bill’, just passed, should work some reformation. The Natives lured (if they require luring!) into habits of intemperance and small gaming ...”. Again in his end-of-year Report for 1872 he observes, “where the temptation to drink ardent spirits has been placed in their way few have resisted the evil. Still there are districts, and tribes, where they have been much kept from the evil ...”.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

At the close of the following year he wrote that Maori land sales “will have in many ways a damaging effect upon them. It will introduce large sums of money among them, and will lead to the purchase of the accursed ‘firewater’, pioneer as it is, of disease and early death”.

Chapman died in 1876 and so did not live to learn of the drunkenness of the 1870s and 1880s that various visitors commented on within his former district. Ernest Tinne in 1872 observed a hostelry at Ohinemutu, Rotorua, “full of semi-intoxicated natives from Napier”, and at a Taupo hostelry “a crowd of drunken natives were squatting before the door, ready to sponge on the newest arrival for another glass of their beloved waipero [*sic*] (stinking water), the curse of their race here as in America”.

A guidebook writer in 1885, extolling the Palace Hotel at Ohinemutu, Rotorua, claimed, “I never saw a Maori yet, who would not spin you any amount of ‘cuffers’ for a glass of grog and some tobacco ...”.

It was at Ohinemutu that another guidebook writer tried to dissuade some local women against tobacco and rum. Unsuccessful, the visitor then offered them some beer (which did not rank among the “ardent spirits”), and half a gallon was brought. Just as one woman was about to drink, the writer asked her to perform a haka, saying “no dance, no beer”. Flinging away the beer the woman said, “Don’t want none o’ yer beer”, and marched off indignantly.

It must be borne in mind that a number of Pakeha writers of the time tended both to exaggerate what they saw and readily to accept hearsay. A case in point is Thomas Bracken’s comic verse tale (1879), in the style of Longfellow’s *Hiawatha*, about a young Maori woman at Rotomahana. Improbably named Erin-Nora, she falls in love with a tourist who rejects the amorous maiden with these words:

But I said “Delightful angel,
Take this flask of Highland whisky;
Sup it early in the morning,
And remember me, my darling”.
Fled I swiftly from the Hot Springs,
From that wild romantic region;
And the low wind from the mountain
Brought her wails upon the vapour;
Wafted forth her sighs and sobbing,
As she guzzled down the whisky,
Whilst she murmured, “*Kapai, Kapai.*”
And I never more shall see her,
Fare thee well, my Erin-Nora.

The verse probably tells us more of Bracken’s bias than of actual Maori drinking habits, but on the other hand, John McNab’s first-hand account in 1886 of an early concert party at Te Wairoa (now known as the Buried Village) rings true: “An interval follows, usually occupied with gossip, smoking, and refreshments from the beer bucket, an indispensable adjunct I believe to the haka-dance, though an objectionable one”.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

That redoubtable traveller Miss C.F. Gordon Cumming commented that “rum is an objectionable feature, which is insisted on as an extra in all canoes engaged at the hotel” [at Te Wairoa]. One visitor, despite no firsthand experience of the performance, readily accepted accounts which claimed that Maori performers at Te Wairoa, excited by rum and Pakeha encouragement, would bring their haka “to a pitch of indescribable indecency, and the result of it is often a filthy, drunken orgie [sic] of several days duration”.

When Te Wairoa was destroyed by the 1886 eruption of Mt Tarawera, Native Land Court Judge Henry Tacy Clarke was urged by certain Rotorua chiefs to close the public houses. Clarke then issued notices “forbidding temporarily the supply of any liquor to persons of the Native race – For under our altered circumstances the consequences might have been disastrous”. Clarke’s active imagination could visualise no problem from European drunks but perhaps feared some sort of Maori uprising: but the Maori of Te Arawa were immersed in grief and busy assisting their stricken neighbours.

Mary Sophia (Te Paea) Hinerangi (1832-1911) was the most famous thermal guide of her time, both at the Pink and White Terraces and later at Whakarewarewa. One wonders at the accuracy of the *Hot Lakes Chronicle*’s anecdote about Guide Sophia at Whakarewarewa, which hinted at a fond-

34



Geyser Hotel, Rotorua. The woman second from right is Guide Sophia. Rotorua Museum of Art and History/Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa, CP 1874. Thanks to William Main and Cherie Meecham for this photograph.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

ness for whisky. This anecdote scarcely agrees with a report that Sophia had joined the Blue Ribbon temperance movement at Te Wairoa where the Snow Temperance Hall had been erected. Still, Sophia herself told Ellen Massy an entertaining anecdote involving herself just after the eruption:

Sophia mentioned that their Rotorua friends brought out refreshments, which included a bottle of whisky. “With us”, said Sophia, “was an old woman, a cousin of my husband’s; she had been praying hard all the night, and seeing the whisky, cried out: ‘O, *Etai*, give that bottle back to the people, think of God and other things’”, pointing at the same time with her finger to the sky. Whereupon the woman behind me pulled my skirt violently, telling me at the same time not to listen to the old woman, but to take the whisky. Well! lady, you know I had been blue ribbon myself for seventeen months. So to quiet the poor soul, I said, “All right, you shall do the praying and we will drink the whisky!”



Mary Sophia (Te Paea) Hinerangi ('Guide Sophia'). Rotorua Museum of Art and History/Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa, CP 549.

35

Guide Sophia and the Rev. Thomas Chapman both opposed the availability and consumption by Maori of “ardent spirits”. Interestingly, there is another link between the famous guide and the outspoken missionary: Sophia’s brother, Alexander Gray, was Chapman’s adopted godson, the Scottish father of Alex and Sophia having reputedly died of alcoholism.

Further reading

Philip Andrews, *Tarawera and the Terraces* (Auckland, 1986).

R.F. Keam, *Tarawera. The Volcanic Eruption of Tarawera 10 June 1886* (Auckland, 1988).

E.I. Massy, *Memories of Maoriland* (London, 1911).

Pakeha Drinking in the Nineteenth Century

As many historians have observed, Pakeha drinking rates were high in the nineteenth century. Some of the figures are startling:

- In 1879 there was a ratio of one pub per 287 people in New Zealand.¹¹⁴
- The average Pakeha man in the 1840s drank 45 litres of licit commercial spirits a year and 14 litres of beer.¹¹⁵
- Until the 1890s, alcohol-related crime was far higher in New Zealand than in Great Britain (five times greater in 1858).¹¹⁶

The historian Miles Fairburn has attributed this drinking activity to the ‘atomisation’ and psychological loneliness of a frontier society like New Zealand in the nineteenth century, with its harsh geography and low (and male-heavy) population density.¹¹⁷ Other historians have seen Pakeha drinking as strengthening bonds of ‘mateship’, or as diet supplements for the back-breaking work of clearing land for agriculture or in extractive industries.

Whatever the interpretations, the high rates of drinking and alcohol-related crime associated with Pakeha in the nineteenth century must be taken into account when assessing, in particular, liquor laws aimed specifically at Maori (whose comparable statistics were generally lower on a per capita basis). Maori drinking, however, was often *perceived* as being more comical, more dangerous and more prevalent than was actually the case, a perception reflected in the legislative and historical record.



Ahaura goldmining settlement at Napoleon Hill, Grey County, West Coast, South Island, looking down Princes Street East. Photographer unknown, 1866. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa.,F-148337-1/2.

Maori and Alcohol: A History



37

'City and Citizens (Full and Plenty)', Milford Sound. (r) Donald Sutherland; (l) John McKay (?), February 1882. Photographers: Burton Bros. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, C.001822.

Further Reading

Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh. Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand 1840-1915* (Reed, Wellington, 1984).

Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male. A History* (Penguin, Auckland, 1987, rev. ed., 1997).

Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies. The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900* (Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1989).

Te Kooti

Following the land confiscations and dislocation caused by the New Zealand Wars, a number of Maori prophets appeared in the North Island. These figures became very important in the years that followed, and the views they expressed – and how Pakeha responded – set the tone for race relations in the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. As we shall see, many of the prophets had strong views on alcohol and/or were undone by alcohol in some form or another. One of the most significant of these, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki of Rongowhakaata in Poverty Bay, was born around 1830.¹¹⁸

He was deported to the Chatham Islands in 1866 on a charge of spying and of firing blanks against Pai Marire (a Christian-Maori religion) adherents while in a settler militia. In 1867, while still on the Chathams, Te Kooti developed the Ringatu (“the upraised hand”) religion, similar in many respects to Pai Marire. He escaped in 1868, with only one guard killed (against Te Kooti’s orders). Pursued until 1871, thereafter Te Kooti sheltered under the protection of King Tawhiao.¹¹⁹

Te Kooti became a folk hero of sorts, feared and feted even as far as Australia. Part of Arthur Desmond’s poem ‘Te Kooti’, written for the *Sydney Bulletin* in 1889, emphasised Te Kooti’s animosity towards alcohol:



Sketch of Te Kooti, [romanticised] engraving. T.S. Cousins. Rotorua Museum of Art and History/Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa, CP 3427.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

The Pakehas come with their rum and their gold,
And soon the broad lands of our fathers were sold,
but the voice of Te Kooti said: "HOLD THE LAND!
HOLD!!"
Exult for Te Kooti, yo-hoo!

...

He plundered their rum-stores, he ate up their priests,
He robbed the rich squatters to furnish his feasts,
What fare half so fine as their clover-fed beasts?
Exult for Te Kooti, yo-hoo! ¹²⁰

The balance of evidence suggests that while Te Kooti was not averse to alcohol for himself,¹²¹ he and his followers controlled their drinking. In April 1869 at Arakanihi, Te Kooti allowed his troops to relax and enjoy the liquor they had taken from the Mohaka Hotel, but was angry at those who got excessively drunk.¹²² Another narrative recorded how Te Kooti used alcohol to test his followers. Te Hira Uetuku rode to Te Kooti in 1878:

... Te Kooti said to him, "Well, now that you're here, I see you people are very tired. Here's a bottle of whisky". Well, his

39



Rotokakahi 1870, Thanksgiving service at Kaiteirira Redoubt after returning from battle with Te Kooti. Note Mair leaning against whare and Te Kooti's captured flag (Te Wepu). Rotorua Museum of Art and History/Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa, CP 546. This image was later (1901) reproduced as a postcard simply entitled 'Native Pah'. Collection of Marten Hutt.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

friends all got that bottle of whisky, all had a drink. But my grandfather refused. My grandfather said, “No. I came for a purpose and my mission is about Mangatu”. Because he had passed the test set for him, Te Kooti gave him a ‘mauri mo te whenua’ – a mauri [life principle] for the land.¹²³

When Te Kooti met King Tawhiao in May 1878, he placed a bottle of liquor in front of the Maori King, which Tawhiao seized and smashed immediately. This does not indicate that Te Kooti was a drunkard (as many settler newspapers alleged). Rather, it was a challenge to Tawhiao, as the King Movement forbade the consumption of alcohol by this time. In a Ringatu parable, Te Kooti then left the meeting and returned contrite. Alcohol was here used in a symbolic way and as an actual challenge for power between two influential Maori leaders.¹²⁴

In his later years, Te Kooti admitted to using liquor “to be inspired”, but he urged that others not follow his example. At a hui, held in December 1886 at Porangahau marae in the Hawkes Bay, where Te Kooti was a guest, Te Kooti was concerned at the impact of alcohol among his followers.¹²⁵ An 1887 waiata composed by Te Kooti comments on the negative impact of alcohol:

40

Koia te riri pokanoa,/Ka kai ki te waipiro ka kai ki te whakama
ki te mau-a-hara,/Me whakarere atu ena mahi kino e hika
ma.

Hence this needless strife,/Which comes from the consump-
tion of liquor, from shame, from hatred./Therefore, I say,
abandon these evil ways, my friends.¹²⁶

Further Reading

Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs. A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books, Auckland, 1995).

Te Whiti

Another prophet, Te Whiti o Rongomai,¹²⁷ advocated passive resistance to land confiscation and other Pakeha influences. At the settlement he founded at Parihaka in 1866, there was a strict moral code which included the forbidding of drunkenness. As late as 1912, Maui Pomare described it as “the most model Maori village in New Zealand”.¹²⁸ South Taranaki resistance to European law effectively ended in 1881 when Parihaka was raided by government troops.¹²⁹

Other prophets, such as Tohu Kakahi, who shared spiritual and temporal leadership at Parihaka with Te Whiti, and Te Kere Te Huaki, who founded his 1880s Paetiuihou movement at Tokaanu, also shared resistance to the sale and consumption of liquor.¹³⁰

In 1870 Te Whiti had preached against alcohol and land confiscation:

If you have taken silver, then indeed you will be lost. What good have you got when you stretched forth your hand for it? Did it not turn to poisonous drink which maddened you? And then where was the land of your fathers?¹³¹



Maui Pomare at Parihaka, c. 1920. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, B. 12388.

Te Whiti allowed European goods to circulate within Parihaka, but any grog-sellers who tried to sell in Te Whiti’s territory had their funds confiscated and redistributed to the purchasers. Any drink that was brought into Parihaka had to be distributed free on the marae with the food.¹³² On at least one occasion Te Whiti relaxed his rules: a feast held at Parihaka included provision of champagne, wine and ales.¹³³

Further Reading

Dick Scott, *Ask That Mountain. The Story of Parihaka* [1975] (Reed/Southern Cross, Auckland, 1991, repr. 1997).

Legislation and Temperance Activity, 1870s-1880s

There was increased evidence of liquor at Maori gatherings in the 1870s and early 1880s. In the early 1870s, an East Coast minister, Raniera Kawhia, refused to help in restricting liquor availability, on the grounds that there would be no guests at tangi if there was no alcohol supplied.¹³⁴ In 1873, Major Mair, the Native Officer at Alexandra (Pirongia) in the King Country, reported that “no hui can be expected to be a success unless there is a good store of rum”.¹³⁵ R.W. Woon, the Resident Magistrate in Wanganui, reported in 1876 that there was widespread drinking of spirits at ceremonial occasions among Wanganui Maori.¹³⁶

The 1870 Outlying Districts Sale of Spirits Act abolished the 1847 Ordinance and established twelve Native Licensing Districts, in those areas located outside established town boundaries, and where at least two-thirds of the population were Maori. The Local Licensing Benches regulated the allocation of liquor licenses and had local Maori assessors from whom written permission had to be sought before licensing applications could be considered. In towns and predominantly Pakeha settlements, the 1847 Ordinance remained in place. It was not repealed until 1881.

These licenses were colloquially referred to as ‘bush licenses’. Up to half of the revenue gained from fines could be paid to informers, the remainder being spent on local public works.¹³⁷ The 1870 Act depended a great deal on the integrity of the Resident Magistrates and the Maori Assessors on Licensing Courts. In some areas (Wanganui, Mangonui, Bay of Plenty), the Act worked effectively, but in others (notably the East Coast), Maori-owned grog-houses were allowed to proliferate. On the East Coast, 14 licensed and 48 unlicensed establishments operated.¹³⁸

The 1870 Act stirred protest from Maori. In debating the Act in Parliament, Tareha Te Moanaui (Eastern Maori) stated that, “The Maoris sell their land to Europeans for grog; that is the use it is put to in the Maori districts”.¹³⁹ Some Maori petitioned the Native Office, arguing that this Act restricted Maori commercial activity. In the words of M.P. Kawiti, “We drink for the profit of the Pakeha, why should not the Maoris too make some of the money by the sale?”.¹⁴⁰ The Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1870 prohibited the use of arms or liquor in land transactions.¹⁴¹

The 1873 Outlying Districts Sale of Spirits Act and the 1878 Native Licensing Act encouraged communities to elect temperance committees for local surveillance. The 1878 Act allowed the Governor to proclaim districts in which it was illegal to supply liquor to Maori and specified which Maori could hold a liquor license. Such districts were subject to the conditions that one-third of the adult Maori population or ten local chiefs must petition the Government; Maori must outnumber Pakeha by at least two

Maori and Alcohol: A History

to one in the area, and no town could be included in the district.¹⁴² The 1878 Act was motivated, in part, by petitions from East Coast tribes.¹⁴³

The three acts of the 1870s were very similar in defining licensing districts and in their attempts to restrict the granting of licenses in those districts. By 1873 licenses had been issued to 11 wholesale and 77 retail liquor outlets in Maori districts.¹⁴⁴ A measure of the effectiveness of these Acts of the 1870s is that the King Country tribes saw no point in requesting the application of these Acts to the Rohe Potae. Not only did the King Country wish to retain autonomy over alcohol control, but they perceived the Acts of the 1870s as discriminatory and poorly enforced.

Many of these acts were motivated by the paternalism of the temperance movement, a movement which had the support of a number of prominent politicians. Alcohol, so the credo went, was responsible for the decline of the Maori race, and it was the solemn task of Pakeha to 'save' Maori from the vice of alcohol dependency.

Temperance organisers, influential politically, believed they should shield Maori from a substance they felt Maori were less able to handle than non-Maori. The *New Zealand Temperance Times* (1876) claimed that "... there is really no mystery at all in the decline of the Maori as a people; the reason is as plain as daylight, and is contained in the fact that Maoris, with very few exceptions, are most lamentably addicted to excessive indulgence in strong drink".¹⁴⁵

A number of petitions made to Parliament in the 1870s by Maori may have contributed to the prevailing mood among politicians. A particularly striking petition was sent by Haimona Te Aoterangi and 167 Maori from Wanganui:

[Liquor] impoverishes us; our children are not born healthy because the parents drink to excess, and the child suffers; it muddles men's brains and they in ignorance sign important documents and get into trouble thereby; grog also turns the intelligent men of the Maori race into fools ... grog is the cause of various diseases which afflict us. We are also liable to accident, such as tumbling off horses and falling into the water; these things occur through drunkenness. It also leads men to take improper liberties with other people's wives.¹⁴⁶

However, while Pakeha temperance organisations were prominent, in many cases, temperance was Maori-initiated. The Native Officer for East Canterbury noted in 1872 that "Drunkenness is an uncommon offence and always punished by the Natives. A total abstinence movement originating entirely with themselves, and largely supported, proves that the people favour sobriety".¹⁴⁷ In the Bay of Islands, the Native Officer reported that "In some of their villages the introduction of spirits has been entirely prohibited".¹⁴⁸ The Native Officers' reports to Parliament in the early- to mid-1870s show that there was concern at drinking practices among Maori

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

(especially in the Bay of Islands and Waikato), but also much favourable comment on Maori taking steps to address this issue.¹⁴⁹

The 1881 Licensing Act provided for native licensing districts, and prohibited the sale of alcohol to Maori within such a district, with a maximum fine of £20. Maori could vote for assessors. A Native Committees Empowering Bill was introduced in 1882 by Tomoana, the Eastern Maori MP, proposing to give local Maori committees power to collect the fines they imposed. Many Maori brought before these committees refused to pay the fines as they knew the committees had no teeth. The Bill did not proceed past a second reading.¹⁵⁰

The Native Land Courts were sometimes used as a site for illicit liquor selling, for instance at Otorohanga. But sly-grogging also took place at meetings involving Maori at Kawhia in the King Country, where Maori were as often seller as customer, and where land transactions were not involved.¹⁵¹ Most Maori complaints about Native Land Courts hearings related to their time-consuming and burdensome nature, and not to their effects on health or morals.¹⁵²

In a sitting of a Native Lands Court in a Ngati Tuwharetoa village near Taupo in 1886, there were none of the social problems associated with sittings in such places as Otorohanga. The *New Zealand Herald* recorded

44



Ngati Kahungunu at Hikurangi meeting house, Papawai, Wairarapa, for the sale of Lake Wairarapa to the Crown. Judge Butler, of the Native Land Court, in centre. Seated next to him holding a tewhatewha, is Sir James Carroll (Ngati Kahungunu, Liberal MP and Government representative). Papawai chief and Kotahitanga leader Tamahau Mahupuku is seated on the ground to the left of the table. Photographer unknown, January 1896. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, F-7886-1.2-A.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

that the “hotels closed regularly at 10 o’clock at night”.¹⁵³ Equally dignified Land Court hearings took place on Ngati Maniapoto land from 1885, where representatives of Ngati Maniapoto successfully negotiated to have some input into the proceedings.¹⁵⁴

In other words, greater order and dignity of the proceedings were linked to greater Maori involvement and control, particularly in a more appropriate setting, *not* to the absence of alcohol per se. The 1885-1886 sittings still incorporated drinking, but it was in an environment where Maori controls on behaviour were in place, not in a rough colonial European township where social constraints were looser.

‘The Passing of the Maori’



Interior of Goldie's studio. Model: Patara Te Tuhi (Ngati Mahuta). Photographer: Edwards, 1901. Rotorua Museum of Art and History/Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa, OP 3673.

In late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand, there was much comment surrounding – and purporting to explain – Maori population decline. Some Pakeha commentators felt this was the natural manner in which a weaker race was supplanted by a superior race, as expressed in Isaac Featherston's famous aphorism (1884) that it was the duty of the Pakeha to engage in “smoothing the pillow” of a dying race.¹⁵⁵

James Anthony Froude said in 1886 that, “The Maori, like every other aboriginal people with whom we have come into contact, learn our vices faster than our virtues. They have been ruined physically, they have been demoralised in character, by drink. They love their poison ...”.¹⁵⁶ Cartoonists often portrayed Maori (especially men) drowning their sorrows (loss of land and mana) in drink, while Pakeha settlers industriously cleared the land.

Among the more famous pronouncements in this vein was a paper on ‘The Causes leading to the Extinction of the Maori’ presented to the Wellington Philosophical Society by Alfred Kingcome Newman. Newman argued that the Maori were declining before European contact, and that the arrival of Pakeha only hastened this ongoing process. Newman, later to become an ardent prohibitionist, was attacked by both Maori and Pakeha

Maori and Alcohol: A History



47

‘The latest new woman’. Cartoonist: Bob Hawpridge. Published in the *New Zealand Graphic* (9 February 1895), p. 131. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, ATL Serials Collection, S-L 229-131.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

for his views, amongst them Sir James Hector (like Featherston and Newman, a doctor),¹⁵⁷ who said he knew many King Country Maori who were raising “large families” of “healthy” children.¹⁵⁸

Despite the fact that we now know Maori survived the decline in population very well, at the time even some Maori subscribed to these views. An unidentified late nineteenth-century Maori noted that, “As the clover killed the fern, and the European dog the Maori dog; as the Maori rat was destroyed by the Pakeha rat, so our people also will be gradually supplanted and exterminated by the Europeans”.¹⁵⁹

48



‘Unrecorded incidents in New Zealand’s history: No. 2: Examining the proceeds of the first land sale’. Cartoon. Published in the *Auckland Weekly News* (24 September 1908). Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, National Newspaper Collection, N-P 355.

What some historians now term ‘fatal impact’ was the nineteenth-century belief that the Maori race would crumble and collapse in the face of European civilisation, diseases or vices, of which alcohol was but one. This was considered to be a natural and inexorable force. Even its moderate adherents believed that contact would be crippling to contact populations, and that they required saviours, usually missionaries, politicians or temperance workers in paternalistic mode.¹⁶⁰

There have been a variety of explanations put forward to explain Maori population decline. Harrison M. Wright (1959) concluded that poor living conditions had more of an impact on population decline than did liquor or venereal disease in pre-1840 New Zealand.¹⁶¹ In the 1860s, Thomas Chapman was more inclined to blame tobacco and poor sanitation for the decline in Maori population in the period up to the end of the 1840s.¹⁶² Edward Markham, writing of the 1830s, was inclined to blame “Rum, Blankets, Muskets, Tobacco, and Diseases”.¹⁶³ In reviewing all the demo-

Maori and Alcohol: A History

graphic and historical data, F. D. Fenton (1859) and Ian Pool (1977) give low importance to the impact of alcoholic liquor on Maori depopulation.¹⁶⁴

On balance, the evidence suggests that the role of liquor on population decline has probably been magnified with hindsight, and certainly cannot compare to the impact of European diseases, muskets and lawyers.

It was believed that, compared to other aboriginal races, the Maori was further down the road towards 'civilisation' and more capable of assimilation towards Christian ideals. This is part of the nineteenth-century discourse on the inevitability of the decline of native races.¹⁶⁵ However, there is a danger of promoting a view of Maori responses to alcohol that is reminiscent of the theory that natives had an inherent difficulty in coping with European impact.

This view was expounded in *Health for the Maori* (1884), written by James Pope, the first Inspector of Native Schools, as a Native Schools text book. Pope urged that "if the weaker people take only to the bad habits of the stronger, and do not learn the good ones, these bad habits [which included "drinking and leading bad lives"] will soon kill them".¹⁶⁶ Pope compared the plight and living conditions of the Maori to those conditions prevalent in seventeenth-century England: "The English used to drink too much strong drink: so do the Maoris ...".¹⁶⁷ This book was later to influence T.W. Ratana strongly in his teachings; indeed, alongside the Bible, it was one of the two books he read most carefully following his self-interpreted sign that he was destined to be a prophet.

Further Reading

Malcolm Nicholson, 'Medicine and Racial Politics: Changing Images of the New Zealand Maori in the Nineteenth Century', in David Arnold (ed.), *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988), pp. 66-104.

John Stenhouse, "A Disappearing Race before We Came Here": Doctor Alfred Kingcome Newman, the Dying Maori, and Victorian Scientific Racism', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30 (1996), pp. 124-140.

On the 'fatal impact' thesis, see such books as Alan Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact. An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific 1767-1840* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1968). The most recent challenge to 'fatal impact' can be found in James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996).

James Carroll's Speech to the Maori Contingent to the Coronation of Edward VII, 1902

Helen Hogan

From the text of Henare Kohere (1902)

[Henare Kohere was one of 32 men selected for the Maori Contingent that went to the coronation celebrations of Edward VII. Henare Kohere and his relative, Terei Ngatai, sent letters back to New Zealand describing their experiences. They were published serially in issues of the Maori journal, *Te Pipiwharauroa*, in 1902. The full text from which these extracts are taken is to be found in *Hikurangi to Hamburg* by Helen Hogan, Clerestory Press, 1997.]



Henare Kohere. Photo courtesy Henare Kohere Swann.

[This is Henare Kohere's summary of James Carroll's (at the time Minister for Native Affairs) farewell speech to the Maori Contingent on their last day in Addington, Christchurch, before their departure. Timi Kara was the name Ngati Porou knew him by.]

Nga Kupu a Timi Kara

"Haere, haere, kauria atu te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, te moana i kauria e o koutou tipuna i nga ra o mua. Haere, kia pai te haere, kia mau kia aroha ki a koutou. Haere, kei runga i a koutou te mana rangatira o to tatou iwi, kati, kia pai te mau i tau mana. Mahia nga mahi e mohiotia ai mai koutou e era atu iwi he tangata rangatira; ara mahia nga mahi a te rangatira. Mahia nga mahi o te pai. Kei uru koutou ki nga huarahi tutu a te Pakeha, kei pa hoki koutou ki nga wai whakahaurangi a te Pakeha. Haere kia pai te haere, kei hoki mai te rongoro kino ki muri nei. Ko taku kupu whakamutunga tenei, haere kia pai te haere. Ma te Atua koutou e manaaki."

Timi Kara's Words

"Go, go, pass over Kiwa's Great Ocean, the sea your ancestors traversed in the days of yore. Go, may your journey be good, may you take with you our affection. Go, the mana of a rangatira of your tribe is upon you, so make sure you maintain that mana with respect. Behave in such a way that you will be recognised by other nations as rangatira, in other words your conduct must be that of rangatira. Behave well. Do not set off on the undisciplined path of the Pakeha, you should not touch the inebriating liquor of the Pakeha. Bear yourselves well, lest a poor reputation return later. This is my last message. Bear yourselves well. May God protect you."

Alcohol and the Young Maori Party/ Maori Councils

At the first meeting of the Te Aute College Students' Association in 1897, one of the main areas identified for action was "the discouragement and abolition of objectionable and pernicious customs in connection with Maori meetings of all kinds", including the consumption of alcohol.¹⁶⁸ That sentiment reflected growing unease among many Maori about alcohol. Maui Pomare described alcohol consumption at many turn of the century Taranaki tangi as being "painful, debasing and past description".¹⁶⁹ Large Maori political meetings in the 1890s were marked by the exclusion of alcohol,¹⁷⁰ but liquor consumption appeared to be more common at smaller gatherings.

Apirana Ngata had a long-standing prohibitionist attitude towards alcohol. In Parliamentary debates on the Licensing Amendment Bill in 1914, Ngata declared:

Whatever the view of the European may be about the benefit or otherwise of liquor to the white race, there can be no ques-



Maori Health Officers, Department of Health. Includes Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck) and Maui Pomare, 1907. Photographer: Eymard Bradley. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, B. 17629.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

tion as to the amount of damage liquor has done to the people of my race ... Whether the Maori will in a generation or so become a hardened or seasoned drinker like the incoming Europeans, I do not know ... I hope the day will come when national prohibition will be carried in the country ... My position is clear-cut and that is that so far as the supply of liquor to the Maori is concerned, from my youth until now I have and shall oppose it everywhere ...¹⁷¹

The Maori Councils Act 1900 was intended to provide twenty-six proclaimed districts with an elected “komiti marae”.¹⁷² The councils had power over liquor infractions, often building upon the pre-existing local committees of elders which in many instances had already introduced regulation of alcohol onto their marae.

The districts could become health districts for the purposes of the Public Health Act 1900, and could assume the functions of health committees as defined in that Act. They were empowered to collect and tabulate information on general health and causes of death, on various economic measures, as well as the making of by-laws on sanitation, drunkenness, fishing grounds, smoking, gambling, meeting houses, etc. Councils could issue by-laws under the Act, “For the prevention of drunkenness and slygrogging”.

The first council to issue by-laws, in May 1901, was Horouta (East Coast), which included bans on the bringing of alcohol onto the marae.¹⁷³ Apirana Ngata was chairman of this Council.¹⁷⁴ Others, especially in Taranaki, followed this lead, including villages not directly under the Councils Act, such as Papawai in the southern Wairarapa, led by Tamahau Mahupuku who had great influence among the Ngati Kahungunu and in the Kotahitanga movement. He used the committee method to restrict the entry of liquor into Papawai territory.¹⁷⁵ Maui Pomare had been reported in the *Poverty Bay Herald* (1 April 1901) as saying that –

Our effort will be in the direction of the eradication of all things which ensure the demoralisation and decay of the Maori – drunkenness, smoking, gambling, sanitation, diseases of animals – all come within the scope of the new crusade. In a word, we seek the regeneration of the Maori, and unless we effect that, our race is doomed. We will do it, we must.¹⁷⁶

But despite the good intentions, the councils were hampered by poor funding streams.¹⁷⁷ In a 1905 letter from the Secretary of Education to the Secretary of Justice, the complaint was made that the Maori Council’s by-laws were also not legally binding. If they were made binding, the Secretary felt that “our Council could stamp out ... drinking as well as every other form of vice”.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, the Councils were particularly successful in the suppression of excessive drinking.¹⁷⁹

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Further Reading

Raeburn T. Lange, 'The Revival of a Dying Race: A Study of Maori Health Reform, 1900-1918, and its Nineteenth-century Background' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972) [see Derek Dow, *Government Policy and Maori Health 1840-1940* (forthcoming, May 1999)].

Alcohol and Maori Crime

Although there are some indications that, by the 1890s, drinking by Maori was increasing, which brought them into the orbit of law enforcement agencies, the historian Stevan Eldred-Grigg has compiled the following figures, which show that even up to the turn of the century, Maori alcohol-related crime was lower than Pakeha rates, when adjusted on a per capita basis.¹⁸⁰

Pakeha and Maori Convictions for Drunkenness (per thousand adults)

Period	No. of Pakeha Convictions	No. of Maori Convictions
1853-9	44	1
1860-4	34	2
1865-9	35	
1870-4	29	3
1875-9	26	
1880-4	20	4
1885-9	16	3
1890-4	13	4
1895-9	11	4
1900-4	15	4

Source: Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh. Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand 1840-1915* (Reed, Wellington, 1984), p. 284.

Miles Fairburn's *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies* (1989) discusses the extremely low rate of Maori conviction rates for drunkenness (99-440 per 100,000 between 1862-1900) compared to Pakeha rates (lowest: 1,640 [1860]; highest 3,500 per 100,000 [1853]).¹⁸¹ In 1858 the Maori rate of drunkenness convictions in Pakeha courts was 2.7% of the Pakeha rate.¹⁸² This tallies with the rates of drunkenness convictions from Eldred-Grigg.

This could be explained by the suggestion that Maori drinking occurred in tribal areas away from Pakeha policing. However, the impression given thus far by many historians and alcohol commentators/policy-makers is that Maori drinking took place in, and was associated with, protracted Native Land Court hearings in towns. This should have made it fall within the range of police forces.

The fact that it did not makes it likely that we can draw the conclusion that even into the 1870s, Maori drank considerably less liquor than their Pakeha counterparts.¹⁸³ This makes the reliance on Native Land Court contexts even more problematic.

Rua Kenana

Rua Kenana Tapuniu (1869-1937) established a community of Tuhoe, Ngati Awa and Whakatohea Maori in 1908 at Maungapohatu in the Ureweras. Rua's religion was known as 'Wairua Tapu', and his followers were known as Iharaira (the Israelites).



View of Maungapohatu, Rua Kenana's village in the Ureweras. Photographer: George Bourne, 1908. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, *Evening Post* Collection, F-75710-1/2.

The community rules at Maungapohatu included the banning of alcohol, with a five pound fine for the selling of liquor.¹⁸⁴ In 1908, Rua pointed out a drunken Maori woman to a Hastings reporter and observed that such a scene would not be seen at Maungapohatu.¹⁸⁵

However, Rua did allow liquor into Maungapohatu in the years preceding 1916, particularly after some nearby large land sales in 1910.¹⁸⁶ He could not control access through the Waimana valley in any case, and he was opposed to laws that affected Maori unequally.

Liquor was one way in which Rua challenged the right of the Government to set laws for Maori. Liquor would be introduced, but under Maori control. This was interpreted by the Government as yet another element in Rua's calls for separatism.¹⁸⁷ Rua attempted to gain a license for alcohol sales for Maungapohatu, but to no avail.

Rua was fined several times for sly-grogging between 1911 and 1915, and arrested for trumped-up sedition and sly-grogging charges in 1916, found guilty and imprisoned until 1918. His trial appeared to have more to do with resistance to conscription among the Tuhoe than liquor licensing.

At his trial, Rua reminded the court that it was Prime Minister Joseph Ward who had introduced him to liquor, at the Commercial Hotel at Whakatane in 1908, where they agreed on a "Ceremony of Union" and the

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori



Rua Kenana and followers, 1901. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, B. 13747.

56

understanding that Maori and Pakeha “should enjoy the same laws”. Rua interpreted unequal laws concerning alcohol as a betrayal of the “Ceremony”.¹⁸⁸

At his trial, Rua testified that “I did not like whisky being sold there by others. Liquor is an evil whether licensed or not ... [but] why should we be treated differently from other people ... That is what hurts most.”¹⁸⁹

Rua started to drink heavily after his release from prison and as his power waned and followers dwindled. There are reliable sources which show that Rua was drinking before his services in the 1920s, possibly to extend his visionary and prophetic powers.¹⁹⁰ He died in 1937.

Further Reading

Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin and Craig Wallace, *Mihaiia. The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu* [1979] (Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books, Auckland, n.d [1996]).



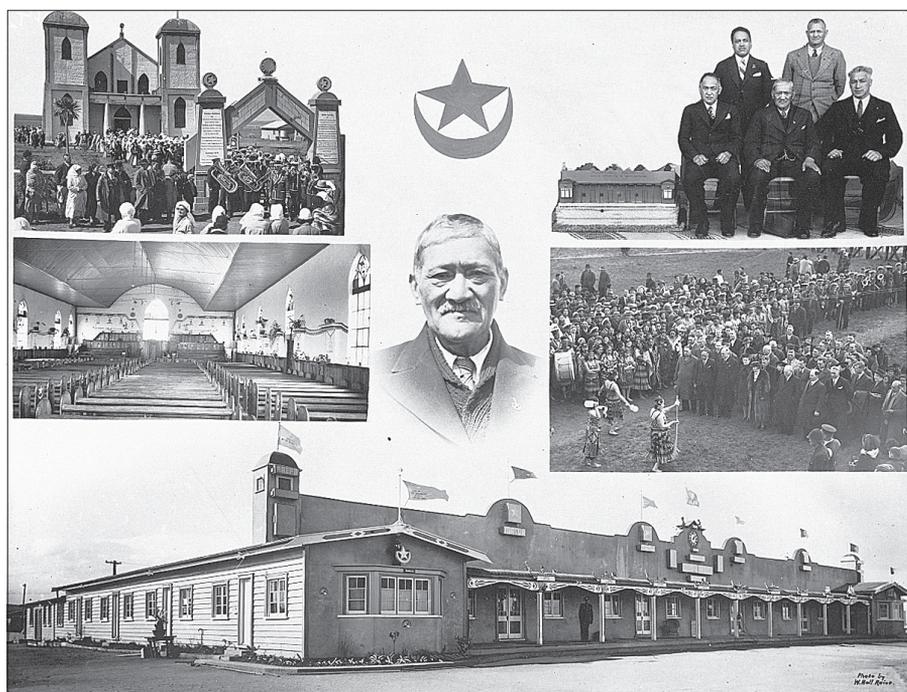
Rua Kenana (1869-1937) meeting with the Prime Minister Sir Joseph Ward (1856-1930) on the beach at Whakatane, opposite the Commercial Hotel. Photographer unknown, 1908. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, F-15708-1/2.

Role of Alcohol in Undercutting the Influence of Prophets and Tohunga

Throughout New Zealand history, alcohol has played a consistent role in the downfall and denigration of charismatic Maori prophets and tohunga (healers). Among the Pakeha press of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, alcohol was used to characterise and stereotype the activities of Te Kooti and Te Whiti – and to undercut their political influence. The Court of Appeal in an 1890 judgment on the conviction of Te Kooti noted that Te Kooti was “intemperate in his habits – a Maori prophet and a drunken one to boot”.¹⁹¹

Other prominent Maori figures have been linked with alcohol. Te Whetu, a colleague of Te Whiti’s, was arrested for sly-grogging in 1887.¹⁹² Te Pihana, a Kaiapo tohunga, was threatened with prosecution for supplying illegal whisky at the turn of the century.¹⁹³ Te Ua Haumene referred in his *Ua Rongopai (Gospel of Te Ua)* (1863-65) to allegations made against him: “You are suggesting that I am drunk. Who is to say whose drink is stinking water?”¹⁹⁴

The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 was an effective tool in curbing Maori healing practices and the activities of such charismatic prophets as



Four quarters of Ratana, with portrait of Tahu Potiki Wiremu Ratana, c. 1930-1950. Photographer: William Hall-Raine. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, B. 12977.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

Rua Kenana.¹⁹⁵ The 1907 Act was passed with the support of prominent Maori politicians such as James Carroll, Wi Pere and Maui Pomare, and was not repealed until 1964.

Certainly some tohunga did use alcohol in their healing practices. John Broughton (1996) has commented on the use by some tohunga of both alcohol and tobacco in curing amenorrhoea, even to the point of specifying the brand which the tohunga would smoke and blow into the mouth of the female patient: “Penny Royal soaked in gin”.¹⁹⁶

In 1904 a male tohunga administered a mixture of pulped pages from the New Testament and alcohol by the spoonful.¹⁹⁷ Hikapuhi, a Wairarapa tohunga, between 1905 and 1909, used “blessed” brandy in healing.¹⁹⁸ A female Bay of Plenty tohunga’s cures in 1906 were reported to involve “liberal doses of brandy”, similarly claimed to be blessed by God.¹⁹⁹ Interestingly, Maui Pomare eventually used liquor legislation to stop the activities of this particular female tohunga – for supplying Maori women with intoxicating liquor.²⁰⁰

The prophet whose church bears his name, Wiremu Tahupotiki Ratana, experienced a conversion experience in November 1918.²⁰¹ The two main books he read in the period when he refined his prophetic gifts were the Bible and James Pope’s *Health for the Maori* (1884). Pope’s work, issued in English and Maori versions, had a strong anti-alcohol message.²⁰²

Ratana, whose influence was at its height in the 1920s, lost a great deal of his influence following a drink-driving allegation.²⁰³ Although there is some confusion over whether or not Ratana was involved, the rumour was enough at least to damage the Ratana faith, registered as a denomination in 1925.

In 1931, Golan Maaka, while a medical student, wrote a thesis, ‘Ratana Pa – A General Survey of Conditions at Ratana from a Public Health Perspective’. Maaka, who believed in the healing powers of Ratana, conducted his research on Ratana pa in secrecy. The thesis was unsanctioned by the Ratana faith and was only recited when presented to the University of Otago examiners.

In it, Maaka observed that although there were many sports for the men, “unfortunately many of them indulge in liquor too much to derive much benefit from these exercises”. At tangi, “the younger people of the pa used to indulge in the wildest orgies and debaucheries – consuming enormous quantities of liquor”. Maaka’s observations, bearing in mind that he was not anti-Ratana, that he used information from many Ratana pa inhabitants, and was a careful scholar and also a man known to drink heavily himself, are important descriptions of Ratana drinking practices in this period.²⁰⁴

Later, the Ratana church commissioned ‘katipa’ to control alcohol consumption, working in the spirit of whakaiti (humility) and rangimarie (peace).²⁰⁵

Maori and Alcohol: A History



59

The Ratana Temple, Ratana Pa. Photographer: Albert Godber, c. 1930. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, A.P. Godber Collection, G-18648-1/2.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

Ratana and Alcohol. Extracts from Interview with James Makowharemahihi Ratana Kairorere

25 February 1997

Michelle Pearse

What were Ratana's teachings about alcohol?

Moderation, moderation really in all things. There were times when he had to demonstrate that he was human like our people. There were some of our people who made him out to be a demi-god.

The allegation where he was had up for drunken driving was actually someone else. There is some interesting background which relates to that. It was in the mid to late 30s. I think it was Danny Reremona who was close to Ratana. Because of the circumstances, the car, and the company the allegation was made against Ratana. Because of his influence over the people there were some who were trying to trap him. The government of the day and even some of our own people. History books depend on who wrote it and adherence to what they heard.

To say that because of this citing for a drink driving offense Ratana lost a lot of his following is incorrect. At this time in the 1930's there were more demands made of him to take care of physical things. Symbolically after returning from his travels he came off the plane straight into the car as a sign that he had finished with spiritual things and that it was now time to take care of physical things. These related to the whenua; the land, and treaty issues. Issues which are current today. So the citing was coincidental with this macro picture ...

He did give the people some practical examples of how alcohol should be consumed so that the alcohol doesn't consume them. There is something in that in terms of the psyche and subculture ...

Some of our people have followed Ratana's teachings of moderation and I guess that some have gone overboard. We have lost a lot of our people overboard. We have far too many of our Maori people in jail and in institutions.

Legislation 1910s

Although, as the photograph below shows, some Maori could drink with Pakeha at the turn of the century, legislation curbed these possibilities for social interaction. Restrictions on Maori were imposed in the 1910 Licensing Amendment Act. South Island Maori were given full and equal drinking rights with Pakeha, but the North Island remained a proclaimed area.

The 1910 Act made it an offence to supply alcohol to an “intoxicated male Native”, or to “any female Native, not being the wife of a person other than a Native”. In the North Island, Maori males could only buy liquor for consumption at licensed premises. Maori women were forbidden to drink even in public bars unless they were married to a Pakeha.

The 1910 Act allowed the special case of the King Country, reaffirming the total embargo on alcohol, unless with a medical certificate.²⁰⁶ As well, the Liberal Government proclaimed four “Native Prohibition Areas”, covering Northland, East Coast and parts of the central North Island. At the 1911 poll the East Coast district of Horouta went dry, under the influence of Apirana Ngata.²⁰⁷

Twelve Pakeha licensing districts and three Maori districts went dry between 1894-1911.²⁰⁸ Between 1912 and 1931 provisions existed for Maori to renounce their native status and obtain equal access to the purchase, sale and consumption of alcohol. But fewer than 100 Maori exercised this option.²⁰⁹



Pub interior, n.d. Photographer: Margaret Matilda White. Auckland Institute and Museum, B 3611.

1920s-1930s

By the 1920s-30s, the small rural Maori communities the short-story writer Roderick Finlayson wrote about in *Brown Man's Burden* (1938) were described as regularly using alcohol in tangi preparations.²¹⁰ In the South Island in 1920, an elderly Maori man expressed sadness at the amount of alcohol consumed at tangi.²¹¹



Hui at Otaki Pa, c. 1930-1940. Photographer: William Hall-Raine. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, B. 12899.

There were notable exceptions. Princess Te Puea forbade the consumption of alcohol in Turangawaewae marae built at Ngaruawahia in 1929.²¹² Recalling her father's tangihanga in 1939, Mihi Edwards (1992) noted that, "A party, I believe, will be taking place tonight. I don't think there will be any beer or hard drinks. My whanau can't afford to buy anything like that".²¹³

In the 1920s there were postcards and images in pictorial magazines that portrayed Maori drinking, often through the use of children, as in the photograph on p. 64 by the Northwood Brothers, taken in Northland. Mostly posed and procured for money, such photographs contributed to stereotypes of Maori at the time.

Collections of humorous tales of Maori life, such as those by Pat Lawlor, were also illustrated in similar vein, as in this illustration from a 1926 book:

Maori and Alcohol: A History



'After the picnic: "kapai te smell!"'. Cartoonist: Trevor Lloyd. Published in *Maori Tales* by Pat Lawlor (New Century Press, Sydney, 1926), p. 97. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, ATL Published Collections, B-K 149-97.

63

Although not only Maori children had photographs taken of them playing with alcohol, Maori images had more commercial value.

The Depression affected incomes, but many Maori lived in rural settings where ingenuity was often used in making ends meet. Mihi Edwards recalled how beer bottles were heated in fires, had their necks cut off and were then used as preserving jars during the Depression years.²¹⁴ Many Maori women, such as Edwards (who came from Maketu) drank relatively infrequently, if at all, often being embarrassed by Pakeha drinking practices in provincial towns during this period.²¹⁵

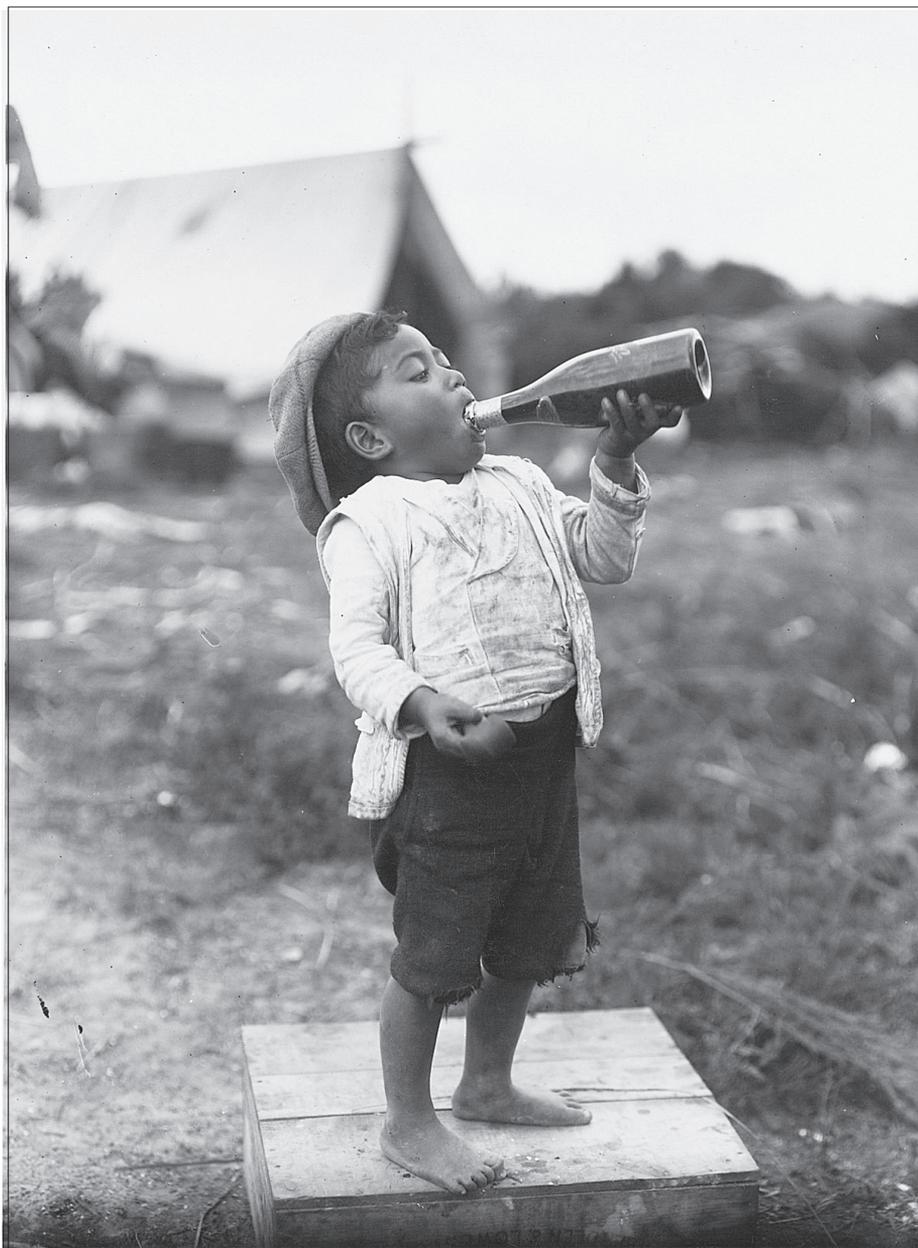
But other Maori, men especially, gained tastes for alcohol in labouring jobs. James Henare (Ngati Hine) recalled growing up in Motatau in the 1920s, where there was a thriving forestry industry: "We'd watch these powerful men swinging axes and lifting jacks ... and we wanted to be like them ... They'd come in with a month's pay, head for the hotel and then go back to the bush yelling and fighting. I wanted to be a strong, physical person like them".²¹⁶ In this way male models of behaviour were learned.

Further Reading

On the photographs of Maori children and alcohol, it is important that we see these photographs in context. See William Main, *Maori in Focus. A Selection of Photographs of the Maori from 1850-1914* (Wellington, 1976) p. 106; and Michael King, *Maori. A Photographic and Social History* (rev. ed., Auckland, 1996), p. 23. See also Hazel Petrie, 'The "Lazy Maori": Pakeha Representations of a Maori Work Ethic, 1890-1940' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1998).

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

64



Unidentified child, Northland, c. 1920. Photographers: Northwood Bros. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, G6235 1/1.

Ngata and the East Coast: Dairy Cows Instead of Beer



Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata (1874-1950). Photographer: Stanley Andrew, 1914. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, Earle Andrew Collection, G-14489-1/1.

In the mid-1920s, Apirana Turupa Ngata (1874-1950)²¹⁷ established among his East Coast Ngati Porou people land incorporations and work schemes, allowing them to arrange finance and stock the land with cattle and sheep.²¹⁸ Ngata admired the efforts of Pomare in Taranaki in building up dairy herds. Ngata made dairying a particular objective of his work among Ngati Porou for economic development, requesting, for instance, that dairy regulations be translated into Maori.²¹⁹

Using government mortgages, Ngata had 660 Jersey heifers and calves and 36 pedigree bulls brought from Taranaki in late 1924, and in 1925 the Ngati Porou Co-operative Dairy Company, with a factory at Ruatoria, was founded with 58 suppliers producing 61 tons of butter in its first season. The Prime Minister, Gordon Coates, visited the dairy factory in 1926,

and was impressed, advancing additional state funds and rewarding Ngata with a knighthood in the 1927 Honours list.²²⁰ By 1937 there were 377 suppliers producing 744 tons.²²¹ The butter was branded 'Nati'.²²²

The Ngati Porou who worked in the factory even had a milking song, the chorus of which was as follows:

Aue! E rere ra te kirimi e/Ki roto ki nga kena nei, aue,/Kia tika hawerewere,/Kei rere parorirori/Kia rite ai nga nama

Aue! The cream runs/Into the cans./Make sure to aim straight/Don't let it go crooked – /We need to settle our debts.²²³

But as Amiria Manutahi Stirling later explained,

... years afterwards, things were slackening off a bit. The people had to pay off their cows, and Api knew the time was getting a bit close for the Ngati Porou to get all their money in, to show the Government that they were genuine with their mortgages. I think that's why he brought in the [alcohol] Prohibition.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

All of a sudden he introduced this law, that the Maoris of Ngati Porou were not allowed to go in any hotel and drink. And when the people found out about this, they just about *killed* Ngata.²²⁴

How the women were involved: Interview with Aunty Mate Kaiwai
27 February 1997
Michelle Pearse

Eventually the money from the Dairy company came back in wages to the men. To get the houses for the people Ngata used the Dairy company as collateral for the mortgages. Now you and I use our wages as we please.

So to make sure that the wages would go to repay their mortgages he [Apirana Ngata] went to the women [of Ngati Porou]. He asked them to sign a pledge to say that the men would not drink waipiro. The women who signed the pledge wore purple ribbons. The pledge prevented the men from entering the pubs. This lasted for two to three years.

They were so angry with him and what he had done. They were angry and frustrated because he took away the thing they loved so much. They hated him, they cursed him. They even wrote a haka about it.

So the haka was directed at him?

He didn't care. They still respected him. He even led it. It was the type of anger where you gnash your teeth.

[And with gnashing teeth, glaring eyes, and choking hands about her neck she demonstrated what type of anger she meant.]

66

Ngata financed the payback of the mortgages through a two-year prohibition on alcohol, with the funds saved diverted from the pubs to the dairy herd. Salmond suggests that the prohibition sentiment may have been supported because of the historically large numbers of hotels in the East Coast area.²²⁵

Ngata's scheme, which combined land incorporations, prohibition and economic development, had the enthusiastic support of Ngati Porou women, but not all of the men. Ngata realised that he had to gather covert signatures on an agreement from the Ngati Porou women, who would receive ribbons once they had agreed.:

Ngata went to Ruatoria and he talked to Ani [Kahutawhiti] about it. He said to her ... "*You* are the one to take the papers so the women can sign. But don't let the men know about it, go quickly when the men are out working".

... She told them [the women] about it.

"Oh, that's a good idea, Ani".

Maori and Alcohol: A History

As soon as they signed she'd pass over the white ribbon,
"Put that away, don't let your husband see it".²²⁶

This approach by Ngata, incorporating the symbolism of the white ribbon (blue was also a temperance colour), would have played upon memories of Maori women's knowledge and support of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), established in 1885.²²⁷

Ngata was particularly opposed in his prohibition by Tamati Kaiwai, who attacked Ngata on the marae, and later, according to Stirling, composed an aggressive haka, known as 'Poropeihana'.

Ee ... i ko Apirana Ngata/Ra ia te tangata/E takarure mai
Poneke e,/Ahaha!/Horahia mai o ture ki ahau,/Horahia mai o
ture ki ahau!/Ahaha!/Ture reiti koiaraka!/Ture kaunihera
koiaraka!/Poropeihana koiaraka!/Ka minamina au au ki te wai
piro/Kaho kona I te po/Purari paka!/Kaura mokai e!

Ee, Apirana Ngata/Is the man/Who keeps coming from Wel-
lington/Ahaha!/Show me your laws!/Show me your laws!/Ahaha!
Rating laws!/Council laws!/The Prohibition!/I want whisky/But
it's been sold to the dead!/Bloody bugger!/Slave!²²⁸

67

For the period, the words used would have degraded Ngata's mana, hence Ngata sometimes led this haka to dampen the personal sting.²²⁹ There are a number of interpretations of this haka. One is told by the historian Graeme Butterworth, based on information from Arnold Reedy. Reedy/Butterworth claim that this haka referred to Ngata persuading the Horouta Maori Council in 1911 to hold a poll on Prohibition. By a narrow margin an experimental three-year dry period began. When the period ended in 1914 the Government refused to finance another poll. The East Coast remained 'dry' until 1922 when special enabling legislation made a second poll possible. Horouta restored licenses in 1922, followed by Ohinemuri (dry since 1908) in 1925. The haka was composed in 1920 by local Ngati Porou men.²³⁰

Te Hamana Mahuika wrote that "This haka is about prohibition ... the Kaumatua Apirana agreed to this Prohibition of the Ngati Porou and the East Coast".²³¹ A 1998 recollection, by Margaret Manuka-Sullivan (ALAC), interpreted this haka as a positive celebration of Ngata's alcohol control policies and personal mana. This haka reveals much about the history of alcohol and Maori, and has also become one of the handful of important historical haka, and is still often performed; a precious taonga of Maori culture.

In 1937, the Department of Health commissioned S.M. Lambert from the Rockefeller Foundation to write a 'Survey of the Maori Situation'. In this report, Lambert found many pa to be "deserted of life and activity, overgrown and in disrepair". However, Lambert was enthusiastic in his praise of East Coast Maori farms:

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori



68

Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata leading haka. Centennial celebrations, Waitangi, 1940. Photographer: B. Snowden. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/ Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, Timeframes, F-29794-1/2.

They [Ngati Porou] have a cooperative dairy (there are also large areas under sheep) with 300 suppliers nearly all Maori, and their butter gets top prizes in London ... Everywhere one encountered Maoris bright-eyed with hope for their future.²³²

Despite this optimistic outlook, the schemes did not long survive the death of Ngata in 1950, and Stirling recalled in the late 1970s that the Ngati Porou Dairy Company at Ruatoria was closed and the dairying finished, but there is no doubt that the project was an innovative use of otherwise forgone alcohol expenditure to finance a worthy goal: to build houses and provide employment for the Ngati Porou.

Ngata's scheme is still talked of among Maori. A 21-year-old Otago labourer was recorded in 1984:

There's no way of stopping [drinking] now because our people have gone all haywire. They don't know where they are or what's happening to them. Unless they bring in prohibition again – you know, the one Apirana Ngata had out way back in the old days. Other than that I can't really see any other way.²³³

Maori and the World Wars

In the First World War, Maori men served in the Pioneer Battalion in Gallipoli and France. Some 2,000 Maori enlisted, mainly from Ngaphi, Arawa, Ngati Porou and Ngai Tahu. Serving with distinction in battle, there were occasional notes as to indulgence in alcohol. In a 1916 letter by Lieutenant-Colonel George A. King, Commanding Officer of the Pioneer Battalion, he wrote that –

My crowd are doing very good work and everyone is pleased with them, but the Maoris are a nuisance every pay day as about two beers and a tune on the piano seems to make them drunk and they get very noisy, so have been handing out 28 days in the clink pretty freely to discourage them.²³⁴



The New Zealand Pioneer Battalion welcome Sir Joseph Ward and William Ferguson Massey with a haka at Bois-de-Warnimont, 30 June 1918. Photographer: unknown. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, RSA Collection, G-13283-1/2; PAColl-5311.

In preparation for the Second World War, Maori men who had enlisted for service (some 17,000) were transported from rural areas to military training camps, where drink was often a problem. One of the wives of a Maori soldier complained that in camp there was nothing for the men “except collect their money, buy gallons and gallons of beer, and get drunk”.²³⁵

28 (Maori) Battalion served in North Africa and Italy and, like all soldiers, relieved the stress of battle with alcohol. Beer – the ‘amber stella’ – was the generally preferred drink for soldiers on leave in Cairo and Alexan-

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

dria. Interestingly, Major General W.G. Stevens argued that the problems that arose were due to New Zealand soldiers being unused to drinking sociably, and especially to handling spirits.²³⁶ With many of the Maori soldiers coming from isolated rural areas and with restrictions on pub drinking by Maori, this makes sense. However, an historian of the Maori Battalion, Wira Gardiner, contends that alcohol abuse was caused by wartime conditions and by post-war malaise:

The rapid consumption of large amounts of alcohol was the inevitable consequence of inadequate entertainment and a lack of suitable clubs and institutes which could provide men with the opportunity to drink alcohol in a more suitable environment ... [after the war] For some the only way to ease the unsettled feelings and trauma associated with resettlement was to seek solace in the company of those who would understand them. The pubs and the parties that followed were a focal point for many men.²³⁷

70

Although alcohol often served to bring Maori and Pakeha soldiers together in times of stress and danger,²³⁸ it historically has changed little. Men under threat of being killed often see smoking, drinking and sexual promiscuity as trifling stress-relievers. Maori and Pakeha have differed little in this regard.²³⁹



Members of the Maori Battalion in Maadi, Egypt. Photographer unknown, 1940. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, War History Collection, F-1067-1/4-DA.

Maori and Alcohol: A History



71

Celebration dinner. Return of Maori Battalion, 1945. Photographer: John Pascoe. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, F. 1662 1/4.

Further Reading

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Wira Gardiner, *Te Mura o Te Ahi. The Story of the Maori Battalion* (Reed, Auckland, 1992).

Michael King, *Maori. A Photographic and Social History*. (Reed, Auckland, 1996, rev. ed.), pp. 217-223 (WWI); pp. 240-245 (WWII).



Beer label, Maori Battalion Reunion Beer, Waihi, Tokaanu, March 1974. Proudly supplied by DB Breweries Ltd.

1940s-1950s

Immediately following the Second World War, there were attempts in legislation and within New Zealand society to integrate or assimilate Maori into Pakeha society. This was not always successful, as movingly recounted in Mihi Edwards' autobiography *Mihipeka*. Writing of the 1940s, Edwards tells of her marriage to a Pakeha and her attempts to incorporate her children within a Pakeha world, which included exposure to alcohol:

I also ruined their lives by trying to rule them. They were not brought up as Maori children. I don't think that they knew that there was any Maori blood in them. All our friends were Pakeha. I did everything for them like all my white friends did. They used to teach me what to do, how to do everything. In the end I felt overpowered. I had dinner parties, beer parties. Oh God, it was terrible. I was doing a good job at aping the white man – mostly the wrong things.²⁴⁰

Edwards herself started to drink at this time.²⁴¹ However, she soon stopped, arguing that drink “makes you porangi [crazy]”.²⁴²

Until the passage of the Licensing Amendment Act 1948, Maori were prohibited from drinking in public bars. The 1948 Licensing Amendment Act repealed earlier statutes and eliminated distinctions based on race. The post-WWII mood was for equality of legislation between Maori and Pakeha. This mood was expressed by a policeman making a submission to the Royal Commission on Licensing (1946):

I think that Maoris should be treated the same as any other citizens. As soon as we depart from the principle that all citizens are equal before the law, we run into trouble ... Under the present law the greatest waster of a Pakeha can purchase and carry away as much liquor as he is prepared to pay for, while a decent Maori can't take home [legally] a bottle of beer for his dinner ... It's a slur on the Maori at this stage of his history, and a definite hinderance to helping him 'stand on his own feet'.²⁴³

Yet though such a position might have appealed to many Pakeha, the only group of Maori who advocated for change were the returned servicemen. Indeed, the 1946 Royal Commission on Licensing recommended that legislation aimed at Maori should be relaxed only for this group of Maori.²⁴⁴

In March 1945, the Maori War Effort Organisation had organised a conference in Rotorua,²⁴⁵ whose delegates agreed on a report submitted to

Maori and Alcohol: A History

the Royal Commission on Licensing which argued that discriminatory drinking legislation created a feeling of inferiority that contrasted with the rights of Pakeha and Pacific Island people, and was inappropriate in light of the war effort.

Although other Maori (such as Rev. Eruera Te Tuhi, from the Methodist Church Maori Missions) advocated that Maori would not necessarily benefit from equal legislation on alcohol, the Labour government moved to remove all restrictions concerning alcohol for all Maori – onto an equal footing with Pakeha. Prime Minister Walter Nash argued in Parliament that –

The Maori is good enough, strong enough, and able enough to stand on his own feet, and he will not reach the heights we would like to see him reach so long as he is placed in a 'protected' position.²⁴⁶

The legislation was rushed through after cursory select committee hearings, and over considerable opposition from Koroki and Te Puea from the King Country and other tribes (as well as Pakeha church and prohibitionist groups).²⁴⁷ Opposition was registered from National politicians, but they found it difficult to argue against the mood of the time.

On 29 November 1949 the first triennial liquor licensing poll was instituted in Maori electorates.²⁴⁸ The responsibilities of Maori wardens with regard to alcohol were further established in the provisions of the Maori Social and Economic Development Act 1945 and the Maori Welfare Act 1962.²⁴⁹

Maori Wardens were appointed in 1949 as a result of the Liquor Licensing Bill 1948. Wardens were administered through the Department of Maori Affairs, and nominated by tribal executives. Wardens had power over liquor and liquor-related disturbances within tribal districts, with powers over Maori pub patrons and over Pakeha at hui or if there was sly-grogging. A 1951 amendment to the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 consolidated their jurisdiction over liquor consumption on marae, particularly during hui.

There were 32 wardens in 1950, and 625 by 1966. However, tribal executives were often financially destitute, and few wardens received compensation for out-of-pocket expenses, despite legislative provision for this. Despite lukewarm government support, the wardens continued, based on the operating principle of 'aroha ki te tangata' (love for the people). In many ways the Maori wardens were following in the tradition of the Ringatu pirihiimana, the Ratana katipa and the Kingite watene.²⁵⁰

Bella Patuwai (?1835-1951)

Of Ngati Kahungunu descent, Bella Patuwai was officially listed as Ihipera (Isobel) Patuwai, although she was also called Mrs. Paki or Paku. Bella lived all of her life in a two-roomed cottage at Whakataki, near Castlepoint in the Wairarapa.



Bella Patuwai, Whakataki, 1946-1949. Photographer: Z. Gordon. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, A. 4104, 4105, 4106

She became famous as the oldest New Zealander, a title she holds to this day. Her death certificate lists her as being 116 years old. For much of her life she worked for Pakeha settlers at Castlepoint, and was married to a Pakeha, an Australian former jockey called Charles Hudson. She became a local sight, walking daily to the Whakataki Hotel for her free bottle of ale in her black silk dress. This was alleged to be “an officially approved ration of beer” to mark her great age, but there is no evidence of government involvement.

Bella always boiled her beer in a billy before drinking it. Alcohol boils at 78° (as opposed to water at 100°), so boiling would have removed much of the alcohol in the vapour. Bella featured in a beer advertisement, probably from 1946. In talking with people who knew Bella, it appears that she was not aware of or concerned by the advertising campaign, and was not paid for it. The advertisement for Waitemata ale praised the fact that she was –

Alert and Active at 109 Years Old. Drinks Waitemata every-day! ... Mrs. Bella Patuwai ... looks upon her glass of Waitemata

Maori and Alcohol: A History

as her greatest comfort and enjoyment. "I drink a bottle of Waitemata every day ... sometimes even two" she added with a smile. "It is food and drink to me and I have not been without it for the past 20 odd years ...". Whether you live to be 109 or not, you'll find Waitemata will refresh and regale you

...

Bella's story is important in that in the immediate post-war period, brewers were aiming at a Maori market, who with urbanisation and legislative changes were more able to acquire alcohol. This is the first instance the author is aware of where a living Maori was used in a beer advertisement, and it is significant that a kuia was chosen for her mana and longevity.

Alert & Active
at 109 years old

DRINKS WAITEMATA EVERY DAY!

★ **The Secret of Good Health and Long Life**

At the great age of one hundred and nine years, still remarkably alert and active, Mrs. Bella Putuwai, living in the Wakataki district, Wairarapa, looks upon her glass of Waitemata as her greatest comfort and enjoyment. "I drink a bottle of Waitemata every day ... sometimes even two," she added with a smile. "It is food and drink to me and I have not been without it for the past 20 odd years."

Yes, there's something in Waitemata that adds immeasurably to the pleasure of living. Waitemata contributes to the genial good fellowship and comfortable well-being that make life worth while. Whether you live to be 109 or not, you'll find Waitemata will refresh and regale you . . . Insist on Waitemata.

Always insist on
★ **WAITEMATA** ★
the secret of long life

75

'Alert and Active at 109 Years old. Drinks Waitemata every day!' Advertisement, c. 1946. Proudly supplied by DB Breweries Ltd.

1950s-Present

After 1948, discrimination was removed from legislation, but opportunities for drinking were heightened by massive Maori migration to the cities. At the end of 1945, three quarters of Maori lived in rural areas, away from large Pakeha populations. By the mid-1970s, this same proportion of Maori was urban.²⁵¹

There were some signs that the Government was concerned at post-war levels of Maori drinking. A meeting between the Minister of Maori Affairs, Minister of Police and the Maori Welfare Organisation in 1951, warned (according to the notes of E.B. Corbett, Minister of Maori Affairs) that unless the situation improved, the Government might bring back legislation curbing Maori access to alcohol.²⁵²

The Hunn Report of 1961 advocated the official policy of integration, although there were divergent views within Maoridom as to the efficacy of this policy.²⁵³ This policy affected support for the Maori wardens. As the historian of the Maori wardens, Augie Fleras, noted, referring to the 1960s, the continuing presence of wardens within urban areas was a –

... constant and vivid reminder that Maori had not achieved the full measure of equality. In fact, as a labelling device, their existence proclaimed the helplessness of Maori, who, so ravaged by liquor, crime and the pressures of modern life required special social control measures. Exposed to the glare of the public, the Maori wardens had to be repackaged, limited to Maori contexts, or perhaps allowed to quietly die; – a social experiment no longer adaptive to modern conditions.²⁵⁴

The Sale of Liquor Act 1962 made it an offence to refuse to serve liquor on the basis of race. In 1959 a Maori businessman had been refused a drink in the housebar of a hotel near Auckland. In 1965 a licensee was fined £5 for refusing to serve a Maori woman in Christchurch.²⁵⁵

Novels vividly record the new drinking opportunities the post-WWII move to the cities afforded. In these novels each author is presenting their social commentary as artistic ‘truth’. In the 1960 novel *Maori Girl* by Noel Hilliard, Netta Samuel’s Pakeha boyfriend Arthur objects to a sign in the bar: ‘Native Women Will Not be Served with Liquor at This Bar’. The world-weary barman notes that everyone ignores it, and that “The Maori welfare officer put it up”.²⁵⁶

Netta Samuels had moved to Wellington from her rural Taranaki home. Following arrival, she began to drink beer regularly: “She enjoyed the bitter nip in her throat, the slinky, tingling sensation in her stomach, the faint drowsiness”.²⁵⁷ By the time Alan Duff wrote the powerful novel *Once Were Warriors* (1990), the languorous imagery conveyed by Beth Heke is more disjointed but comes from a similar context:

Maori and Alcohol: A History

It's not toughness we need anymore, it's – it's – Shaking her head. So what is it we need, O solver of the world's problems? beer! hahaha! laughing. Rocking back and forth with it. And drowning another glass in one long, sweet and increasingly mindless pull.²⁵⁸

Mihi Edwards, who recalled the period up to the end of the 1950s in her two volumes of autobiography, *Mihipeka*, noted how the cycles of urban despair and drinking, so brilliantly captured by Duff, were laid in this period:

If it takes me all of my life, I think, I am going to remind the Pakeha what he has done to us. My sister is being dragged down into the bowels of despair through drink. The kids are exposed to all the violence and swearing, caused through booze, and I suppose will grow up thinking it a way of normal life, repeating what their parents are doing, belting their wives and then their children as well. They do not know any other way to behave.²⁵⁹



New Zealand Alliance. 'Yes! 6 o'clock closing is the safest. Six o'clock has proved a boon', 1948. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, F-137429-1/2 or Timeframes, Eph-A-ALCOHOL-Hours-1948-01.

The 1950s and 60s were the time of the 'six o'clock swill', when bars shut at six pm. Introduced as an emergency measure in 1917, it was not repealed until 1967. Many writers, Maori and Pakeha, vividly record the poor drinking practices this encouraged, although others argued it encouraged family life.²⁶⁰

Rising rural and urban Maori alcohol consumption was commented on by sociologists and epidemiologists. James Ritchie's study of 'Rakau' (1963) showed that there was a large consumption of alcohol (average expenditure 12% of wages) in the community, in which a tribal committee was not operational.²⁶¹ Ernest Beaglehole (1968) argued that disproportionately high Maori alcohol consumption was a sign of "poor personality integration, of an inner apathy" by urban Maori in particular.²⁶²

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

Ian Prior (1968) noted that while alcoholism was relatively uncommon, “enthusiastic drinking is a not uncommon Maori habit”.²⁶³ In rural communities, such as the Tuhoe people around Whakatane served by Dr Golan Maaka, home brew (‘tikorere’) or bottles of whisky were often given as koha for visits.²⁶⁴

The increased opportunities for drinking by Maori were noted in the report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Sale of Liquor in New Zealand (1974), which listed submissions received from, for instance, the Maori section of the National Council of Churches which stated that “we are close to a crisis in Maori drinking because of major breakdowns in Maori community patterns”.²⁶⁵ Despite this, the Commission recommended marae liquor licenses be allowed so that alcohol could “be sold and consumed within the cultural context of Maoritanga”.²⁶⁶

More popularly, in the mid-1960s, Pakeha views on Maori drinking habits were typified by the success of the comic sketches of ‘Hori’. ‘Hori’ was the narrator of such collections as *The Half-Gallon Jar* (1962), where he said “Py korry” (transliteration of “by golly”) a lot and was described as an “easy-going Maori ... who asks only to be allowed to tinker with his old V8 ... and to drain his half-gallon jar at the weekends”.²⁶⁷ Actually, ‘Hori’ was a Pakeha, W. Norman McCallum. *The Half-Gallon Jar* sold an amazing 56,000 copies in 1962-63, with episodes such as the following typifying the contents:

78



Cartoon by Frank St. Bruno, ‘Hori’ [W. Norman McCallum], *The Half-Gallon Jar* (A.D. Organ, Auckland, 1963), p. 84. Collection of Marten Hutt.

Now when the Maori have a party the husband don’t have to worry about what to get to drink ‘cause the Maori only drink the two kinds of grog – the beer in the half-gallon jar and the beer in the bottle ... The Maori say “He who laughs loudest, longest and last is the joker with the belly full of good kai and good beer”. I must finish now ‘cause I’m getting hungry and my mate has just arrived with the half-gallon jar and the smoked eel.²⁶⁸

In relation to drinking on ceremonial occasions, Pat Hohepa, in his study of a Northland Maori community (1970), recorded how weddings

Maori and Alcohol: A History

often led to relaxation of alcohol controls on the marae. At a 'tomo' (betrotal) ceremony,

Ratu's father then spoke; he said that it was not a fair match for such a pretty girl to be tied to his ugly son, but that if the two wanted to marry it was up to them. Meanwhile, glasses of beer were being passed around to the elders and to known younger drinkers seated on the armchairs and on the floor of the sitting room, or else gathered around a beer keg in the kitchen ... [later] the tomo proceedings had merged into that of the beer party.²⁶⁹

Although alcohol was nominally banned from tangi preparations, these restrictions were not always strictly observed. Hohepa records what happened following the death of a Waimea resident:

Throughout the night two men manned the fires and prepared breakfast. Their task however was lightened by the group of young men who had surreptitiously brought them a bottle of whisky and a few bottles of beer and had remained to help them consume these.²⁷⁰

79

Professor Anne Salmond's *Hui* (1975) documents how alcohol was accepted on some marae in the second half of the twentieth-century. Beer parties were often held on the evening after a burial.²⁷¹ But it has remained tapu to take alcohol to the cemetery itself (as is the case with tobacco).²⁷² A form of entertainment common to many hui, according to Salmond, is a visit to a local pub:

While the elders carry on speech-making in the meeting-house, the rest drink beer at the pub, sing, and discuss the *hui*. On occasions virtually the whole of the hui shifts to the pub, and these convivial moments have become an accepted part of the proceedings (although some of the old people still disapprove), and an added attraction to the *hui* ...²⁷³

Although drunken speakers are often interrupted or encouraged to stop speaking, this is only if he – Salmond refers to men only – seriously offends the decorum of the meeting.²⁷⁴ Halls, as opposed to marae, are often favoured venues for twenty-firsts, as there are no restrictions on the consumption of alcohol.²⁷⁵

Most marae forbid alcohol consumption, reflecting the belief that liquor is not in keeping with the dignity of marae rituals. Salmond notes that many marae differ in this respect, with liquor often allowed for weddings and twenty-firsts. Few have total prohibitions, as it "is impossible totally to insulate the *hui* from the effects of drinking".²⁷⁶

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

Among the Ngati Porou, at Te-Poho-o-Rawiri on the East Coast, liquor was banned in 1974, but previous to that it was allowed, much to the disgust of Amiria Manutahi Stirling:

... the meeting-house was built to represent the ancestors, so it's very tapu, and that's why the old people never allowed drink inside. But these days oh! they drink like anything. I was shocked to go to Te-Poho-o-Rawiri a few years back, it used to be the most gracious meeting-house; but that night, look here! it was full of beer. I can't help saying this because I saw it and I was disgusted. If the old people came back and saw that, I'm sure they'd cause an earthquake to bring that house down.²⁷⁷

In the 1990s, alcohol is, as the ALAC programme for marae-based alcohol control policies, *Manaaki Tangata* (1994-) notes, "used frequently as a symbol of Maori hospitality".²⁷⁸ In 1996, wine was even being commercially produced on a Wellington marae.²⁷⁹

80

Information on Maori alcohol consumption has been lacking until comparatively recently: Eru Pomare's *Maori Standards of Health ... 1955-1975* (1980) said little about the "extremely sensitive"²⁸⁰ issue of Maori and alcohol, noting that "It is difficult to gauge precisely the adverse effects of alcohol within the [Maori] community ... such basic information as the alcohol consumption of the Maori versus the non-Maori is lacking".²⁸¹

In Professor Eru Pomare and Gail de Boer's *Hauora. Maori Standards of Health. A Study of the Years 1970-1984* (1988), alcohol-related deaths were 2.8 times higher for Maori males compared to non-Maori, but Maori females recorded half the non-Maori rate. Maori women consumption rates were higher (twice as much) as non-Maori women. Alcohol was the commonest cause of admission to mental hospitals, and the rate of Maori arrests for drink-driving was 4.5 times higher than the non-Maori rate.²⁸² This publication concluded that "culturally appropriate messages" concerning smoking and alcohol be developed; indeed that both substances "should be discouraged as they have never been part of traditional Maori cultural activities".²⁸³

The follow-up volume, *Hauora. Maori Standards of Health III. A Study of the Years 1970-1991* (1995), records that –

Maori have a different pattern of alcohol use that non-Maori. This pattern demonstrates that fewer Maori drink regularly and that those Maori who do drink alcohol do so less frequently. However, on these occasions, Maori drink nearly twice as much as non-Maori.

Maori suffer excessive morbidity and mortality from alcohol-related causes. For the period 1989-91, alcohol-related deaths

Maori and Alcohol: A History

in Maori males were 2.2 times the rate of non-Maori males ... for Maori women the death rate for the 1989-91 period is 2.9 times that of non-Maori females.²⁸⁴

The worsening mortality rate for Maori women, perhaps as a result of the rising consumption rates noted in the 1980s, should be stressed here. The ALAC/Te Puni Kokiri publication *Te Maori me te Waipiro* (1995) stated that while overall alcohol consumption in New Zealand was declining, “indications are that this is not the case for the Maori drinking population”.²⁸⁵ February 1996 figures from the Central Regional Health Authority suggest that admission and readmission rates for alcohol and drug dependence for Maori males remain twice those of non-Maori, but Maori female admission rates remain low.²⁸⁶

The most recent figures (released August 1997) record the results from a 1995 survey of Maori drinking patterns, which found that while the median frequency of drinking among Maori was about half that of non-Maori, the median quantity of alcohol consumed was much higher (almost 200%).²⁸⁷ This is the ‘binge’ drinking pattern that harm minimisation policies and programmes attempts to address – targeting drinking patterns and environments rather than total per capita consumption – and which represents an on-going challenge for alcohol policy-making in New Zealand.

81

Further Reading

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Conclusions

Narrative History Summary

Embarking on a subject as wide-ranging and emotive as the history of Maori and alcohol is a problematic task. It is difficult to be fair to the past, true to the present and attentive to the needs of the future.

Although contact with Pakeha undoubtedly had grievous effects in terms of disease, land loss and confiscation, and war and dislocation, the resistance and resilience of Maori must be stressed. A number of conclusions can be made on the history of Maori and alcohol, all of which we hope others will challenge or accept as their reading or telling of the evidence allows:

- For a variety of reasons, Maori demonstrated an aversion to alcohol that lasted well into the 1850s.
- Maori did not readily take to alcohol for business or pleasure, as was the case with tobacco.
- Maori drinking and alcohol-related convictions did not reach settler levels until the 1890s. Even then, this followed decades of temperance reform and after increased proportions of Pakeha females had drastically reduced Pakeha colonial drinking rates.
- Even after and during the New Zealand Wars and the Native Land Court hearings, when there was increased Maori drinking as a result of land loss, this activity can be overstated. Alcohol had deleterious effects, but was also part of the rush for European status commodities fuelled by intertribal divisions and competition for mana.
- Legislation, until 1948, discriminated against Maori to a degree that reflected stereotypes of perceived Maori inability to cope with alcohol (despite credible evidence that they were coping quite well, relatively speaking). It is important to contextualise legislation in terms of Pakeha benevolent and well-meaning paternalism and a mis-reading of Maori petitions for alcohol. Petitions sought effective policing for tangata whenua and tangata tiriti, not prohibition necessarily (although that was acknowledged to have short-term benefits).
- There were signs outside of the Rohe Potae that, by the 1870s, alcohol was affecting Maori society adversely. But, unlike disease, alcohol could be manipulated as well as endured. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Maori were not passive victims of alcohol.
- Viewed historically, liquor consumption reveals nuances of political, social and cultural resonance by Maori resistant to Pakeha pressures. Alcohol *was* part of the European onslaught, but its role in the colonisation of New Zealand needs to be understood in its full complexity.
- In times and places, Pakeha authorities paid too little attention to the needs and desires of Maori. Suppression of Maori initiatives, such as

Maori and Alcohol: A History

the arrogant dismissal of the King Country sacred pact, glibly dismantled in the name of equality in the 1940s and 1950s, testifies to obstacles Maori had to surmount in their attempt to control alcohol use in their communities.

- Today, it is undeniable that Maori are suffering disproportionately from alcohol abuse compared to Pakeha. Alongside other policy approaches, it is important to discover the historical roots of this behaviour and to learn lessons from how tupuna responded to this situation.

Policy Commentary

The importance of history can be seen in the responses to some of the Otara Maori subjects interviewed in 1984 by Debbie Kupenga for the report, *Alcohol and the Maori People*. Two women said that alcohol health promotion aimed at Maori could show the effects that alcohol has had on Maori both individually and collectively:

Have a lot of visual displays. Go round talking at the maraes and that, explain to them how booze has been used to weaken our resistance to white infiltration, white domination, white power.

By instilling a national pride in Maori people. Instilling a pride in themselves, in their potential, their abilities, so that they would benefit from the knowledge that they don't need something outside of themselves to be what they are.²⁸⁸

A Maori Maccess (social/job assistance) worker interviewed by Paul Stanley in 1995 recorded that alcohol –

... started wayback, the Pakeha brought the alcohol and gave to the Maori and made them silly and now we are all silly, we are still silly, we live from week to week, we get our dole, we go down to the pub, get pissed, and then ah got no money for food and things like that ...²⁸⁹

If we all agree that it did indeed start “wayback”, then a thrilling example of the use of history in educating about contemporary alcohol use was presented in a panel discussion by John Te Au at the Hui Hauora Tane (14-15 June 1991):

When Eruera Stirling and Colonel Peter Awatere went to Parihaka to discuss Sir Apirana Ngata's ideas of land incorporation and tribal executives, the grand-daughter of Te Whiti stood up and said to her people, “There shall be no more alcohol drunk on this marae”. As a result, in a very short time the money that had been used by the people of Parihaka for

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

alcohol was used to buy back the land that had been taken from them. That provides a very strong message for today. The sacrifice passed across the bar every time a person goes up for a jug or a whisky, rum, or vodka could be counted in terms of the land. The sum of that money spent over the bar represents how much land?

Alcohol is a solvent which dissolves many things, including the bankroll. But it also dissolves marriages, it dissolves families and it dissolves the body's physical parts.²⁹⁰

Another example of history being used effectively was within the programme *Whiriwhiri te Ora (Choose Life)*, run by the Pukekohe Maori Wardens Office and the Huakina Development Trust Board (1993-), and supported by ACC and ALAC. This programme included a waiata and historical overview by Denny Kirkwood, produced as a pamphlet.²⁹¹ The intention of the programme was to work with the Maori wardens and Owairoa marae to develop strategies to prevent alcohol-related traffic injuries and deaths, and promote alcohol moderation.

84

This pamphlet began positively with a lyrical description of the importance of water in Maori mythology and life, and an emphasis on the success of the Maori economy in embracing European technology and commercial practices. The pamphlet noted the negative effects of liquor, and stated that “The rangatira sought to have it [waipiro] banned”, and lists many of these names. The devastating effects of the New Zealand Wars on Tainui and Waikato in particular are graphically described.

Two pages are devoted to discussion of the King Country and the pact question. Kirkwood argues that “The tapu that had been placed on Pakeha was now lifted and had been put on waipiro instead ... If the presence of the Pakeha was to be allowed, then there had to be some protection from his vices”. Kirkwood discusses the debate in the late 1940s in some detail, linking the commitment of Te Puea regarding alcohol to the work of the *Whiriwhiri te Ora* programme. This pamphlet is a model of how a more positive view of the history of Maori and alcohol can be a constructive and effective tool in Maori alcohol health promotion and education campaigns.

The view of Maori history presented by Kirkwood, and indeed in this book, is still at odds with the way Maori contact with alcohol is presented internationally. As this book was being prepared, a 1998 book by two Australian academics was released in New Zealand. It claimed that in New Zealand “early descriptions of indigenous use of alcohol are mostly negative, stressing the inability of people to ‘hold their grog’”.²⁹²

Often, Maori and Pakeha experts and alcohol commentators, in their advice to policy-makers and in their contribution to the public perception of Maori drinking habits, have discussed Maori history with regard to alcohol in a way that has justified contemporary ideological and political dictates. The acculturation thesis, for instance, argues that problematic alco-

Maori and Alcohol: A History

hol use by minority indigenous groups arises from unique stresses from value conflicts, identity crises and the loss of traditional social supports and institutions. In the 1980s and early 1990s, by stressing the negative impact of alcohol on Maori in the nineteenth century, especially linked with land loss, it was perhaps hoped to engage a Pakeha establishment to secure justice and compensation through Treaty settlements.

But this activity, while effective and justified, has not always been historically accurate, and has created powerful myths. It has, for instance, concentrated on linking alcohol and land alienation, while ignoring the bigger picture of how Pakeha authorities created legislation that took control of alcohol away from Maori communities.²⁹³

Alcohol abuse is not necessarily the result of culture clash or an activity perpetuated by passive victims of colonisation. It is always problematic to impute tradition and history as a reason for fulfilling an individual physical desire for alcohol. The temptation to associate past wrongs concerning land with alcohol abuse is a great and often irresistible one.

Rather, an examination of history to present cultural identities securely and safely focuses attention away from the dysfunctional individual and onto the environment which embeds us all. Thus we move away from 'symptoms' and towards 'identity'.

If we accept the notion that cultural identity is linked to health, then a secure cultural identity may protect against poor health. Poor Maori health is linked with separation from Te Ao Maori, including separation from language, whanau, cultural institutions, land and the environment. As Mason Durie said in 1996, "positive health promotion must include restoration of cultural security".²⁹⁴ Thus the importance to alcohol programmes of the sponsorship by ALAC of the waka project during the 1990 celebrations, as portrayed in the front cover photograph.

Access to cultural knowledge, which includes history, is therefore of importance. Research currently being undertaken at the National Centre for Treatment and Development (NCTD) in Christchurch suggests that addressing cultural needs makes alcohol and drug treatment more effective for Maori. Up to now, many dedicated Maori alcohol and drug treatment programmes have been abstinence-focused, in which "successfully treated Maori have subsequently reinforced a view that alcohol is alien to Maori culture".²⁹⁵

Lorna Dyal and Paul Stanley (1995) made the observation that an examination of history for examples of proactive resistance to alcohol heralds a need for an alcohol health promotion approach by Maori. As Dyal and Stanley trenchantly observed:

Looking ahead, we can either wait for government and related agencies to put in place policies and services that shape our environment and relationship to alcohol, or we can take the initiative to shape our environment and hence our future.²⁹⁶

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

The most important lessons from this book are perhaps these:

... that the degree of effectiveness of Maori-controlled alcohol schemes is in direct proportion to the degree of autonomy they have, the degree of cohesiveness and aroha among the respective groupings, the forcefulness of the leadership and commitment to the kaupapa, the importance of *relationships*, the responsibility accepted for alcohol control, as well as adequate and realistic funding and support.

From these lessons, good examples of programmes which stress *ownership* of responsibility for alcohol control, and which emphasise that hauora/well-being is an economic investment are, among others, the *Health Through the Marae* project initiated by Tahuna Marae (Ngati Te Ata) from 1990, various programmes initiated by Maori health providers, and the ALAC *Manaaki Tangata* programme (1994-):

Manaaki Tangata embraces the concept of whanau, hapu and iwi caring and sharing for the wellbeing of all people. *Manaaki Tangata* recognises that both tangata whenua (hosts) and manuhiri (guests) have an equal responsibility to promote safer drinking practices.²⁹⁷

As in the past, Maori alcohol control and health promotion programmes can be developed which promote self-worth, self-determination and assertiveness; grounded in *both* ideology and history.

86



Manaaki Tangata Logo. Collection of ALAC.

Although Maori have a unique history of contact with alcohol, Maori alcohol policy-makers have also been placing their own experiences with alcohol and drugs within an international indigenous framework. The WHO-endorsed *Third Healing Our Spirits Worldwide Conference. International Indigenous Peoples Conference on Substance Abuse* was held in Rotorua in February 1998, and ALAC, in particular, has been working on increasing these international indigenous linkages. The World Health Organisation, from 1999, is to fund and support Maori-controlled alcohol education, control and monitoring programmes in Gisborne and in Moerewa (Northland).²⁹⁸

Maori and Alcohol: A History

This book has taken on board the comments made by ALAC and Te Puni Kokiri in *Te Maori me te Waipiro* (1995):

Today, Maori are at a critical crossroad with alcohol. We now have the opportunity to evaluate important aspects of the cost of alcohol related harm to Maori, from both an historical and current perspective, so that effective strategies for the management of alcohol related issues can be developed and implemented.²⁹⁹

The history this book has presented is a rich and proud one from which many lessons can be learned and many more stories told. The way forward is, as always, in the past. The two accompanying colour illustrations (see p. 88), one from the 1850s, the other from 1989, illustrate that alcohol has been a medium of exchange and fellowship between Maori and Pakeha; sometimes positive, sometimes negative. This role of alcohol in the meeting and mingling of Maori and Pakeha is an on-going challenge and celebration.

Ka tiki a muri, ka tika te neke whakamua

We must pick up the past and move forward

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori



88

Two men seated at dining table, one possibly Maori, one Pakeha. Artist unknown, 1850s? Ink, watercolour and gouache, bound into sketchbook. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, E-371-f-036.



Garth Tapper, *If we walk in the light, we shall have fellowship with one another* (1989). Oil on canvas. Courtesy of William Tapper and William Akel.

Appendix 1

Rohe Potae (The King Country) and Alcohol

The largest centre of resistance [after 1869] was the King Movement, whose territory came to be known as the King Country ... There is no doubt of the King Movement's independence for many years after the war which was supposed to have subjugated it, but we have a great deal still to learn about it ... in the late nineteenth century, an independent Maori state nearly two thirds the size of Belgium existed in the middle of the North Island. Not all historians have noticed it.

James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars* (1986), p. 306

Establishment of the Kingitanga

The importance, complexity, longevity and effectiveness of alcohol control policies in the King Country necessitate spending some time in discussing this movement. In 1857, a 6,000-strong meeting was held in Taupo. This meeting eventually persuaded Te Wherowhero (Waikato) to accept the title of King Potatau I, a position he assumed in June 1858. Under Potatau, 'watene' (wardens) were empowered to keep alcohol off the marae. Such action mirrored the moves of other chiefs in the Rohe Potae (aka 'King Country').

King Tawhiao (?-1894)³⁰⁰ had replaced Potatau by the time of the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s. The King Movement resisted land-selling, which had caused such divisions in Maori society between the *tuku whenua* (land sellers) and *pupuri whenua* (land holders). The King Movement (Kingitanga) also resisted other European influences.

Tawhiao established the Tariao (Morning Star) faith, as an attempt to establish a Maori church and isolate his people from Pakeha influence. One of their children's songs went, "Let the mad drunkards set off to Europe, to the diggings, the sugar, flour, biscuit, tea consumers ...".³⁰¹

By the 1850s, Waikato Maori were becoming frustrated with poor enforcement of the 1847 Ordinance to Prohibit the Sale of Spirits to Natives. A runanga held at Ngaruawahia insisted that the outcome of numerous petitions sent by them to Grey be described. The reply, recorded in Gorst's *The Maori King* (1864), indicated why Maori had such a low opinion of settler alcohol control policy and policing:

The [Native] Office was searched, memorials were found from nearly every tribe in the Waikato, sent when the King Movement was in its infancy, setting forth the evils of rum-selling,

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

90



Tukaroto Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero Tawhiao (?-1894). Son of Whakaawi and Potatau Te Whereowhero, the first Māori King. On the death of his father in 1860, Tawhiao became the second Māori King. Photographer unknown, c.1880s. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, F-50875-1/2.

and crying to Government for help to put down the trade. Minutes were found suggesting an excellent regulation to meet the case, with written approvals by the Governor and Colonial Ministry. There the matter had stopped just short of action, and the papers had gone into a pigeon-hole.³⁰²

To give an example, under the 1847 Ordinance, some Europeans were granted 'bush licenses' for liquor sales in the Waikato (1856, 1860), despite Māori petitions in protest.³⁰³ Little wonder, then, that the King Country preferred their own administration.

Many, generally sober and conscientious, reports of the late 1850s and 1860s from Native Agents referred to the desire for self-government among

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Maori. Judge Fenton, in his report to Parliament on the Waikato Kingites (1860), made this observation of the efficacy of locally selected wardens in controlling alcohol:

Waata Kukutai, the chief of the Kohanga farming establishment, was elected by the people as a warden, and now administers and enforces laws, although he has received no government authority. He has, I am informed, already succeeded in stopping the consumption of spirits.³⁰⁴

The 'King Country' or Rohe Potae covers the western North Island, and comprises the tribal lands of Ngati Maniapoto, Ngati Tama, Ngati Tuwharetoa, some Waikato lands which had escaped being confiscated after the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s, and the northern fringe of Ngati Ruanui and Ngati Hau lands.

The boundary line (Aukati) limited the sphere of influence, and an administrative structure was established with the capital at Ngaruawahia. There was a runanga in each village, with the king served by a council. Local and district runanga assemblies were the main formal administrative mechanisms of the King movement.

Following the battle of Orakau in April 1864, Tawhiao retreated to the Rohe Potae. In 1882-83, its territorial range was estimated at between 7,000 and 10,000 square miles, some 22% of the North Island.³⁰⁵

1870s: Responses to Increased Drinking

In line with other parts of New Zealand, by the 1870s there were increasing reports of Maori drinking. The most consistent reports of drinking in the King Country were those issued by Major William Mair, Native Officer at Alexandra (Pirongia):

The thirst for strong drink is growing upon the Waikato natives ... while the craving for spirits manifested by the Kingites is something very serious; were they placed in a position to obtain it in quantities, I believe that they would indulge to an alarming extent.³⁰⁶

In 1873 Mair had reported one widow commenting with some pride that 200 gallons of rum had been consumed at various tangi for her husband.³⁰⁷ Mair noted in 1874 that "Tawhiao, Wahanui and others set an example of almost habitual drunkenness to the people".³⁰⁸

However, some reports of Maori insobriety in the King Country of the 1870s were mainly about areas that were just outside the Aukati. For instance, Te Kooti had a temporary camp at Kihikihi, just beyond the boundaries of the Rohe Potae, where he was supplied with liquor by George Wilkinson, Native Agent and publican. Te Kooti at this stage drank liber-

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

ally to celebrate his 1883 pardon and in an attempt to recapture his prophetic gifts.³⁰⁹

There are other indications of initial acceptance of alcohol and its settings within the King Country through to the early 1870s. The famous Ngati Maniapoto performer and composer of waiata, Rihi Puhuwahine, married a German immigrant publican called John Gotty, who ran the Rutland Hotel in Wanganui from 1850 to 1863. One of her waiata included the line “Ahu tonu ake au ko te papara/I’ll keep on going to the pub”, although this could have been to encourage her husband’s business, as she was a popular singer with Whanganui residents.³¹⁰

But the alcohol flowing into the King Country was not all intended for immediate consumption. Waikato Maori were adept at using alcohol for strategic political and military purposes. On 7 September 1863, a group of Ngati Maniapoto warriors feigned loud laughter, which the British troops following them interpreted as drunkenness caused by captured rum. The British attacked near Camerontown, and were surprised by an ambush which claimed nine British casualties.³¹¹ Here, Ngati Maniapoto used the British expectation that Maori troops would be incapacitated by liquor while in the field to tactical advantage – making shrewd military use of an ingrained racial stereotype.

92

From the mid-1870s, there was evidence of a desire for prohibition of alcohol sales, particularly from the northern tribes. Mair noted a marked decline in alcohol consumption from 1875 to 1877, as did R.S. Bush, Resident Magistrate at Raglan in 1878.³¹² Tawhiao appears to have renounced alcohol in 1875, and attended a meeting of 3,000 Maori at Hikurangi in 1877, which reported not a single case of drunkenness.³¹³

Even the pro-settler *New Zealand Herald* noted somewhat ironically in 1877 that “Only the Kingites, who are not gradually selling land and drinking the proceeds, are not rapidly decreasing in numbers”.³¹⁴ That spirit of resistance to alcohol appeared in Sygurd Wisniowski’s 1877 novel *Tikera*, where the Pakeha narrator offers a flask of brandy to a Maori, who “refused with evident disgust ... ‘I won’t touch your firewater’”.³¹⁵

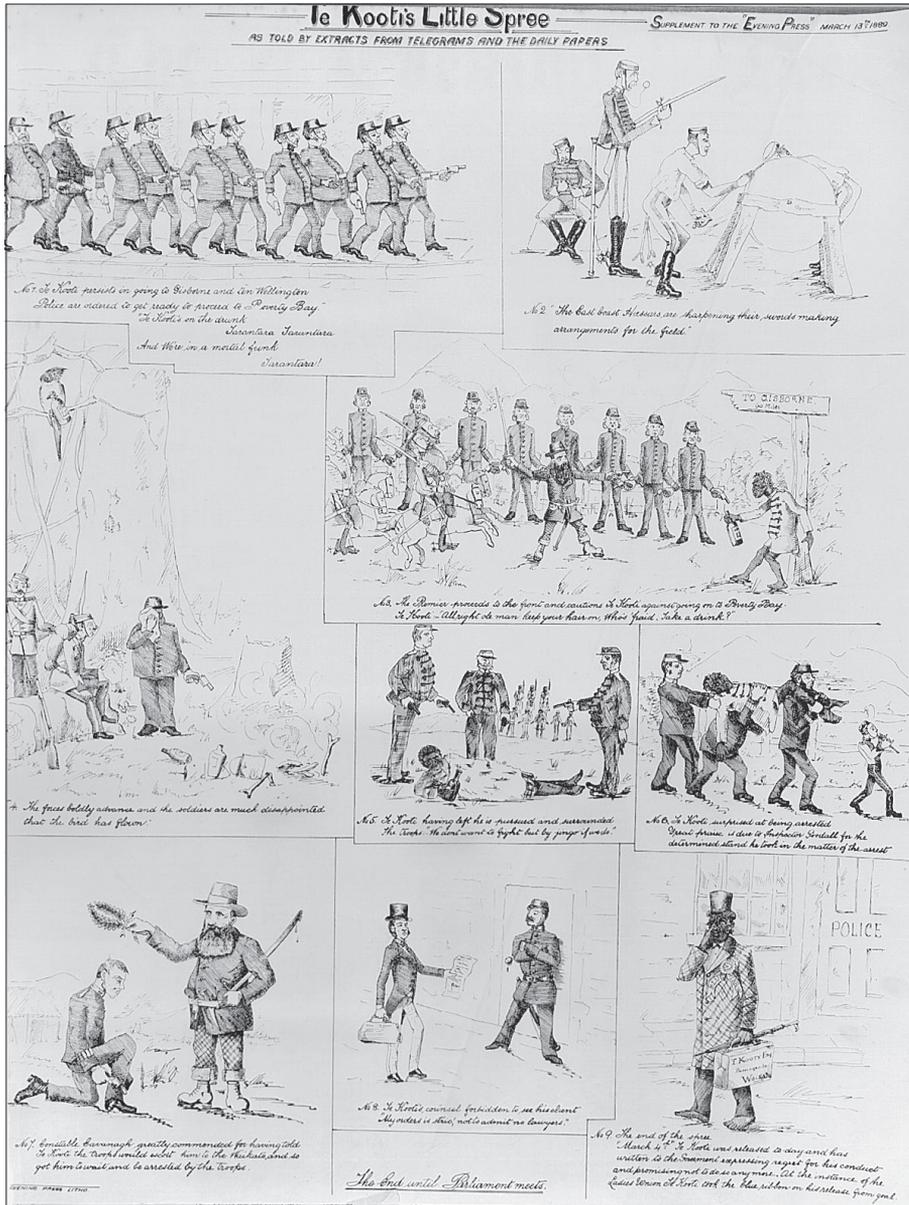
Given this prohibitionist trend among King Country Maori, to what do we attribute this change of heart?

Temperance Activity

In 1884, G.T. Wilkinson, Native Agent at Alexandra (Pirongia), made his annual report, which recorded the activities of the Blue Ribbon Army and the Gospel Temperance Mission in the King Country. Wilkinson noted that “The Natives (as a body) all through the district are very much against the introduction of intoxicating liquor into what is known as Native Territory or the King Country”.³¹⁶

But Wilkinson’s report is ambiguous as to the role of Pakeha temperance associations. The New Zealand Alliance certainly claimed the credit for the dry area in 1930.³¹⁷ This is consistent with the development of

Maori and Alcohol: A History



'Te Kooti's Little Spree'. Published in the *Evening Press* (13 March 1889, Supplement). Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, National Newspaper Collection, N-P 354.

Maori temperance groups in other parts of New Zealand: by 1878, two Maori Good Templar's Lodges had been established in Gisborne and Tolaga Bay.³¹⁸ Later, Maori temperance songs were composed.³¹⁹

However, in the King Country, Maori met temperance reformers more than halfway. Temperance workers often took the credit for Maori initiatives, but did not allow for the possibility that Maori were using them as

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

much as vice-versa. Wilkinson, writing in 1888, admitted as much when he observed in his report to Parliament that –

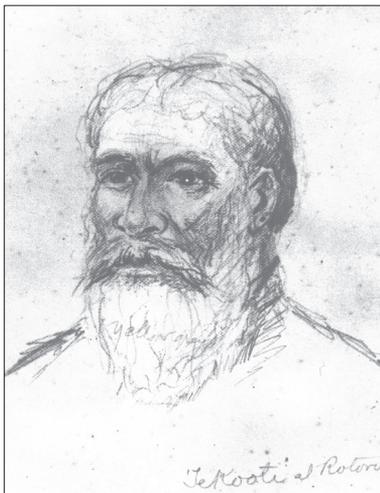
... the temperance principles of the Maori have in most cases originated with himself, possibly from knowledge, dearly acquired, that intoxicating liquors are bad things for them both physically and socially. Knowledge so gained is likely to have a more lasting effect than would the fervid address or array of statistics of the ordinary temperance orator.³²⁰

What cannot be denied is that there were considerable temperance efforts in the King Country. In March 1882, the newspaper *Te Korimako* was established, bankrolled by an American, C.P. Snow, a member of the Blue Ribbon Army. This newspaper, published in Maori, warned of the evils of liquor in hastening the decline of the Maori race.³²¹

A party from the Blue Ribbon Army arrived in the northern King Country in April 1884, and gathered a number of signatures on a petition encouraging Governor William Jervis not to allow licenses in the area. It had 1,400 signatures by September 1884.³²² A letter from the Ngati Maniapoto chief Wahanui Huatere and others accompanied the petition, which asked that Governor Jervis “not in anywise permit a Publican’s License to become legal throughout our district extending to Waipa, Kawhia, Mokau and all its boundaries”.³²³

But despite such efforts, only 33 Maori actually joined the Blue Ribbon Movement.³²⁴ Te Kooti, always somewhat scathing of Tawhiao, suggested in an 1885 waiata that the law that Tawhiao should try to observe was the ‘Puruu-ripenne/Blue Ribbon’ of temperance; but Te Kooti did not indicate that Tawhiao was already under this influence. It is ironic to note that Te Kooti himself later made a temperance pledge and received his blue ribbon on 4 March 1889, a point noted by Pakeha cartoonists (see p. 93).³²⁵

94



Sketch of Te Kooti. Rotorua 1887. Pencil. Richard Laishley. Rotorua Museum of Art and History/Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa, CP 3427.

Note the contrast between this naturalistic sketch of 1887 and the caricature of 1889 on p. 93.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

The petition helped but did not initiate pre-existing Maori sentiment, which had been evident from the late 1850s and 1860s. The precedent for effective internal social regulation by Maori had been noted as early as 1860 by Judge Fenton in his report to Parliament on Waikato Kingites: “The Maoris generally, I believe, are anxious to arrest the vice of drunkenness, and, if empowered, they can and will do so.”³²⁶

One report that is explicit on Pakeha influence was issued by Robert Ward, the Resident Magistrate at Wanganui in 1884. It described temperance in the southern King Country, especially among Upper Wanganui Maori:

I am glad to be able to report favourably on the success of the Blue Ribbon Movement amongst the Natives; its spread is truly wonderful ... Though some have backslided from their pledges, a very great majority have strictly adhered to their promises, and are true to their ‘bit o’ blue’.³²⁷

1880s: Liquor Licensing and the “Sacred Pact”

By the 1880s, the issue of liquor licensing had become one of the primary areas of concern in the King Country. In November 1883, Ngati Maniapoto leaders and John Bryce, the Native Minister, met in Kihikihi to discuss licenses. Before Ngati Maniapoto would submit their lands to the Native Lands Court, they requested that liquor licenses be banned in their ancestral lands, with support from the Gospel Temperance Mission.

It was at this point that the alleged “sacred pact” was first supposed to have been made between the Government and Ngati Maniapoto, in which the Main Trunk Railway linking Auckland and Wellington would be allowed through the Rohe Potae on the condition that liquor licenses be forbidden in the King Country.

As a result of such meetings, a proclamation was issued under section 25 of the Licensing Act 1881 (later re-enacted as section 272 of the Licensing Act 1908) on 3 December 1884. Tawhiao signed the petition in the presence of a Blue Ribbon Army delegation on 22 October 1884, wearing the blue ribbon as he signed. When Wahanui saw John Ballance on 1 November 1884 at Parliament, he stated that “the sale of spirits within our district shall be stopped absolutely. I do not want that great evil brought upon our people”.³²⁸ The Government was initially happy to go along with it. There were speeches in favour of prohibition by Wahanui and the Premier, Robert Stout, at a sod-turning ceremony for the railway at the banks of the Puniu River on 15 April 1885.

But despite such initial support, Pakeha support for prohibition in the King Country was far from unanimous. However, the King Country was divided into the ‘Kawhia Licensing Area’, and the southern regions which joined later the ‘Upper Wanganui Licensing Area’ (1887). Wanganui Maori who lived in the southern region of the King Country had joined the ban on liquor in response to illegal liquor sales on Wanganui River steamers.³²⁹

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

At the 1885 ceremony, Robert Stout was recorded as saying that –

We are standing here on soil on which there has been a Proclamation that no liquor shall be sold (cheers), and we are today going to provide you with lunch, but you are to have no alcoholic liquors (cheers) ... although many Europeans can take liquor without injuring themselves to any appreciable extent, if what is called firewater gets among any aboriginal race like the Maoris, it is condemning them to destruction ... the Maoris ought to be preserved ...³³⁰

In other words, Stout painted this as a paternalistic decision based on a perception that it was Europeans' duty to help the Maori, rather than an acknowledgement that this was affirming a decision made by and for Maori themselves. Wahanui, in his reply, stated that –

96



Group at the digging of the first sod of the main trunk railway at Puniu. Premier Robert Stout has his hand in his coat. To the left of the post are Wahanui Huatare, Rewi Maniapoto (in the top hat) and Taonui Hikaka (in the tall oval hat). Photographer: Daniel Beere, 1885. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, D.M. Beere Collection, G-96176-1/2, PAColl-3081.

The part of ... [Stout's] speech I took particular notice of is that referring to the restrictions on spiritous liquors in this district (cheers). I consider we could not have a better boundary with which to keep back the liquor than this stream of fresh water running down below us ...³³¹

Maori and Alcohol: A History



'Boundaries of the King Country Licensing Area', from Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972).

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

Wahanui's Change of Heart

In December 1891, Wahanui, Taonui and thirty Ngati Maniapoto chiefs requested a hotel license at Otorohanga. Wahanui and another chief also requested permission to erect a public house at Kawhia. Yet both Wahanui and Taonui had signed the 1884 petition against alcohol. In a letter (21 December 1891) to the Native Minister, A.J. Cadman, the grounds for a license at Otorohanga were outlined by Wahanui:

The reason we make this application to you is because a number of European customs are now in vogue in this town. The Native Land Court holds its sittings here. There is also the railway, and every traveller to this place has to live in the hotel. Therefore we ask you to grant a license for liquor to be sold in accordance with the law.

It is true that formerly we objected to any licenses being granted, but now so many of our European friends came here that we ask you to grant a license for this place only within Rohe Potae (that an exception be made in this case only).³³²

98

There have been various reasons suggested for Wahanui's change of heart: primarily that it was to stop sly-grogging by Europeans or that it was forced on him to repay a debt. Politically, there was a break between Ngati Maniapoto and Waikato in the 1880s. The balance of evidence is that



'Great Chiefs at Whare – Komiti – Haerehuka – King Country' (Rewi Maniapoto, Tawhana te Rangituataka, Taonui, Weterete Rerenga, Te Naunau), 1885. Photographers: Burton Bros. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, C. 10090.

Maori and Alcohol: A History



Wahanui, family and friends at Pirongia (Alexandra), 1885. Photographers: Burton Bros. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, C. 1002.

99

Wahanui wanted a hotel in order to cater for European land agents who were coming into his area, as a result of previous considerable land sales.

Certainly there was some tension between Ngati Maniapoto chiefs, such as Wahanui, Taonui and Rewi, and the followers of Tawhiao. They had heated discussions about who would be present at the sod-turning ceremony in 1885.³³³

James Belich (1996) has suggested that, in the 1890s, Ngati Maniapoto chiefs felt that they could control Pakeha influence better if they allowed them in voluntarily, and that Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Haua mana was being subverted by the supra-tribal nature of Kingism.³³⁴ Perhaps Wahanui's actions were an expression of Ngati Maniapoto independence.

In 1948, a descendant of Wahanui claimed that the letters and petitions by Wahanui were forgeries. In 1949, Koroki, the Maori King, stated that Wahanui's actions were to extend hospitality to European friends, particularly land sellers, and had been made on the recommendation of "clever agents" of the licensed trade.³³⁵

The former claim can be seen as an attempt to rewrite history, while the latter can be seen in the context of petitioning the Government in the late 1940s when it was proposed to end the pact (for the prohibition of alcohol entering the Rohe Potae). The Government in 1953 claimed that Wahanui's actions proved that there never was a pact, or if there was Ngati Maniapoto refused to accept it fully. In the late 1940s, the Kingites wished to claim that Wahanui's actions were not representative of King Country Maori as a whole.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

However, to return to the 1890s, even then there was not a widespread popular mandate amongst Ngati Maniapoto for Wahanui's petition. The application received strong opposition from temperance groups.

Wahanui's 1891 application was never granted, mainly because of protest from King Country Maori.³³⁶ Rewi Maniapoto opposed Wahanui on this issue, and sent a telegram to the Governor on 23 June 1892, which said tersely, "This is my word to you. Do not by any means allow a license to be issued within this Rohe Potae tribal boundary district at Otorohanga".³³⁷

Wahanui gathered 201 signatures together for his 1896 petition for a hotel license, far fewer than the 1,400 signatures received on the 1884 petition for prohibition. Even the pro-settler *New Zealand Herald* reported that Wahanui's hotel applications were supported by few Maori: "The more enlightened of them know what the drink traffic means for their race".³³⁸

Extract from Interview with Sunny Thomas Te Whiwhi Maniapoto
27 February 1997
Michelle Pearse

Rewi Maniapoto was against alcohol from the beginning. He never deviated from his original stance.

Traders would use alcohol to take the land.

Maori would travel for miles to come to the courts. Their case would be constantly postponed until one day when they didn't come. The court would convene and in their absence their land would be sold.

Maori would travel long distances. Alcohol was used to while away the time while waiting for court proceedings. Huge bills were incurred while [waiting] and the land had to be sold to pay the bills.

100

1890s-1910s

European and Maori could and did import liquor from outside the King Country. Railway construction settlements such as Taumarunui were a source of alcohol, as was Taihape, just outside the dry area. Many prominent citizens, Maori and Pakeha, made considerable profits from adulterated whisky and sly-grogging. The reports of several Otorohanga Justices of the Peace writing to the Minister of Justice in 1896-97 were explicit about the effects of alcohol in towns and on the laxity of law enforcement: "drunken Maori women and girls are a common sight there [Te Kuiti]; and the results generally, so far as regards the Maori population, are most deplorable".³³⁹

However, there were a number of witnesses to a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1900 who argued that the negative effects of drinking on King Country Maori had been exaggerated. One Pakeha witness, a Mr. Ellis, felt that drunkenness "has been grossly overcoloured; there is no doubt about that. The liquor and prohibition parties, of course, make us [King Country inhabitants] out worse than we are".³⁴⁰ Another Pakeha witness,

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Charles Hursthouse – opposed to the prohibition – agreed the reports were incorrect:

I might say here that on one occasion Colonel Hume and Inspector Hickson came up to the King Country full of expectation of seeing something of those fearful orgies supposed to take place every train night ... they wanted to see if there was anything in the allegations of gross immorality, and they found nothing of the sort.³⁴¹

Maori sources also record that alcohol consumption was increasing in the Waikato. Hone Patene told a 1905 Royal Commission on church schools that his hapu were “badly off and drank and wasted their money”.³⁴² Te Uira Te Heuheu, a member of the kahui ariki (royal family), recalled that in 1913, “There was much drinking, especially among the men. There seemed to be no sense of direction as far as policy was concerned and life just drifted by”.³⁴³ Around 1900, an Arawa man, Taiporutu Mitchell, recalled meeting Princess Te Puea at Mangatawhiri when Te Puea was in her mid-teens:

Te Puea ... approached us with a teapot in her hands. The teapot was filled with neat whisky. Te Puea paused before each guest. When my turn came I refused to drink. Te Puea, who was furious with me, insisted. But I had promised my future wife that I would not touch liquor and I was equally strong-minded ... There were few men who would have wished to withstand her – Te Puea was very attractive indeed.³⁴⁴

Apirana Ngata visited the King Country in May 1900, sent on a three-week visit by the Te Aute Students' Association to compile a report. This report was presented to Parliament before the Public Petitions Committee in July 1900. Ngata discussed the views of both anti- and pro-license Maori who wanted a change to the existing system, mainly due to frustration at the amount of sly-grogging that went on.

Ngata observed “the strong and apparent spontaneous feeling of a large section [of Ngati Maniapoto]” that the sale of liquor be controlled, preferably by them, in the King Country.³⁴⁵ Ngata urged the Association to press for the right of Maori electors in prohibited districts to decide on the question of licenses. But Maori opinion remained divided, and a majority within the Rohe Potae still supported prohibition.

The Te Aute Students' Association resolved in favour of prohibition at its Wanganui conference in December 1900. But there were others at that conference, such as Ngata, the Taupo chief Te Heuheu and three others who spoke, arguing that licenses would be better for King Country Maori than sly-grog selling.³⁴⁶

There were various debates in Parliament in 1900 about the “sacred

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

pact”. Hone Heke (Northern Maori) and R. Lawry (Parnell) both urged the introduction of liquor licenses. Lawry argued that “in the nineties”,

It was discussed at great length by [the Native Minister] Cadman, by myself, by the great chief Wahanui, and the Natives unanimously passed a resolution, supported verbally and strongly by Wahanui, that they had made a mistake, and that they should have the same right of citizenship as that enjoyed by other people.³⁴⁷

In 1900, and again in the post-1945 period, the argument that Maori and Pakeha should be equal in law, while laudable, was often used as a lever to dismantle Maori alcohol control initiatives that Maori merely wished to be enforced effectively.

102



Maori group. ‘Taumaranui – King Country’, 1885. Photographers: Burton Bros. Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, C. 10039.

In 1900, as later in the century, the question of evidence came down to Maori oral testimony and the need for written evidence of the pact. Lawry claimed that there was no pact: “Wahanui told me he never asked such a question, and never obtained such a pledge”.³⁴⁸ G. Fisher, MP for Wellington City, said that while the issue was controversial, there was a lack of “proof of the statement ascribed by Sir Robert Stout to the now dead chief Wahanui”.³⁴⁹

In 1909 the Taumaranui Licensing Committee issued five wholesale licenses on land said to have been Crown land before the 1884 proclamation. This evoked a storm of temperance protest. A typical response was printed in the *Oamaru Mail*:

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Are the people of New Zealand to remain passive while the natives are subjected to an influence as deadly as the rifle? To shoot them down would be more merciful than to drag them down to the lowest depths of degradation by the purveying of an element which is more fatal to them than it is to Europeans.³⁵⁰

The New Zealand Alliance had called a conference between the Maori King, Mahuta, with representative chiefs of the Rohe Potae at Mahuta's settlement at Waahi in June 1910. The King said:

Those words [the Proclamation] shall never be altered ... The intention of our Maori Councils is that we will not have liquor in our district ... I shall stand by the word of our fathers, and our grandfathers. Their work was right. I ... will send a message to my people ... to say that the word of our fathers is to stand, and that no liquor shall come into the Rohe Potae.³⁵¹

National politics muddied the waters somewhat. Seddon's raising of the possibility of a referendum in the King Country in 1900 brought forth accusations from the prohibitionists that this was in response to financial backing from the liquor industry. Robert Stout, President of the New Zealand Alliance from 1895-97, reminded Parliament that there was an arrangement that railway construction was allowed on the condition that there be no liquor.

Also prominent in the newspapers of the time were sensationalist reports that the King Country prohibition was being widely flouted and that "lightning rod" (a mixture of methylated spirits and whisky and/or raspberry cordial) was being hawked in bush shanties.³⁵² Many of these reports came from opponents of prohibition, and although perhaps accurate in some cases, have undoubtedly been exaggerated.

1920s

During the 1920s there was increasing pressure within the King Country for licensing. Among those who made submissions to the Parliamentary Licensing Committee in 1922 was John Ormsby (Ngati Maniapoto),³⁵³ who claimed to have been present at some of the negotiations concerning the railway. Ormsby believed that the understanding from the 1885 sod-turning ceremony was that liquor would not cross the Puniu river; but that sly-grogging had continued in any case, and that licenses were the answer.

By 1923, both Pakeha temperance organisations and King Country Maori protested any plan to open up the region to liquor purveyors. The response from King Country Maori was swift and decisive. A petition sent to the Prime Minister on 16 July 1923 stated a belief that theirs was an agreement between "our elders and Governor Grey", and that in honouring that agreement, "liquor be not allowed within the confines of the do-

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

mains of the King for ever and ever”.³⁵⁴ In 1923, one petition, supporting the status quo and representative of a number of King Country tribes, including Ngati Maniapoto, contained 1,119 signatures.

However, the demographics were starting to tell: in 1926 the Pakeha population in the King Country was 24,070; Maori 5,120.³⁵⁵ In July 1926 there was a petition signed by 5,000 Pakeha for licensing reform, on the grounds that the King Country was no longer a Maori territory. After a brief debate in Parliament on the nature of the pact, the Prime Minister, Gordon Coates, remained cautious, aware of the divided views on the matter. As a result he took no action.³⁵⁶

That same year, Ngohi Ngati and 211 others submitted a petition to the Government requesting licenses be allowed in the King Country. But a Ngati Maniapoto deputation signed by 33 leading chiefs and presented to the Native Minister (after having been distributed to the various King Country tribes), called Ngati’s petition “the underhand work of Pakehas and their agents ... [with] the clothing of a sheep, but in reality it is a destroying wolf”.³⁵⁷ It referred back to similar petitions for licenses made by Wahanui in 1891 and 1896:

104

Some of our own [Ngati Maniapoto] people who for their own personal profit wanted hotels, signed those petitions, while some others carelessly followed their example. It was the same with those petitions as it is with this one now. Those signing have been led astray, which is very bad indeed. Those petitions are of no benefit to the Maori people of the King Country. Our present position (without licensed hotels) is much better than that of any other tribes (those in licensed areas).³⁵⁸

Like Wahanui, Ngohi Ngati had his petition turned down, even though he presented it in 1934.

The Tainui elder Heeni Wharemaru recalled of the late 1920s that alcohol was seldom consumed, especially by women, although there was some sly-grogging activity:

There were no pubs around there, so that [sly-grogging] was the only way you could get a drink, because this was the King Country. It was the king’s area, which had been proclaimed a dry area by the Maori people. So it was not only difficult to get hold of, but very expensive to buy.³⁵⁹

The King Country Prohibition Under Seige: 1945-1954

Of the nine Maori interviewed when the Royal Commission on Licensing met in Te Kuiti in July 1945, seven, some acting as tribal representatives, were in favour of prohibition. This was particularly the case with Ngati Maniapoto representatives. The Royal Commission believed that there was

Maori and Alcohol: A History

less drinking by King Country Maori than by Maori in licensed areas, and recommended that there be separate votes with a 60% majority in both polls for prohibition to be abolished. As long as there were separate polls it would seem that the King Country would remain dry indefinitely.

Thus, in the 1949 poll, the European vote was overwhelmingly in favour of licensing, while the Maori pro-license vote (mainly from southern regions of the King Country) did not break the 60% threshold. The fact that there were separate polls ensured the maintenance of no-license. But King Country leaders knew their dry area was under political siege. To emphasise their resolve, in March 1949 King Koroki and Princess Te Puea Herangi led a 300-400-strong delegation to Parliament, representing Waikato, Ngati Maniapoto, Taranaki, Tuwharetoa and Wainui a Rua, concerning the King Country Pact.³⁶⁰

Te Puea, while not herself teetotal, was concerned that alcohol took an excessive toll on Maori, especially where there was a lack of social supports and traditional sanctions on behaviour. Te Puea was concerned also at Koroki's drinking bouts and the divisive and bitter nature of alcohol-fuelled



Princess Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Herangi (1883-1952). Photographer unknown, 1952. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, F-111810-1/2.

arguments. She kept a ban on alcohol on marae she directly controlled, refusing to serve it at functions. Te Puea enforced the King Country regulations zealously. She ensured Koroki paid a fine imposed for drinking on the Turangawaewae marae in 1948, and would patrol with a torch if she suspected guests were secretly drinking in the dark.³⁶¹ In February 1949 Te Puea sent out a letter to all the King Country tribes which stated: "I implore you to retain our mana and our rangatiratanga which are unique to us and do not have equivalents among other coloured peoples; uphold this sacred inheritance".³⁶²

However, not all were in favour of retaining the pact. An aide of King Koroki, Pei Te Hurinui Jones, later wrote that –

The writer as a Maniapoto tribesman had formed a strong committee of young Maniapoto tribal leaders to sponsor a petition containing a prayer "that if licensing of hotels were allowed in the King Country tribal trusts were to receive £500 per annum from each licensee".³⁶³

This amount, which the liquor trade had agreed after negotiations, would

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

have been used, Jones claimed, for “social welfare, educational, charitable, and tribal purposes”. Jones felt that alcohol was something that Maori would have to learn to accept and live with if they wanted equality with Pakeha.³⁶⁴

However, Te Puea felt such “equality” would hurt Maori. She described alcohol as an “evil foreign leviathan”, and did not favour law changes in 1948 that gave more rights for Maori concerning purchase and consumption of alcohol: “What I want is [a return to] the law of 1945 so I can go into a hotel and drive them out, women and all”.³⁶⁵



106

Pei Te Hurinui (Ngati Maniapoto) stands at left. Next to him is Te Arikiniui King Koroki and on the right is Te Kiri Katipa (Waikato). Photographer unknown. Photograph may have been taken on the occasion of the 1933 commemoration at Waitangi. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, F-145538-1/2.

After 1954, when the poll was based on a simple majority – with the predictable result – Jones ruefully wrote that –

My prediction proved correct, and Maniapoto tribal leaders, who now cannot get publican’s support for Maori causes, such as the maintaining of Maori wardens in hotels, rue the day when our petition [to levy the brewers] was killed. King Koroki, himself not a tee-totaller, has since realised that the deputation [to reject Jones’ proposal] placed him in a rather false position.³⁶⁶

After 1954, Jones believed, licensing gave no benefits to Maori, only greater opportunities for drinking within “papakaua” (pubs).

Maori and Alcohol: A History

The “sacred pact” had been challenged by Justice Smith, the chairman of the Royal Commission on Licensing in 1945, and A.H. McLintock in his 1953 report to Parliament. Both concluded that a pact had not been made.³⁶⁷ In particular, both reports concentrated very much on the government files and official correspondence and not on the Maori view, that the spoken word and handshakes at the meeting may have, in themselves, constituted an agreement. The Royal Commission recommended –

That there is no historical reason whatever for withholding from the Maori and Pakeha voters of the King Country the same rights as other citizens in determining whether or not liquor should be sold in their area, and by whom.³⁶⁸

Little wonder that this was one of the few recommendations of the Commission that the liquor industry accepted wholeheartedly.³⁶⁹ McLintock concentrated his report on the written evidence of 1883-85. However, Maori and temperance activists based their belief that there was a pact on Stout’s oral statement of 15 April 1885. For McLintock this was emotion not reason, and a concentration not on the events of 1883-85 but on subsequent events and statements.

The Maori King Country Sacred Pact Committee argued forcefully in pamphlets issued at this time that the pact was “a Sacred Pact, a Gentleman’s agreement, a Kupu Marae ... We still hold the Mana of the King Country. The Pact is not broken yet”.³⁷⁰

However, in 1951 the National Party was re-elected. One of its campaign promises was for a single referendum on no-license in the King Country. In 1953 a Bill was introduced for a joint poll requiring a 60% majority in November 1954, and the result was predictable given the demographics: licensing was carried by a large majority: 80% for European and 25% of Maori in favour of a license.³⁷¹

In assessing the results of the King Country prohibition, there is little to suggest that the liquor ban exacerbated racial tensions. Undoubtedly some sly-grogging and attempts to circumvent the restrictions were undertaken by King Country Maori.

The 1946 report of the Royal Commission on Licensing, using police statistics, shows that there were very low Maori offending rates for various offences against licensing laws, as compared to other police districts. On the charge of sly-grogging, the Commission notes that “the convictions against Pakehas for this offence in the King Country greatly exceed those for any other districts”, indicating that prohibition was, if anything, causing higher rates of lawlessness among the Pakeha population.³⁷² The evidence suggests that for Maori it was effective, hence the consistently low support among Maori for licensing to be introduced.

The King Country from 1884 to 1954 should be seen not as a place where Pakeha authorities were inconsistent in their enforcement of the ‘dry’ regulations or where only European temperance groups sustained pro-

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

hibition. Instead the region is better understood as a testing ground for a local Maori initiative and exercise in the use of licensing boundaries to control alcohol consumption.

Although New Zealand historians of alcohol have either mentioned the King Country cursorily (Bollinger, 1967) or given any credit to “Pakeha prohibitionists and conservative chiefs” (Eldred-Grigg, 1986), the story is quite different. Despite the laudable notion of the time which sought to promote self-reliance for Maori through absolute equality before the law, this equality was at the expense of a social support and alcohol control system that had been remarkably effective for seventy years; arguably the most effective alcohol control regime that has ever operated in New Zealand.

Further Reading

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M.P.K. Sorrenson, ‘The Maori King Movement, 1858-1885’, in *Studies of a Small Democracy. Essays in Honour of Willis Airey*, ed. Robert Chapman and Keith Sinclair (Paul’s Book Arcade for the University of Auckland, Auckland, 1963), pp. 33-55.

Appendix II

Wihiki Te Inu Matua, Hei Inu Whakaoho Korero

Whisky and History

Na Bradford Haami, a personal viewpoint

In considering the 1980s-1990s, this commentary makes personal observations on how alcohol has, to a point, become associated with the telling of oral testimony. The drink I refer to in particular here is whisky. Passing the whisky cap or hip flask around a room, with beer as a chaser, can lead to a greater flow of conversation, tall stories, opinions and also the 'blurring out' of family secrets.

It was out of this situation, but probably in a more private setting, that many of my generation learnt smatterings of Maori tribal histories. Sitting down to discuss history, whether at the 'local' or at home, was usually accompanied with a snap of top shelf whisky. It was considered a norm in my work as a journalist/historical researcher to call in on elders, whom we knew well, with a prize bottle of whisky as a koha or gift. This was considered the norm if you wanted to loosen people's tongues to reveal oral histories. A cap of whisky was considered almost a protocol when discussing history. If we did not bring a bottle with us, we were offered a tot of whisky by our hosts, before any discussion began, sometimes as early as ten in the morning.

In some such circumstances, alcohol was usually a way to create a rapport to ascertain whether you were fit enough to hold your liquor and therefore hold knowledge. Sometimes participating in alcohol reversed the situation and you were deemed not fit to be handed knowledge. Every situation is different and it would not be right to generalise by saying that this happens in every Maori home because it doesn't.

In my grandfather's time it was always considered the norm to discuss issues and history around a cap of whisky; it was never considered proper to drink whisky for the sake of deliberately becoming inebriated, but simply as a social custom associated with korero (talk). Usually at the end of a discussion session the bottle was never totally consumed. From my own observations, it is considered the inu matua, that like any delicacy is only brought out on special occasions. This had the effect of creating great discussions on local and national issues, Maori issues and traditional histories.

However, the point at which heated discussion, over-exuberance and embellishment becomes apparent is also the point at which any validity in the discussion is lost. This is called korero haurangi or 'piss talk'. Not everyone has the capacity to recognise this point and so embellished information

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

is heard, retained and remembered. Sometimes this enrichment of traditional korero is purposely promulgated to test the listener's own knowledge or lack of it. This is considered by some as an act of safeguarding tribal information from abuse and determining whether a participant had the 'nouse' to hold such information.

Another protocol instilled into many Maori was the notion of never discussing whakapapa or genealogies around alcohol, that was deemed profane and defamatory. Nevertheless people have been known always to bring this subject up in the pub or at parties, as an act of self-promotion. This process has become so prevalent amongst some Maori sectors that whisky and history have become almost inseparable. A term encapsulating an extreme indulgence in this practice, commonly heard amongst people is: "He won't talk unless he's totally tanked up!"

It is important to understand that these fairly recent social customs adapted into Maori circles are not derived from a Maori tradition but more from a western settler mentality where the drinking of wine over dinner and moving into spirits later was an acceptable social custom to force conversation. The need or wish to be recognised by Pakeha society saw Maori emulate and adopt many western social customs in a bid to be seen as fashionable, educated and upper class. Top hats, canes, gold fillings, cigars and cigarettes, crystals and pearls, furs, a horse and dray were all outward signs of Pakeha wealth and prosperity in an English gentleman's world that Maori sought to imitate and possess. Extreme cases known to me of Maori of the rangatira and gentleman class outwardly showing their wealth and status are seen in the lighting of a cigar with a 10 pound note, and elders having silver, gold and diamond teeth and fillings.³⁷³

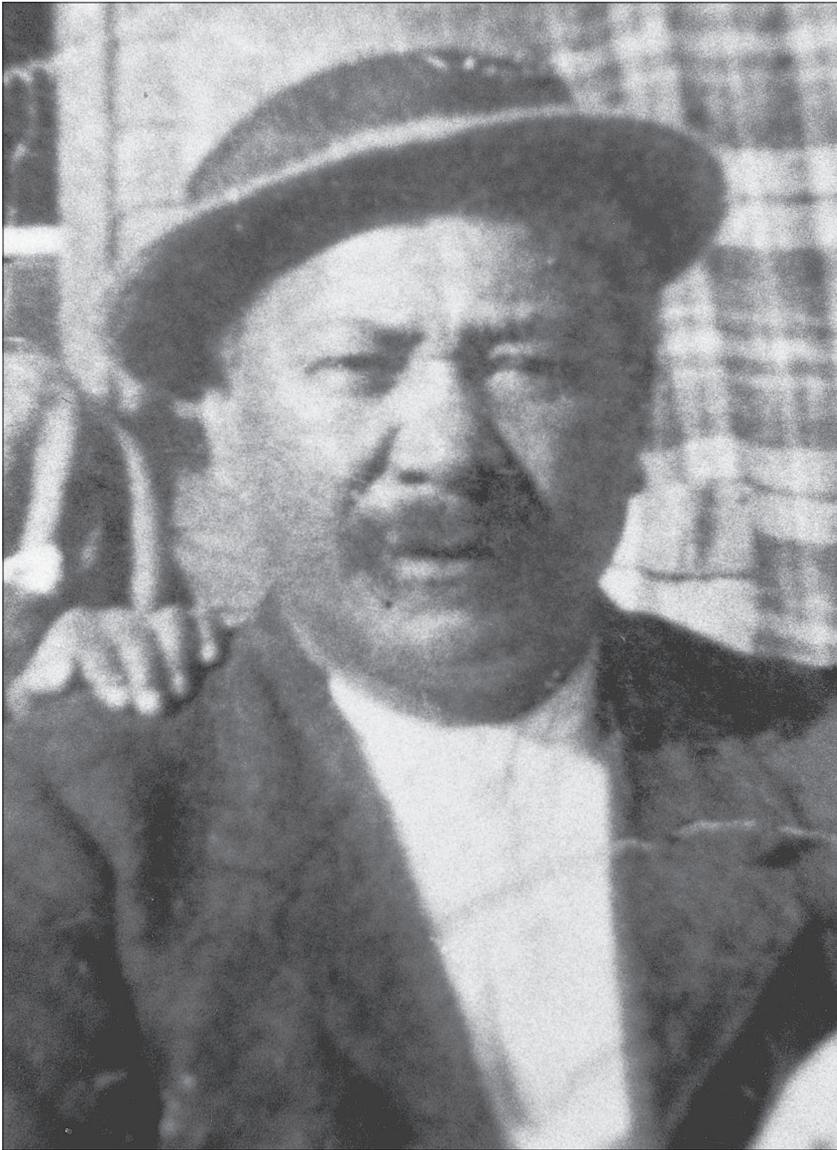
Social graces and customs which included alcohol as a catalyst for discussion around the dinner table were also adopted by many Maori. While wine was served at dinner, it was customary for men to leave the table and retire to the drawing room for 'men's' discussions on local issues, at the same time shifting to top shelf alcohol. In Maori adopting these social graces, particularly the association of 'men's' discussions with top shelf, the notion of whisky and talk of history has permeated through to this generation.

In retrospect, it is interesting to note how a mind-altering substance such as alcohol has become associated with such a revered part of Maori culture – korero tuku iho and to an extent wananga. This is a protocol still adhered to by elders of an earlier generation than my own, which they themselves emulated from an introduced western social custom. From my own experience, this custom seems to have changed slightly, with my generation not being so concerned with the talking of history, but carrying out the tradition now as a form of hospitality and enhancing small talk.

From another perspective, the use of alcohol (as well as marijuana) has extended beyond korero tuku iho, to a total Maori protocol of showing 'manaaki ki te tangata' or hospitality, a strong attribute of Maori society. This has been added to or in some cases totally replaced the offering of the best food delicacies to guests, and has become a major kinaki in this kawa.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

My feelings and antipathy towards the permeation of alcohol into Maori society at all levels can be summed up in an old waiata (song) from our contemporary past that belongs to my own whanau from Ngati Kahungunu. Aritaku Maaka is cited as the composer of this waiata, adapted from an old Ngati Porou song by Horomona Hapai about crop failures. Horomana's version is recorded in Apirana Ngata's collection of waiata, *Nga Moteatea* (1928), as Song No. 170. The following song – once often sung at Waimarama and composed around 1880 – highlights the damaging nature of Pakeha social customs upon Maori society. This includes alcohol (beer),



111

Aritaku Maaka. Collection of Bradford Haami/Maaka Collection. For more on Aritaku, this waiata and his son, Golan Maaka, see Bradford Haami, *Dr Golan Maaka. Maori Doctor* (North Shore City, 1995), esp. pp. 58-59.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

which could leave Maori landless, destitute and on the side of the road.

The reference to food throughout the song works as an analogy for customs and technology. The composer laments his people discarding the ancient foods of their ancestor Toi for new western foods, including laws, money, alcohol or beer. In the fourth verse the composer sarcastically tells his people to take hold of the foods (unsuitable customs and technologies) of the Queen, such as fermented potatoes, used as yeast in the beer distilling process. He concludes by stating that these taru, an edible vegetable or in another sense, “these serpent-like things” (foreign customs) are useless and unsuitable for Maori people, and will lead to landlessness and destitution.

112

Haere ra matahine, e huna i a koe, Haere ra te whenua te ora o te tangata, Haere ra te whenua te pono, Ki nga tira haere.	Farewell Matahine, go and hide, Farewell land, a lifesource of people, Farewell land, faithful o te tangata of people, To travelling parties.
Kauaka te mahara e rangirangi mai. He mea ka ronaki ki te nui raorao, Na te kapu o te ringa nana i whatoro, To te tangata hemonga, he moni!	Don't let your thoughts dry by the fireside, For this thing has come upon the wide flat lands. It was the palm of the hand that was stretched forth (to receive), The destruction of people, which is money!
E tama ma e, ka mahue ia koutou, Nga kai a Toi, i waiho i muri ra; Te aruhe, te mamaku, Te pono o te tangata e!	Oh! men, you have abandoned, The foods of your ancestor Toi which he left behind; Te aruhe, mamaku, The faith (essence) of the people!
E hine ma, e aku ki waho ra, Ki nga kai o te Kuini, E kohete mai nei ki ana tamariki. Tikina ake ra he tami riwai, Pae ana te huka o te pia i te waha e!	Oh! women, go forth, To the foods of the Queen, Unsuitable for the children. Go fetch the fermented potato, The froth of beer is on our mouths!
Moumouhanga noa te taru nei, Te tikanga, te whakatautia, Ki runga ki te whenua. Apopo koutou, e tama ma! Pae noa ai i te rori e!	All these things are quite useless, Nothing will settle, On the land. Tomorrow, Oh sons! You will be stranded by the side of the road!

Appendix III

Cover Illustrations

Front:

Sir Apirana Ngata leading haka, Centennial celebrations, Waitangi, 1940. Photographer: B. Snowden. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, Timeframes. 1/2 - 029794.

Apirana Turupa Ngata (1874-1950), the famous Ngati Porou politician, had particular views on alcohol. As a result of the prohibition he introduced among Ngati Porou on the East Coast of the North Island, a haka, 'Poropeihana', was composed by some men of Ngati Porou. Although this haka was directed at Ngata, and expressed anger at his imposing prohibition to fund dairying and housing schemes, Ngata often used to lead the haka to defuse the personal sting. Thus the haka became a positive celebration of Ngata's alcohol control policies and personal mana. This haka has become one of the handful of important historical haka, and is still often performed, a precious taonga of Maori culture.

Nga Waka. (ALAC, 1990).

In 1990, as part of the Kua Makona programme, ALAC funded a waka project. A booklet put out to record this programme explained that –

To ALAC, the waka project is an example of culturally appropriate funding in the area of Maori health ... genuine changes in Maori attitudes towards alcohol abuse can only be expected when funding resources are provided for programmes that generate positive outcomes for the Maori people. The waka project has seen many young men, some with a background in gangs, violent behaviour, crime, and drug and alcohol abuse, voluntarily submitting to strict discipline and a healthy, co-operative and culturally enriching experience.

Harata Solomon, then ALAC Council deputy chairman, was quoted as saying that, "We need to know that there is a healthy future for us as a people". This is symbolised by the children welcoming the waka arrival. The 1990 celebrations (150 years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi) also links to the 1940 centennial ceremony of the Ngata photograph.

Back:

Joseph McRae (proprietor) and (probably) Aporo Te Wharekaniwha in front of Rotomahana Hotel, Te Wairoa, 1885 (later destroyed in the Tarawera explosion of

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

1886: see Philip Andrews, *Tarawera and the Terraces* [1995], p.36). Photographer: G. Valentine (Te Amorangi Museum, Rotorua). The attribution of Aporo is by Ron Keam, author of *Tarawera* (1988), although there is the slight possibility the man is actually Wi Kepa Te Rangipuawhe (Tuhourangi).

If the chief is Aporo, as seems likely, this is appropriate for the cover of this book. Aporo had been a heavy drinker, but had set an example to his Ngati Hinemihi hapu by moderating his personal liquor consumption, following temperance activity (1881-1885) at Te Wairoa (Keam, p. 55). Aporo died on 23 May 1886 of typhoid fever. It was claimed in the *New Zealand Herald* that Aporo had died from “heavy drinking”, but this was strongly denied by the Committee of the Tuhourangi and certainly not indicated by the Resident Medical Officer, Dr. Alfred Ginders. See Keam, pp. 56-57. McRae survived the June 1886 eruption and moved to the Palace Hotel, Ohinemutu.

The history of Maori and alcohol is one created by Maori and Pakeha alike. This photograph symbolises the meeting of two peoples.

Appendix IV

Picture Credits

Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa

Unidentified child, Northland, c. 1920. Photographers: Northwood Bros. G6235 1/1.

Sir Apirana Ngata leading haka. Centennial celebrations, Waitangi. Photographer: B. Snowden, 1940. Timeframes, F-29794-1/2.

‘After the picnic: “kapai te smell!”’. Cartoonist: Trevor Lloyd. Published in *Maori Tales* by Pat Lawlor (New Century Press, Sydney, 1926), p. 97. ATL Published Collections, B-K 149-97.

‘The latest new woman’. Cartoonist: Bob Hawpridge. Published in the *New Zealand Graphic* (9 February 1895), p. 131. ATL Serials Collection, S-L 229-131.

‘Unrecorded incidents in New Zealand’s history: No. 2: Examining the proceeds of the first land sale’. Published in the *Auckland Weekly News* (24 September 1908). National Newspaper Collection, N-P 355.

‘Te Kooti’s Little Spree’. Published in the *Evening Press* (13 March 1889, Supplement). National Newspaper Collection, N-P 354.

Two men seated at dining table, one possibly Maori, one Pakeha. Artist unknown, 1850s? Ink, watercolour and gouache, bound into sketchbook. E-371-f-036.

The New Zealand Pioneer Battalion welcome Sir Joseph Ward and William Ferguson Massey with a haka at Bois-de-Warnimont, 30 June 1918. Photographer: unknown. RSA Collection, G-13283-1/2; PAColl-5311.

Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata (1874-1950). Photographer: Stanley Andrew, 1914. Earle Andrew Collection, G-14489-1/1.

The Ratana Temple, Ratana Pa. Photographer: Albert Godber, c. 1930. A.P. Godber Collection, G-18648-1/2 .

Group at the digging of the first sod of the main trunk railway at Puniu. Premier Robert Stout has his hand in his coat. To the left of the post are

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

Wahanui Huatare, Rewi Maniapoto (in the top hat) and Taonui Hikaka (in the tall oval hat). Photographer: Daniel Beere, 1885. D.M. Beere Collection, G-96176-1/2, PAColl-3081.

Members of the Maori Battalion in Maadi, Egypt. Photographer unknown, 1940. War History Collection, F-1067-1/4-DA.

Ngati Kahungunu at Hikurangi meeting house, Papawai, Wairarapa, for the sale of Lake Wairarapa to the Crown. Judge Butler, of the Native Land Court, in centre. Seated next to him holding a tewhatewha, is Sir James Carroll (Ngati Kahungunu, Liberal MP and Government representative). Papawai chief and Kotahitanga leader Tamahau Mahupuku is seated on the ground to the left of the table. Photographer unknown, January 1896. F-7886-1.2-A.

Rua Kenana (1869-1937) meeting with the Prime Minister Sir Joseph Ward (1856-1930) on the beach at Whakatane, opposite the Commercial Hotel. Photographer unknown, 1908. F-15708-1/2.

116 Tukaroto Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero Tawhiao (?-1894). Son of Whakaawi and Potatau Te Whereowhero, the first Maori King. On the death of his father in 1860, Tawhiao became the second Maori King. Photographer unknown, c.1880s. F-50875-1/2.

View of Maungapohatu, Rua Kenana's village in the Ureweras. Photographer: George Bourne, 1908. *Evening Post* Collection, F-75710-1/2.

Princess Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Herangi (1883-1952). Photographer unknown, 1952. F-111810-1/2.

New Zealand Alliance. 'Yes! 6 o'clock closing is the safest. Six o'clock has proved a boon', 1948. F-137429-1/2 or Timeframes, Eph-A-ALCOHOL-Hours-1948-01.

Pei Te Hurinui (Ngati Maniapoto) stands at left. Next to him is Te Arikinui King Koroki and on the right is Te Kiri Katipa (Waikato). Photographer unknown. Photograph may have been taken on the occasion of the 1933 commemoration at Waitangi. F-145538-1/2.

Ahaura goldmining settlement at Napoleon Hill, Grey County, West Coast, South Island, looking down Princes Street East. Photographer unknown, 1866. F-148337-1/2.

Unidentified group outside a shop, probably Wanganui. Photographer: William Harding, c. 1860s. W.J. Harding Collection, G-13-1/1.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Tutu. *Coriariaceae* (feather like) family. *Coriaria arborea* (tree like). Photographer unknown. Wilkinson Collection, G-937-1/2-W.

Gum diggers, North Auckland. Photographers: Northwood Brothers, c. 1910. Northwood Collection, G-4936-1/1.

'A reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840'. Coloured lithograph, published on the cover of the *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture* (January 1949). Artist: Leonard Cornwall Mitchell. D-P242002-A-CT.

Kororareka, 1845. Lithograph, George Thomas Clayton. Ref. No. C-010-022, Copy Negative: 1/2 -081578-F.

Celebration dinner. Return of Maori Battalion, 1945. Photographer: John Pascoe. F. 1662 1/4.

Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa

Village of Parkuni, Hokianga River. Engraving, n.a. n.d. C. 1777.

Staged portrait of a group of Maori warriors, c. 1870-1900. Photographers: Pulman and Son. B. 8200.

Maori Health Officers, Department of Health. Includes Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck) and Maui Pomare, 1907. Photographer: Eymard Bradley. B. 17629.

Hui at Otaki Pa, c. 1930-1940. Photographer: William Hall-Raine. B. 12899.

Maui Pomare at Parihaka, c. 1920. B. 12388.

Four quarters of Ratana, with portrait of Tahu Potiki Wiremu Ratana, c. 1930-1950. Photographer: William Hall-Raine. B. 12977.

'Great Chiefs at Whare – Komiti – Haerehuka – King Country' (Rewi Maniapoto, Tawhana te Rangituataka, Taonui, Wetere te Rerenga, Te Naunau), 1885. Photographers: Burton Bros. C. 10090.

Wahanui, family and friends at Pirongia (Alexandra), 1885. Photographers: Burton Bros. C. 1002.

Bella Patuwai, Whakataki, 1946-1949. Photographer: Z. Gordon. A. 4104, 4105, 4106.

Rua Kenana and followers, 1901. B. 13747.

Maori group, 'Taumarānui – King Country', 1885. Photographers: Burton Bros. C. 10039.

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

‘City and Citizens (Full and Plenty), Milford Sound, (r) Donald Sutherland; (l) John McKay (?)’, February 1882. Photographers: Burton Bros. C. 001822.

Rotorua Museum of Art and History/Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa

Interior of Goldie’s studio. Photographer: Edwards, 1901. OP 3673.

Rotokakahi 1870. Thanksgiving service at Kaiteirira Redoubt after returning from battle with Te Kooti. Note Mair leaning against whare and Te Kooti’s captured flag (Te Wepu). CP 546. This image was later (1901) reproduced as a postcard simply entitled ‘Native Pah’. Collection of Marten Hutt.

Sketch of Te Kooti, [romanticised] engraving. T.S. Cousins. CP 3427.

Sketch of Te Kooti. Rotorua 1887. Pencil. Richard Laishley. CP 3427.

118 Mary Sophia (Te Paea) Hinerangi (‘Guide Sophia’). CP 549

Rev. Thomas Chapman. CP 96.

Geysler Hotel, Rotorua. CP 1874. The woman second from right is Guide Sophia. Thanks to William Main and Cherie Meecham for obtaining this photograph.

Auckland Institute and Museum

Pub interior. n.d. Photographer: Margaret Matilda White. B 3611.

Courtesy Henare Kohere Swann and Clerestory Press

Henare Kohere. Photo courtesy Henare Kohere Swann.

Collection of Phil Andrews

Joseph McRae (proprietor) and (probably) Aporo Te Wharekaniwha (Ngati Hinemihi) in front of Rotomahana Hotel, Te Wairoa (site of what is now know as the ‘Buried Village’), 1885. Photographer: G. Valentine (Te Amorangi Museum, Rotorua). Attribution of Aporo by Ron Keam.

Collection of Bradford Haami/Maaka Collection

Aritaku Maaka. For more on Aritaku, this waiata and his son, Golan Maaka, see Bradford Haami, *Dr Golan Maaka. Maori Doctor* (North Shore City, 1995), esp. pp. 58-59.

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Collection of DB Breweries Ltd.

'Alert and Active at 109 Years old. Drinks Waitemata every day!' Advertisement, c. 1946. Proudly supplied by DB Breweries Ltd.

Beer label, Maori Battalion Reunion Beer, Waihi, Tokaanu, March 1974. Proudly supplied by DB Breweries Ltd.

Collection of John Broughton

1848 and All That. Centennial Sketches by HEN [George Henderson]. Cartoonist: Gordon McIntyre, Dunedin, 1948.

Collection of Marten Hutt

Cabbage Trees.

Collection of ALAC

Children welcoming waka, Nga Waka project, 1990. Photo courtesy Paradigm, Auckland.

Manaaki Tangata. Logo

Courtesy William Tapper and William Akel

Garth Tapper, *If we walk in the light, we shall have fellowship with one another* (1989). Oil on canvas.

Book Illustrations

Tribal Location Map. From: Michael King, *Maori. A Photographic and Social History* (Reed, Auckland, 1996, rev. ed.), p. 280.

Illustration from Rev. J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray, *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand* (New Zealand Alliance for the Abolition of the Liquor Traffic, 1930), facing p. 193. Collection of Marten Hutt.

Cartoon by Frank St. Bruno, 'Hori' [W. Norman McCallum], *The Half-Gallon Jar* (A.D. Organ, Auckland, 1963), p. 84. Collection of Marten Hutt.

'Boundaries of the King Country Licensing Area', from Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972).

Maori and Alcohol: A History

Endnotes

NB: To aid research, each endnote is self-contained, with no use of abbreviations such as *ibid.* or *op.cit.* The exceptions are *AJHR* (*Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*) and *PD* (*Parliamentary Debates*) which can be found in major libraries.

- ¹ I am grateful to Bob Chapman for his insistence on this narrative structure.
- ² I have gained particular insights on this issue from discussions with Paul Stanley, Sally Casswell, Valerie Norton, Margaret Manuka-Sullivan, Kayleen Katene, Lorraine Brookling, Wael Al-Delaimy and Patricia Laing. I have also learnt much from the dissenting views of Paparaangi Reid. See also Michael King, 'Some Maori Attitudes to Documents', in *Tibi Mauri Ora. Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. Michael King (Methuen, n.p., 1978), pp. 9-18; Joan Metge and Patricia Kinloch, *Talking Past Each Other. Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication* [1978] (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1995); Ministry of Maori Affairs, *He Tikanga Whakaaro. Research Ethics in the Maori Community. A Discussion Paper* (Ministry of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1991); Eru Pomare et al, *Hauora. Maori Standards of Health III, A Study of the Years 1970-1991* (Eru Pomare Maori Health Research Centre, Wellington, 1995), pp. 28-29; Hamish Keith, 'Culturally Inappropriate' [review of Bronwen Nicholson et al, *Gaugin and Maori Art*], *New Zealand Books* (December 1995), p. 14; Wael Al-Delaimy and Patricia Laing, 'Trans-Cultural Medical Research Ethics' (Draft paper, January 1997). For a more extreme perspective, see Fiona Cram, 'Ethics in Maori Research', *Otago Bioethics Report* (July 1995), pp. 16-17.
- ³ Although this report refers to 'Maori' experiences and history of contact with alcohol, there are iwi and hapu contexts. There is a need for tribal histories, as noted by a number of Maori and Pakeha historians. See, for instance, J.G.A Pocock, 'The Making of New Kinds of History' [Review: Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs* (1996)], *New Zealand Books*, 6 (October 1996), pp. 15-17: p. 15: "There is need, one feels, of a Ngati Porou history; not only a history of Ngati Porou, but a history of Aotearoa-New Zealand at large, written in a context generalised from the perceptions of Ngati Porou and told as it seems to them. It would be only one of several such histories but it would be one worth having".
- ⁴ On the Trukese, see Mac Marshall, *Weekend Warriors. Alcohol in a Micronesian Culture* (Mayfield, n. pl., 1979). For information on Inuit and North American Indian drinking patterns, I am grateful for information from Maggie Brady, Stephen J. Kunitz and Peter C. Mancall.
- ⁵ Rev. W.J. Williams, 'In the Beginning. Period up to 1886', in J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray (eds), *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand* (Epworth Press/New Zealand Alliance, London & Wellington, 1930), pp. 20-59: p. 20.
- ⁶ On kava, see the special issue: 'The Power of Kava', *Canberra Anthropology*, 18 (1995), ed. Nancy Pollock; Vincent Lebot, Mark Merlin and Lamont Lindstrom, *Kava. The Pacific Drug* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992), esp. p. 37; L.K. Gluckman, *Tangiwai. A Medical History of Nineteenth Century New Zealand* [inside] *Medical History of New Zealand Prior to 1860* (Published for the author, Auckland, 1976), pp. 218-219. On the contemporary sale of kava on Auckland grocery shelves, see Sally Wenley, 'Kava Causes Cauldron of Concern', *GP Weekly* (22 January 1997), p. 1.
- ⁷ Sherry Sagers and Dennis Gray, *Dealing with Alcohol. Indigenous Usage in Australia, New Zealand and Canada* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998), p. 42.
- ⁸ Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994), p. 17; W.J. Phillips, *Maori Life and Custom* (A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1966), p. 51. The toxicity of the tutu berry is mentioned in the novel by Sygurd Wisniowski, *Tikera or Children of the Queen of Oceania* [1877], trans. Jerzy Podstolski, ed. Dennis McEldowney (Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1972), p. 58.
- ⁹ Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994), p. 17; Kathleen Shawcross, 'Maois of the Bay of Islands, 1769-1840: A Study of Changing Maori

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

122

- Responses to European Contact' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1967), pp. 266-267, 337.
- ¹⁰ R.G. Jameson, *New Zealand, South Australia and New South Wales* (London, 1842), p. 195.
- ¹¹ Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (n.d.), quoted in John Rawson Elder (comp. & ed.), *Glimpses of Old New Zealand* (Blackie and Son, London, 1924), p. 15.
- ¹² *Important Judgments Delivered in the Compensation Court and Native Land Court 1866-1879* (Auckland, 1879), p. 66. I am grateful to Professors Russell Stone and Peter Mancall for their advice on interpreting this reference.
- ¹³ Bradford Haami, *Dr. Golan Maaka, Maori Doctor* (Tandem Press, North Shore City, 1995), p. 138.
- ¹⁴ James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996), pp. 68-69.
- ¹⁵ J.B. Williams, 'Journal 1842-1844. Bay of Islands' [copy in Alexander Turnbull Library], quoted in Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994), p. 17.
- ¹⁶ Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994), p. 17.
- ¹⁷ G.W. Rusden, *History of New Zealand* (3 vols., Chapman and Hall, London, 1883), I, p. 13; Makereti, *The Old-Time Maori* [1938] (New Women's Press, Auckland, 1986), pp. 209-210.
- ¹⁸ Quoted in R.E. Wright-St. Clair, 'Early Accounts of Maori Diet and Health: Part I', *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 70 (1969), pp. 327-331.
- ¹⁹ Quoted in R.E. Wright-St. Clair, 'Early Accounts of Maori Diet and Health: Part I', *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 70 (1969), pp. 327-331.
- ²⁰ John Savage, *Some Accounts of New Zealand* (1807), p. 25; Augustus Earle, *A Narrative of Nine Months Residence in New Zealand ...* (1909), p. 15; W.B. Marshall, *A Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand in Her Majesty's Ship 'Alligator'* (1836), p. 186.
- ²¹ Ronald Bruce Hamilton Sharp, 'Alcohol in New Zealand 1642-1840' (B.A. [Hons.], Massey University, 1976), p. 12.
- ²² Early variant spellings included waipera, waipero, waipera, waipirau, why pirah, wypiero. See *The Dictionary of New Zealand English. A Dictionary of New Zealandisms on Historical Principles*, ed. H.W. Orsman (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1997), p. 885.
- ²³ Quoted in Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840. Early Years of Western Contact* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1959), p. 70.
- ²⁴ G. Smales, 'Episodes in the Life of an Old Missionary', *New Zealand Herald* (1 April 1893).
- ²⁵ See Edward J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand* (John Murray, London, 1845), p. 108.
- ²⁶ Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* [1929] (2nd. ed., Government Printer, Wellington, 1959), pp. 328-330.
- ²⁷ Thomas Chapman, 'Letters and Journals ... to Church Missionary Society, London, 1830-1869', quoted in D.M. Stafford, *Te Arawa. A History of the Arawa People* [1967] (Reed, Auckland, 1991), p. 304.
- ²⁸ Quoted in Gerda Elizabeth Bell, *Ernest Dieffenbach. Rebel and Humanist* (Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1976), pp. 49-50.
- ²⁹ Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1987), pp. 88, 43.
- ³⁰ John Bright, *Handbook for Emigrants. Being a History of New Zealand, Its State and Prospects ...* (Henry Hooper, London, 1841), p. 121.
- ³¹ *Centennial of the Treaty of Waitangi, 6 February 1940* (Pamphlet, 1940), p. 19.
- ³² See Frederick Edward Maning ('a Pakaha Maori'), *Old New Zealand. A Tale of the Good Old Times, Together with a History of the War in the North of New Zealand against the*

Maori and Alcohol: A History

- Chief Heke in the Year 1845 as told by an Old Chief of the Ngapuhi Tribe, also Maori Traditions* [1863] (Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, n.d. [1948]), pp. 114-115. The touching of the lips on water/alcohol containers was still a potent symbol in late nineteenth-century Maoridom. A Land League haka (c.1895) described the Pakeha as 'kapeti' [cabbage]: "Kapeti te wai o te paraheka; E ko te pakurutanga iho/Ki runga ki te kahaka/ Cabbage whose smegma water/Discharges on the lips of the calabash". Quoted in Dick Scott, *Ask That Mountain. The Story of Parihaka* [1975] (Reed/Southern Cross, Auckland, 1991), p. 163.
- ³³ Frederick Edward Maning ('a Pakaha Maori'), *Old New Zealand. A Tale of the Good Old Times, Together with a History of the War in the North of New Zealand against the Chief Heke in the Year 1845 as told by an Old Chief of the Ngapuhi Tribe, also Maori Traditions* [1863] (Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, n.d. [1948]), pp. 113-114.
- ³⁴ Frederick Edward Maning ('a Pakaha Maori'), *Old New Zealand. A Tale of the Good Old Times, Together with a History of the War in the North of New Zealand against the Chief Heke in the Year 1845 as told by an Old Chief of the Ngapuhi Tribe, also Maori Traditions* [1863] (Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, n.d. [1948]), pp. 113-114: "the pakeha, being green, would hand him [a Maori] some water in a glass, or in those days more probably in a teacup". See also Ronald Bruce Hamilton Sharp, 'Alcohol in New Zealand 1642-1840' (B.A. [Hons.], Massey University, 1976), pp. 13-14.
- ³⁵ Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity. British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847* (Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1977), pp. 23-25. See Kathleen Shawcross, 'Maoris of the Bay of Islands, 1769-1840: A Study of Changing Maori Responses to European Contact' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1967), [Foldout] 'Growth of the European Population Residing at the Bay, 1815-1829' (facing p. 254). Shawcross estimates 50 Europeans in the Bay of Islands by 1829, and c.600 by 1838 (facing p. 351).
- ³⁶ Privately, Busby thought New Zealand the "safest country in the world". See Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1987), p. 18.
- ³⁷ *Centennial of the Treaty of Waitangi, 6 February 1940* (Pamphlet, 1940), p. 18.
- ³⁸ Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity. British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847* (Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1977), p. 29.
- ³⁹ See Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840. Early Years of Western Contact* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1959), p. 31.
- ⁴⁰ The title page is reprinted in W.B. Sutch, *Poverty and Progress in New Zealand. A Re-Assessment* [1941] (A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1969), p. 54.
- ⁴¹ Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840. Early Years of Western Contact* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1959), pp. 32-33. See James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996), p. 186: "They [the Colonial Office] accepted that Kororareka was a hellhole of vice, though one witness admitted it was no worse than the average English seaport. They accepted that the agents of vice were subordinating and oppressing the Maori, without asking how a few hundred traders, whalers and grog sellers had acquired the whip hand over thousands of musket-armed and battle-hardened warriors".
- ⁴² HRA Series 1, Vol. XX, p. 774ff. Quoted in Harry C. Evison, *Te Wai Pounamu. The Greenstone Island. A History of the Southern Maori During the European Colonisation of New Zealand* (Aoraki Press, Wellington & Christchurch, 1993), p. 157.
- ⁴³ W.B. Sutch, *The Quest for Security in New Zealand. 1840 to 1966* (Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1966), pp. 27-29.
- ⁴⁴ Kathleen Shawcross, 'Maoris of the Bay of Islands, 1769-1840: A Study of Changing Maori Responses to European Contact' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1967), pp. 266-267.
- ⁴⁵ Source not identified. Quoted in Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses,

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

- Paraparaumu, 1994), p. 17.
- ⁴⁶ Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994), p. 17.
- ⁴⁷ As described in the information panel overlooking the Clyde dam.
- ⁴⁸ *The Missionary's Daughter. Early Days at the Putiki Mission and Wanganui from Diaries of Lara Taylor*, trans. & ed. Randal Springer (Whanganui Historical Society, 1993), p. 132 (7 July 1853).
- ⁴⁹ Sygurd Wisniowski, *Tikera or Children of the Queen of Oceania* [1877], trans. Jerzy Podstolski, ed. Dennis McEldowney (Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1972), p. 214.
- ⁵⁰ Cited in Julie Park, *Towards an Ethnography of Alcohol in New Zealand: A Review and Annotated Bibliography of Local and Overseas Literature* (A Report to the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, Working paper No. 66, March 1985), p. 50.
- ⁵¹ Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh. Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand 1840-1915* (Reed, Wellington, 1984), p. 73.
- ⁵² Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994), p. 18. There is a detailed description in Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand; A Journal, with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines* (Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, London, 1851), Appendix V, pp. 298-299. See also Gordon McLauchlan, *The Story of Beer. Beer and Brewing – a New Zealand History* (Viking Penguin [in collaboration with Lion Breweries], Auckland, 1994), pp. 31-33.
- ⁵³ Gordon McLauchlan, *The Story of Beer. Beer and Brewing – a New Zealand History* (Viking Penguin [in collaboration with Lion Breweries], Auckland, 1994), p. 33.
- ⁵⁴ Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994), p. 17.
- ⁵⁵ For some recipes [from *Bretts Colonists' Guide* (1883)], see Gordon McLauchlan, *The Story of Beer. Beer and Brewing a New Zealand History* (Viking Penguin [in collaboration with Lion Breweries], Auckland, 1994), pp. 21-23.
- ⁵⁶ Quoted in Ian MacKay, *Puborama*, drawings by Bill Gibson (Oswald-Sealy, Auckland, n.d. [1961]), p. 95.
- ⁵⁷ Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal. New Zealand Ethnobotanical Sourcebook*, Photographs by Brian Enting (Viking Sevenses, Paraparaumu, 1994), p. 18. There are some ingredients listed in L.K. Gluckman, *Tangiwai. A Medical History of Nineteenth Century New Zealand* [inside] *Medical History of New Zealand Prior to 1860* (Published for the author, Auckland, 1976), p. 226.
- ⁵⁸ Ronald Bruce Hamilton Sharp, 'Alcohol in New Zealand 1642-1840' (B.A. [Hons.], Massey University, 1976), pp. 15-16.
- ⁵⁹ Journal of Rev. James Watkin, 1840. In Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days. A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840* [1913] (Golden Press, Auckland, 1975), Appendix G, pp. 481-489: pp. 488-489.
- ⁶⁰ See Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* [1929] (2nd. ed., Government Printer, Wellington, 1959), p. 432, nn. 1; pp. 440-444.
- ⁶¹ James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996), pp. 145, 149. On the large number of Bay of Islands chiefs who travelled outside of New Zealand, see Kathleen Shawcross, 'Maoris of the Bay of Islands, 1769-1840: A Study of Changing Maori Responses to European Contact' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1967): [Table] 'Bay of Islands Rangatira Travellers to European Countries 1804-1814' (facing p. 156); '... 1815-1824' (facing p. 255). See pp. 156-163 for discussion.
- ⁶² Ronald Bruce Hamilton Sharp, 'Alcohol in New Zealand 1642-1840' (B.A. [Hons.], Massey University, 1976), p. 17.
- ⁶³ James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settle-*

Maori and Alcohol: A History

- ment to the End of the Nineteenth Century (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996), p. 199.
- ⁶⁴ James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996), p. 204.
- ⁶⁵ Among others, see Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* [1929] (2nd ed., Government Printer, Wellington, 1959), pp. 440-444.
- ⁶⁶ J.S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders* (2 vols., James Madden, London, 1840; facs. ed. 1978), II, pp. 79-80.
- ⁶⁷ John Broughton, *Puffing Up a Storm. Volume I. 'Kapai te Torori'* (Ngai Tahu Maori Health Research Unit, University of Otago, Dunedin, 1996). See also Sarah Thomson, 'Evils of "The Fragrant Weed". A History of the 1903 Juvenile Smoking Suppression Act/Stubbing Out the Social Cigarette (M.A., University of Auckland, 1992); John Broughton and Mark Lawrence, *Nga Wahine Maori Me Te Kai Paipa/Maori Women and Smoking* (Department of Preventive and Social Medicine, University of Otago, Dunedin, 1993).
- ⁶⁸ G.F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* (2 vols., London, 1847), II, p. 22. Cited in Sarah Thomson, 'Evils of "The Fragrant Weed". A History of the 1903 Juvenile Smoking Suppression Act/Stubbing Out the Social Cigarette (M.A., University of Auckland, 1992), pp. 2-3.
- ⁶⁹ John Broughton, *Puffing Up a Storm. Volume I. 'Kapai te Torori'* (Ngai Tahu Maori Health Research Unit, University of Otago, Dunedin, 1996), p. 15.
- ⁷⁰ Frederick Edward Maning ('a Pakaha Maori'), *Old New Zealand. A Tale of the Good Old Times, Together with a History of the War in the North of New Zealand against the Chief Heke in the Year 1845 as told by an Old Chief of the Ngapuhi Tribe, also Maori Traditions* [1863] (Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, n.d. [1948]); Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days. A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840* [1913] (Golden Press, Auckland, 1975), passim.
- ⁷¹ 'Journal of the American Whaler "Mary Mitchell", Captain Samuel Joy, while at Anchor in Cloudy Bay, During the Season of 1836', in Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days. A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840* [1913] (Golden Press, Auckland, 1975), Appendix E, pp. 432-460: p. 438.
- ⁷² The entire remarkable list of items can be found in William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud* [1898] (Golden Press, Auckland, 1980), pp. 141-142.
- ⁷³ Auckland Museum [display cabinet], 'Currency & Barter', First Floor Steps.
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- ⁷⁵ See James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996), pp. 151-152; Kathleen Shawcross, 'Maoris of the Bay of Islands, 1769-1840: A Study of Changing Maori Responses to European Contact' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1967), pp. 62-64; pp. 73 and passim. An important and insightful article is Bill Oliver, 'Pandora's Envelope: It's All about Power' [review of Hon. Douglas Graham, *Crown Proposals for the Settlement of Treaty of Waitangi Claims*], *New Zealand Books* (March 1995), pp. 18-20. Oliver notes that "In the face of colonisation Maori society has displayed consistent inventiveness and adaptability ... Colonisation is a complex and untidy process. While it deprives the colonised of power it transmits to them models and methods which can be employed to resist that process and to mitigate its consequences" (p. 19).
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Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

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- ⁸² *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives*, 1856, Vol. II, B-3.
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- ⁸⁵ See Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1987), p. 133.
- ⁸⁶ W.H. Oliver and Jane M. Thomson, *Challenge and Response. A Study of the Development of the Gisborne East Coast Region* (East Coast Development Research Association, Gisborne, 1971), pp. 22, 53.
- ⁸⁷ W.H. Oliver and Jane M. Thomson, *Challenge and Response. A Study of the Development of the Gisborne East Coast Region* (East Coast Development Research Association, Gisborne, 1971), p. 66.
- ⁸⁸ See Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840. Early Years of Western Contact* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1959), p. 72; L.K. Gluckman, *Tāngiwai. A Medical History of Nineteenth Century New Zealand* [inside] *Medical History of New Zealand Prior to 1860* (Published for the author, Auckland, 1976), p. 222; W.H. Oliver and Jane M. Thomson, *Challenge and Response. A Study of the Development of the Gisborne East Coast Region* (East Coast Development Research Association, Gisborne, 1971), p. 53.
- ⁸⁹ Quoted in Donna Awatere, Sally Casswell, Helen Cullen, Lynette Gilmore and Debbie Kupenga, *Alcohol and the Maori People* [February 1984] (Alcohol Research Unit, University of Auckland, January 1988), p. 5. See also John Miller, *Early Victorian New Zealand. A Study of Racial Tension and Social Attitudes 1839-1852* [1958] (Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1974), p. 100.
- ⁹⁰ J.E. Gorst, *The Maori King* [1864], ed. Keith Sinclair (Reprint edition, Paul's Book Arcade/Oxford University Press, Hamilton & Auckland/London, 1959), p. 268.
- ⁹¹ See, for instance, James Herries Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori. The Otago University Museum Ethnological Project, 1920*, ed. Atholl Anderson (University of Otago Press in association with Otago Museum, Dunedin, 1994), p. 465.
- ⁹² D.M. Stafford, *Te Arawa. A History of the Arawa People* [1967] (Reed, Auckland, 1991), p. 349.
- ⁹³ The gum-digging areas of Northland were a particular case well into the 1880s. See Claudia Orange, 'Introduction', in *The Turbulent Years. 1870-1900. The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Volume Two* (Bridget Williams Books/Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington, 1994), pp. vii-xxv: p. xviii.
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- ⁹⁵ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice. Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* [1974] (Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1983), pp. 108-109.
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Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

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- 157 Derek Dow, personal communication.
- 158 John Stenhouse, "'A Disappearing Race before We Came Here": Doctor Alfred Kingcome Newman, the Dying Maori, and Victorian Scientific Racism', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30 (1996), pp. 124-140: p. 134. Stenhouse's fascinating article partially rehabilitates Newman, noting that he attracted widespread criticism for his views, did not return to the theme again, had presented a paper in 1876 that argued Englishmen would become debilitated by the New Zealand climate and soils, and that Newman had a very positive later Parliamentary record (1884-1922) on Maori issues. Stenhouse argues persuasively that Newman was a political opportunist, and that his paper was

Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

intended for short-term notoriety and was not representative of settler beliefs.

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- ¹⁶⁸ Raeburn T. Lange, 'The Revival of a Dying Race: A Study of Maori Health Reform, 1900-1918, and its Nineteenth-century Background' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 117.
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- ¹⁷² Raeburn T. Lange, 'The Revival of a Dying Race: A Study of Maori Health Reform, 1900-1918, and its Nineteenth-century Background' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 355. On the Maori Councils generally, see Lange, *passim*; J.F. Cody, *Man of Two Worlds* (A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1953), *passim*; John A. Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori. Protest and Cooperation, 1891-1909* (Oxford University Press/Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1969), pp. 113-129; Lindsay Cox, *Kotahitanga. The Search for Maori Political Unity* (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1993), pp. 94-98.
- ¹⁷³ Raeburn T. Lange, 'The Revival of a Dying Race: A Study of Maori Health Reform, 1900-1918, and its Nineteenth-century Background' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 254.
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Maori and Alcohol: A History

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Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

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Maori and Alcohol: A History

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Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

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Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

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Maori and Alcohol: A History

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Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori

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- ³¹⁶ Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 14 May 1884, *AJHR*, 1884, Sess. II, Vol. II, G-1, p. 6, quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 16.
- ³¹⁷ J. Malton Murray, 'The Maori and the Liquor Traffic', in J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray (eds), *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand* (Epworth Press/New Zealand Alliance, London & Wellington, 1930), pp. 199-204: p. 200.
- ³¹⁸ W.H. Oliver and Jane M. Thomson, *Challenge and Response. A Study of the Development of the Gisborne East Coast Region* (East Coast Development Research Association, Gisborne, 1971), p. 171.
- ³¹⁹ E.g. 'He Manaaki mo te Wai' (n.d.), translated by Margaret Mutu-Grigg in Julie Park, *Towards an Ethnography of Alcohol in New Zealand: A Review and Annotated Bibliography of Local and Overseas Literature* (A Report to the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, Working Paper No. 66, March 1985), pp. 60-61. See also C.O Davis, *Temperance Songs in the Maori Language* (John Henry Field, Auckland, 1873). This small volume contains 20 songs in Maori, 8 in English translation.
- ³²⁰ *AJHR*, 1888, G-5.
- ³²¹ Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 17-18.
- ³²² Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 19.
- ³²³ Department of Justice File J.84/1815. Quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 19.
- ³²⁴ Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 18-19.
- ³²⁵ See Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs. A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books, Auckland, 1995), pp. 347, 413.
- ³²⁶ *AJHR*, 1860, E-1c.
- ³²⁷ Ward to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 14 April 1884, *AJHR*, 1884, Sess. II, Vol. II, G-1, p. 19. Quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 25.
- ³²⁸ *PD*, 50 (1884), pp. 555-556.
- ³²⁹ Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 24, 27-30.
- ³³⁰ *New Zealand Herald* (16 April 1885), p. 5.
- ³³¹ *New Zealand Herald* (16 April 1885), p. 5.
- ³³² Department of Justice File J.92/111 (in J. 1934/37/29). Quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 39.
- ³³³ See Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 148-149. Surprisingly, there is no mention of alcohol or why Wahanui applied for a hotel license in Manuka Henare, 'Wahanui Huatare (?-1987)', in *The Turbulent Years. 1870-1900. The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume Two* (Bridget Williams Books/Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington, 1994), pp. 217-219.
- ³³⁴ James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settle-*

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- ment to the End of the Nineteenth Century (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996), p. 265.
- 335 Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 37-43.
- 336 Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 32-33.
- 337 Quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 50.
- 338 *New Zealand Herald* (23 June 1892), p. 5.
- 339 *AJHR*, 1898, H-2, p. 1137.
- 340 *AJHR*, 1900, I-1a.
- 341 *AJHR*, 1900, I-1a. For more on Hursthouse, see Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male. A History* (Penguin, Auckland, 1987), pp. 4-5.
- 342 *AJHR*, 1906, G-5, p. 51.
- 343 Quoted in Michael King, *Te Puea* [1977] (Sceptre, Auckland, 1990), p. 33.
- 344 Quoted in Michael King, *Te Puea* [1977] (Sceptre, Auckland, 1990), p. 45.
- 345 *AJHR*, 1900, I-1A, p. 3.
- 346 *Report of the Fifth Conference of the Te Aute Students' Association, held at Putiki, Wanganui, December 1900*, pp. 10ff, cited in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 87. Ngata and Frederick Augustus Bennett both gave lectures on alcohol and its effects on Maori at this time. See Raeburn T. Lange, 'The Revival of a Dying Race: A Study of Maori Health Reform, 1900-1918, and its Nineteenth-century Background' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 126, 142.
- 347 *PD*, 113 (30 August 1900), p. 326.
- 348 *PD*, 113 (30 August 1900), p. 327.
- 349 *PD*, 113 (30 August 1900), p. 331.
- 350 *Oamaru Mail* (16 June 1909), quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 122.
- 351 *Evening Post* (8 June 1910), p. 3, quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 131, fn. 70.
- 352 See Conrad Bollinger, *Grog's Own Country. The Story of Liquor Licensing in New Zealand* [1959] (2nd. ed., Minerva, Auckland, 1967), p. 104; Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh. Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand 1840-1915* (Reed, Wellington, 1984), pp. 202, 216.
- 353 See M.J. Ormsby, 'John Ormsby (1854-1927)', in *The Turbulent Years. 1870-1900. The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume Two* (Bridget Williams Books/Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington, 1994), pp. 78-80.
- 354 Department of Justice. J. 1923/821 (in file J. 18/25/8), quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 131-132.
- 355 Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 172.
- 356 Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 180-181.
- 357 *Evening Post* (6 August 1926), p. 5, quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 175.
- 358 *Evening Post* (6 August 1926), p. 5, quoted in Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), p. 175.
- 359 Heeni Wharemaru, with Mary Katharine Duffié, *Heeni. A Tainui Elder Remembers*

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(Harper Collins, Auckland, 1997), p. 74.

³⁶⁰ Robert Mahuta, 'The Kingitanga', in Michael King (ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri. Aspects of Maoritanga* (Reed, Auckland, 1992), pp. 162-169: p. 166.

³⁶¹ Michael King, *Te Puea* [1977] (Sceptre, Auckland, 1990), pp. 251-252.

³⁶² Quoted in Michael King, *Te Puea* [1977] (Sceptre, Auckland, 1990), p. 254.

³⁶³ Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 'Maori Kings', in *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties. A Symposium*, ed. Eric Schwimmer (with the cooperation of John Forster, William Parker and James E. Ritchie) (Blackwood & Janet Paul, Auckland, 1968), pp. 132-173: p. 156.

³⁶⁴ Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 'Maori Kings', in *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties. A Symposium*, ed. Eric Schwimmer (with the cooperation of John Forster, William Parker and James E. Ritchie) (Blackwood & Janet Paul, Auckland, 1968), pp. 132-173: p. 156; Michael King, *Te Puea* [1977] (Sceptre, Auckland, 1990), pp. 252, 255.

³⁶⁵ Michael King, *Te Puea* [1977] (Sceptre, Auckland, 1990), p. 252.

³⁶⁶ Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 'Maori Kings', in *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties. A Symposium*, ed. Eric Schwimmer (with the cooperation of John Forster, William Parker and James E. Ritchie) (Blackwood & Janet Paul, Auckland, 1968), pp. 132-173: p. 156.

³⁶⁷ For a detailed discussion of these two reports, see Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), pp. 134-168.

³⁶⁸ Quoted in Conrad Bollinger, *Grog's Own Country. The Story of Liquor Licensing in New Zealand* [1959] (2nd. ed., Minerva, Auckland, 1967), p. 107.

140

³⁶⁹ Conrad Bollinger, *Grog's Own Country. The Story of Liquor Licensing in New Zealand* [1959] (2nd. ed., Minerva, Auckland, 1967), p. 111.

³⁷⁰ 'The Historic King Country Sacred Pact. Origin and Purpose' (Pamphlet, Maori King Country Sacred Pact Committee, Te Kuiti, n.d. [1940s?]).

³⁷¹ Julie Park, *Towards an Ethnography of Alcohol in New Zealand: A Review and Annotated Bibliography of Local and Overseas Literature* (A Report to the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, Working Paper No. 66, March 1985), p. 60.

³⁷² See Peter J.L. Skerman, 'The Dry Era. A History of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954' (M.A., University of Auckland, 1972), Appendices IV-VII.

³⁷³ Editor's footnote: One report of this type of activity was submitted by James Booth, Native Officer for Wanganui in 1873: "It is not an uncommon occurrence for a young chief to spend £50 or £60 in giving a dinner with beer, champagne etc., to his friends and this is to be particularly noticed after a sitting of the Native Lands Court. If judgment has been given on a long-disputed question, both parties (claimants and counter-claimants) vie with each other as to who can give the most expensive entertainment in order to prove to each other and the world that no ill-feeling exists between them" (*AJHR*, 1873, G-1).