

PARIHAKA

THE ART OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

26 AUGUST – 19 JANUARY 2001

www.parihaka.city-gallery.org.nz

KO TĒNEI MĀTOU NGĀ KAIHAUTŪ, NGĀ RINGARINGA, NGĀ WAEWAE O PARIHAKA, ME TE WHARE WHAKAARI O TE WHANGANUI Ā TARA, E PŌWHIRI NEI I NGĀ MAUNGA, NGĀ TUPUA KAURI, NGĀ TOHUNGA TARAI I TE KŌRERO, I TE RĀKAU, I TE WAITUHI, KIA HAERE AKE KI TE KAUPAPA WHAKAARI I TE 'PARIHAKA' O TE WHITI O RONGOMAI RĀUA KO TOHU KĀKAHI.

INTRODUCTION THE OPENING DAY FOR PARIHAKA THE EXHIBITION

DAWNED WITH LEADEN SKIES AND INTERMITTENT DOWNPOURS OF HEAVY RAIN. 'A GOOD SIGN,' SAID TARANAKI IWI WHO HAD TRAVELLED FOR OVER FOUR HOURS TO MIHI WITH DEEP EMOTION THEIR TIPUNA. 'THE TEARS OF THE ANCESTORS BLESS THIS DAY.'

The waka taua, *Te Raukura*, returned to preside over official ceremonies in full splendour in the Civic Square. Commissioned by the city for Wellington harbour, to commemorate the 1990 sesquicentennial, *Te Raukura* is a symbol of the mana, cultural identity and history of manawhenua. The ancestral references, carved into the sleek lines of the waka, affirm the whakapapa links of manawhenua of Wellington to Taranaki iwi before their migration south, a symbol of generations of ancestors, among them the great visionary leaders, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi.

The waka taua can be seen as a metaphor for many journeys. The project begins with the journey from 1993 when the inauguration of the new City Gallery was regarded as the most

appropriate and significant occasion for *Te Raukura* to take its place at the heart of the city. For three months the gallery housed and displayed the waka. The exhibition was a seven-year journey, forging a partnership between the people of Parihaka and the staff of the capital's art gallery. It was a new way of working for the Gallery, a process that involved the building of trust, the sharing of power and decision making. It was a more complex way of working but all would agree a deeply enriching experience to work so closely with a community. This unique exhibition project is the result of the trust of the people of Parihaka that Gallery staff would treat their story, of which they were so fiercely protective, with integrity and respect. Out of this partnership has grown an enduring relationship between an institution and a small community.

'Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance' is a timely exhibition to begin the new Millennium, a time when we take stock of our past and look to the future. It underlines the significance of Parihaka in the past and future of this country. The teachings of Te Whiti and Tohu of mutual respect and understanding are important lessons for all New Zealanders.

PAUL RANGI-PUNGA
 CHAIR
 PARIHAKA PĀ TRUSTEES

MAHARA OKEROA
 TRUSTEE
 PARIHAKA PĀ TRUSTEES

PAULA SAVAGE
 DIRECTOR
 CITY GALLERY WELLINGTON



GIL HANLY (b.1934, Levin) Photographs taken at the opening of the Parihaka exhibition, 26 August 2000. Courtesy of the people of Parihaka

THE EXHIBITION PROJECT

THE MOST AMBITIOUS AND
 COMPLEX EXHIBITION IN THE
 HISTORY OF WELLINGTON'S CITY

GALLERY HAS BEEN OVER SIX YEARS IN THE MAKING. IT GATHERS TOGETHER SOME OF OUR COUNTRY'S MOST SEARCHING AND COMPELLING ARTWORKS, INSPIRED BY THE EVENTS AND PERSONALITIES AT PARIHAKA.

Gallery Director Paula Savage first considered the exhibition concept in 1993. In 1994 she attended a national hui for Māori artists and writers at Parihaka and discussed the possibility of an exhibition with the community. Though preoccupied by the desire to draw together the work of Aotearoa's artists and writers in celebration of the prophets Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi, her instincts told her to wait. She continued researching the story, and when approached by a representative from the Parihaka Pā in 1998, the timing felt right.

Commissioning works by 15 contemporary New Zealand painters (Laurence Aberhart, John Baxter, Shane Cotton, Brett Graham, Fred Graham, Chris Heaphy, Tame Iti, Para Matchitt, Darcy Nicholas, Anne Noble, Séraphine Pick, John Pule, Natalie Robertson, Michael Shepherd, John Walsh) and 10 leading poets (Alistair Te Ariki Campbell, Dinah Hawken, Cilla McQueen, Chris Orsman, Roma Potiki, Elizabeth Smither, J. C. Sturm, Robert Sullivan, Apirana Taylor, Ian Wedde), as well as collecting together around

200 existing paintings, sculptures and photographs not shown together before, was no small task. The exhibition took two years to bring together, in partnership with Parihaka Pā and with the support of some of New Zealand's most respected historians and art historians. This lengthy process has culminated in a poignant collection of images and words, by some of New Zealand's greatest artists and writers.

Photographs, drawings, documents and artefacts have also been gathered, with almost 60 photographs of the Pā dating from the 1870s to today. Portraits of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi, previously under embargo in the Taranaki Museum, are displayed in public for the first time.

Te Miringa Hohaia, a representative of the Parihaka Pā, has taken a leading role in the realisation of the project: 'The exhibition is the voice of the people of the Parihaka Pā in partnership with artists, writers, poets and the Gallery. It brings to the fore the legacy of the Parihaka war for peace in the lives of Te Whiti o Rongomai, Tohu Kākahi and their people. It shows their place in the Māori vision for independence and self-determination, tying in our generation's hopes, dreams and actions in the year 2000.'

'It is a powerful indication from the people of Parihaka Pā that their voice will cry out until the war of Tohu and Te Whiti be brought to a foundation of peace so that we can live side by side on the land,' says Hohaia.

This exhibition represents City Gallery Wellington's contribution to a series of national Millennium projects.



PARIHAKA:

THE WEIGHTY LEGACY OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS

PAULA SAVAGE

PARIHAKA – A MODEST VILLAGE IN THE SHADOW OF THE SACRED TRIBAL MOUNTAIN, TARANAKI. PARIHAKA – A POOR

COMMUNITY WHERE NGA MŌREHU, THE SURVIVORS, REMAIN STEADFAST TO AND KEEP ALIVE THE SPIRIT AND TEACHINGS OF TE WHITI O RONGOMAI AND TOHU KĀKAHI.

On the 18th and 19th of each month, days set aside by Te Whiti and Tohu, they gather together to observe the rā, welcoming onto their marae with unfailing hospitality visitors from around the world, who are drawn to Parihaka like pilgrims to Mecca or Jerusalem, in search of understanding of the message of Parihaka, in a spiritual quest for self-knowledge, inner peace and harmony. On the marae, the story of Parihaka is passed down through oratory, waiata and poi, printed indelibly on the minds of successive generations, leaving none untouched by grief and injury.

The weighty legacy of unfinished business confronts us in the story of Parihaka under the compelling leadership of two rangatira, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi with their unique vision for their people. They emerged from the shards of the past, schooled in the ancient Māori histories, knowledge and traditions, which they integrated with Biblical teachings of evangelical missionary Christianity, new leaders for a new world.

Parihaka is paradoxically one of the most shameful episodes, and one of the most remarkable and enduring stories in New Zealand's colonial history. The issues: Māori land, rangatiratanga and mana. Under the charismatic leadership of Te Whiti and Tohu, Parihaka, a self-sufficient community, became a refuge and haven for thousands of Māori dispossessed and made homeless by land confiscations throughout New Zealand. Te Whiti and Tohu sought to maintain peace while upholding the land, cultural integrity and independent authority of iwi in Taranaki, in a world turned upside down by European colonisation.

Government land confiscations in Taranaki included the Parihaka block, although Parihaka had not been involved in rebellion. Te Whiti and Tohu preached and practised an active form of non-violent resistance in a creative response to political and legal injustice and military oppression, advocating always peace rather than violence on philosophical and moral grounds, a generation before Gandhi's parallel response to British imperialism. With strategic brilliance and political acumen, Te Whiti and Tohu employed innovatory tactics in a courageous bid to achieve justice through litigation to test the legality of Government land confiscation. Their followers removed the survey pegs, ploughed, planted and erected fences on the surveyed land, and undertook long silent marches around their coastal tribal boundaries, in a symbolic assertion of ownership and eloquent protest against the alienation of their land. They consciously and voluntarily courted arrest and imprisonment, overfilling colonial jails to the embarrassment of the Government and the paranoia of the settlers.

On 5 November 1881, the peaceful village of Parihaka was invaded by 1500 settlers' militia and volunteers, under John Bryce, the Native Minister. Offering no resistance, Te Whiti, Tohu and hundreds of their followers were arrested. They faced transportation and

imprisonment for years in the South Island with courage and dignity. Many prisoners died from the harsh prison conditions, enforced hard labour in a rigorous climate, and the trauma of captivity and exile. A special Act of Parliament, the Native Prisoners' Trials Act, suspended habeas corpus to allow the Parihaka prisoners to be detained indefinitely without trial in the most heinous abrogation of civil rights in this country.

Over a couple of months, in a war of attrition and excess, the prosperous village of Parihaka was systematically razed, homes looted and burnt, crops destroyed and livestock slaughtered. The people were forcibly driven out and left homeless, facing a bleak future of extreme hardship. In a history of denial, Parihaka was virtually wiped out of existence, maps re-drawn and history re-defined in an attempt to obliterate the memory of Parihaka from the face of the earth.

Te Whiti and Tohu did not achieve their vision of victory through peaceful negotiation; virtually the whole of the Taranaki province was confiscated. The undertaking of reserve land for settlement was never honoured. The promised reserves were leased to settlers on perpetual leases. Land claims in Taranaki are still unresolved. Unlike Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela, they did not return from imprisonment and exile to lead their country. Their utopian dream of a new social order for Māori and Pākehā, based on respect, equity, peace and harmony was never realised in their lifetime. Nonetheless they guided their people through a traumatic and explosive period in history, avoiding full-scale war at a time when Māori had almost no possibility of military victory. Theirs was a moral victory, in which they upheld Māori honour and integrity against inconceivable odds.

Although many issues in Māori / Pākehā relations still remain unresolved, evidenced by the gaps in education, health, employment, distribution of wealth, crime and prison statistics – a source of continuing tension and conflict – the influence of Te Whiti and Tohu has far from ended. They have bequeathed through their teaching and example a political, moral and spiritual legacy that transcends both time and tribal or national boundaries. Symbolised by the raukura or albatross' white feather of peace, theirs is a philosophy and ideology that touches the deepest roots of human aspiration.

History re-emerges to shape the present. The spiritual authority, incorruptible integrity and innovatory leadership of Te Whiti and Tohu live on in memory as symbols of the enduring power of the human spirit and the human imagination. The continuity of their political legacy can be seen in land rights protest movements such as the historic 1975 Māori Land March, the events at Bastion Point, and at the Raglan Golf Course, with contemporary leaders such as the late Dame Whina Cooper and Eva Rickard, and Labour MP Joe Hawke, inheritors of the vision and the kaupapa of Te Whiti and Tohu.

Māori and Pākehā recognise that to move forward there is a need to confront and deal honestly with the past, no matter how painful and embittered that may be. It is a past that has the power to haunt and disturb our future harmony and unity. There is a commitment in New Zealand to redress past grievances, whatever that will take. We want it because it is fair. And we wish to look to a future with some hope of living together in peace and harmony, respect and dignity.

Parihaka continues also to have meaning and influence in the present as a source of inspiration for writers, artists, film makers, political activists, social advocates, religious thinkers, philosophers and clergy in New Zealand and overseas.

In this complex and ambitious exhibition project, "Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance", through the eyes and minds of some of our great artists and writers, through a whaikorero of visual and literary images, we experience and come to some understanding of the cultural, artistic, political and spiritual legacy of Te Whiti and Tohu.

PAULA SAVAGE, DIRECTOR, CITY GALLERY WELLINGTON

Excerpt from catalogue essay "Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance".



PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, *Armed constabulary and Militia prepare for the move against Parihaka*. 1881. Photographic print from the original held in the Alexander Turnbull Library. W A Price Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington



WILLIAM ANDREW COLLIS, (1853–1920, arrived New Plymouth 1869), *Europeanised buildings in the Parihaka Village*. Undated, black and white photograph, collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

HOPES

PAUL DIAMOND SPOKE
WITH TARANAKI
KAUMATUA DR TE
HUIRANGI WAIKEREPU

ABOUT HIS HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS FOR THE PEOPLE OF
PARIHAKA.

HW: One of the things I'd like to see come out of this [exhibition] is the awareness of people generally throughout Aotearoa, their understanding of what Parihaka means, and why it's so significant to the people of Taranaki. Many people really don't know much about Parihaka and its early history, or the implications of Parihaka.

PD: *Because the story is well known of course, among Taranaki Māori and the wider Māori community, does this mean the emphasis is on getting the message out to Pākehā?*

HW: The emphasis is getting the message out ... to understand the implication of those particular events. They were quite devastating events and with the Waitangi Tribunal that's going on at the present time, it's a reflection of the events that took place at Parihaka but even before that. Something like 20 years before Parihaka was the war in Waitara ... then it grew into the compounded situation that developed at Parihaka. All the people that gathered at Parihaka were the people that were displaced from their lands throughout Taranaki, and even from other areas as well.

PD: *It's hard to think of anything else in New Zealand's history that's provoked such a huge artistic response. What do you think it is about Parihaka that's caused this?*

HW: I think there is something about the events of Parihaka which has actually struck a chord, which has struck at the integrity of the artist in a way that [says] "hey, there's an injustice here". I think that is what has actually motivated artists, writers and so on to focus on Parihaka, it's the grave injustice that actually took place. Anyone who has read a little bit about the situation must realise the huge injustice of the entire events of the Waitara purchase and then the ensuing war.

PD: *More than 100 years on, do you think we're closer to a point of healing?*

HW: We may be closer but a long way away from actual healing. The Government has a process in place to deal with the negotiated settlement of the events of that particular period, particularly the confiscation of the lands, the so called muru raupatu. But the negotiated settlement does not include the return of the confiscated lands and so it's not really addressing the real issue from which the grievance has arisen. I don't see any healing going on to any great extent. There have to be adjustments, there have to be things going on for people to survive. People have survived since 1881 and they will continue to survive for the next hundred years, but the question that needs to be asked, "what are we going to be surviving for, what is our society going to be like at that point?" The aspirations of Māori people in Taranaki are basically the return to economic security, economic sustainability, because that's what the situation was prior to the confiscation of the lands.

PD: *How do you reconcile that with the vastly different society we live in now, the fact that you've got many generations of Pākehā living in that area?*

HW: I think the issue is not so much for Māori, because Māori have made their adjustments, they are bilingual, they are bicultural and therefore they still directly attach to the land except they don't have the authority at this point because it's taken away. However, they've been able to develop a state of mind which enables them to continue pursuing what is necessary to sustain themselves but also to look at what the new world is bringing towards them. So I suppose having survived 1881 and surviving 2000, I mean there's no big deal sustaining ourselves until the year 2020, because it's a matter of survival. What has to happen is for Pākehā society and Government to recognise they too have to survive in this environment.

PD: *So that would be one of the big things you'd like this exhibition to achieve?*

HW: Exactly, for people right across the country to have a better understanding of where we are at. We [have] to look at how New Zealand is going to sustain itself in a community where social order is a recognised aspect of that community. If we are not able to maintain that we have to look at statistics which indicate serious gaps between Māori and non-Māori and those gaps have to be balanced out. Of course Government has a policy of closing the gaps but I don't believe Government has the knowledge and the understanding or the belief in filling the gaps. This is because Government itself in terms of its policies, in terms of its processes, in terms of its whole educational strategy is actually creating the gaps.

PD: *Can you give me an example of something that would make a difference in Taranaki to redress that?*

HW: What is being pursued is the return of land so that people have an economic base ... Māori society is a culture based on land. To be without land in this way does not help to sustain [Māori] in a way where there is that direct link with the land and the total environment.

PD: *One of the striking things about the story when you read books by people like Dick Scott, is the whakakotahitanga, the unity the people must have had to do what they did. Things like the messages of peace and reconciliation seem to contrast a bit with what happened towards the end of Te Whiti and Tohu's lifetimes and what has happened since and the disagreements between Māori.*

HW: That I think has a lot to do with the dislocation from the lands that they belonged to, because the lands that they belonged to were no longer available to them, and they couldn't sustain their own integrity on their own lands. So when they're sustaining their own integrity,

their own family situations, own hapu situations, they are an entity unto themselves but they have their interrelationships which are also maintained and that maintains the stability right across the board for everyone who have their own communities. But since the removal of that, then people become dislocated and they don't have the structures and the institutions which maintain the stability in the community.

PD: *Why do you think it's appropriate that this exhibition is happening now in the year 2000?*

HW: I think it's appropriate now because I think New Zealand needs to be aware of what some of the early history has created. They need to understand why Māori people say the things that they do and protest in the way they protest. I think it's important that all New Zealand has an understanding of what those issues are because unless they are addressed and recognised then this conflict will continue on into the next century.

PD: *It's quite a burden for the uri isn't it, the people who carry this?*

HW: It is a great burden because they too don't have a lot of the information as to how this has come about and they don't have a lot of the information which is traditional information because most of our people are now without the language.

PD: *Are you optimistic, as more than 120 years on, there doesn't seem to have been a lot of progress?*

HW: That's simply because I think a lot of the history was submerged and part of that submerging was by the wider community so that their own children grew up with that sense of being submerged and that the history that the children were taught was their history.

PD: *That's a theme you pick up a lot when you walk around that exhibition, "I wasn't taught this at school," from both Māori and Pākehā.*

HW: They didn't know, that whole interrelationship with the Māori community did not exist, it was not seen to be part of the history of New Zealand. It was part of a history which needed to be buried and so for us it hasn't gone anywhere, we're still here.

PD: *How will you know when progress is being made and we get beyond the grievance towards the healing sort of mode?*

HW: When we begin to speak in any language, either language and understand each other and we don't have the hang ups about what's going on.

PD: *Because there is the idea that unless things are addressed that things will get worse. Do you think we could get back to the days of protest?*

HW: I don't think the days of protest are very far around the corner.

PD: *Because we've gone for a period, haven't we, where the protests have gone into the courtroom?*

HW: But that's going to run out unless the Government takes heed of the Waitangi Tribunal and its recommendations. Unfortunately the Government is in the position where it can ignore recommendations and if you ignore recommendations then all you are doing is creating another grievance, which will pop up at a later stage. If we don't set things right now, while we have the opportunity, while the Government is in a position to do it, we'll have a situation like Ireland, Kosovo or Israel.



SÉRAPHINE PICK, *Riki and Ruru*. Oil on canvas, 2000
Gifted to the people of Parihaka by the artist



DARCY NICHOLAS, *Song of Parihaka*.
Acrylic on paper, 2000
Gifted to the people of Parihaka by the artist

COME TO ME ALL THOSE WHO HAVE UNDERSTANDING AND FAITH
THOSE WHO ARE BENT BY THE WIND
SHALL RISE AGAIN WHEN THE WIND SOFTENS
THOSE THINGS THAT ARE CUT SHALL RISE NO MORE.

TOHU KĀKAHI

PARIHAKA'S KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

JEREMY ROSE

TE MIRINGA HOHAIA HAS A VISION OF PARIHAKA AS A THRIVING CENTRE OF SCHOLARSHIP, ART, ENTERPRISE AND RECONCILIATION.

Already the Parihaka Pā attracts visitors from around the world wanting to know more about its history and the militant pacifism its people pioneered in the 19th century. It has a collection of modern New Zealand art and photography that would do any public gallery proud, and a collection of priceless historical records and artefacts that would be the envy of most of the country's museums.

What Parihaka doesn't have is an economic base.

Te Miringa Hohaia believes that the establishment of a *wānanga*, or Māori university, at Parihaka is a vital step to restoring the Pā's economic viability. And he says the present Government's commitment to regional development could be the key to restoring Parihaka's once thriving economy. Any meaningful and lasting resolution between the people of Parihaka and the Crown is impossible, he says, until "everyone has a roof over their heads and enough to eat."

Te Miringa says Parihaka's land continued to be alienated from its rightful owners throughout the 20th century. The massive confiscations of the 19th century were compounded by Government policies which denied the people of Parihaka the chance to utilise the little land remaining in their hands.

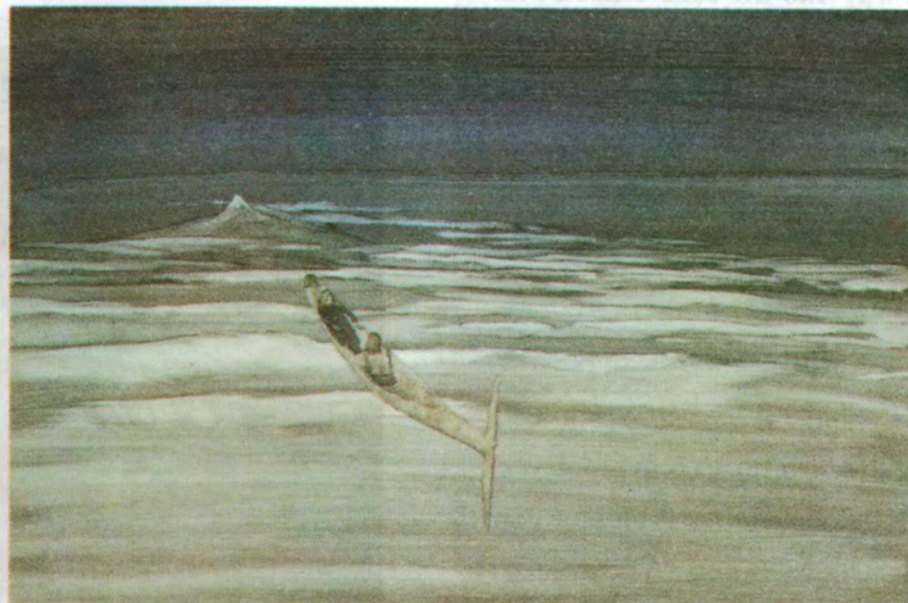
Of the 25,000 acres set aside as a Parihaka reserve by the Government in 1884 only about 2000 remained in Māori hands by the 1950s. Six thousand acres were confiscated immediately to pay for the cost of the military march against the unarmed people of Parihaka. Tragically, not even the remaining 2000 acres could be said to be benefiting the Parihaka Pā and its people.

The Parihaka X block, as it was known, was operated by the Department of Maori Affairs which managed to run up a debt of \$300,000 on a block of land valued at about \$200,000. In 1981 when the Māori Land Court ordered the Department out the land was handed back to its owners with the debt intact.

Te Miringa says despite the massive land confiscations and the trauma of forced exile and imprisonment during the struggles of the 1880s, the people of Parihaka had managed to carve out a niche for themselves as transient farm labourers. "We had a damn good economy here. There was a bank operating at Parihaka until the 1930s." The mechanisation of farming put an end to that. With no land, and no work the once thriving community of Parihaka was left without any economic base.



PAULINE THOMPSON, *Albatross, Taranaki, Crescent Moon*. Oil on canvas, 2000. Collection of the artist



JOHN WALSH, *From Parihakatanga 2000: 'People Came'*. Oil on board, 2000. Gifted to the people of Parihaka by the artist



JOHN BAXTER, *Nga manu e rua*. Acrylic on wood, 1999. Gifted to the people of Parihaka by the artist

Te Miringa says Parihaka's most valuable remaining resource is its history, its philosophies and its people. The success of the City Gallery exhibition is evidence, he says, of the huge public interest in the history and philosophies of Parihaka. Otaki's Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Miringa says, is a living example of the potential of a Māori tertiary institution to revitalise a community. "It's incredible how it has attracted people back to the community and brought the whole community back to life."

A company and charitable trust have already been set up at Parihaka to facilitate the opening of a *wānanga* and an academic board appointed which includes professors and other established academics from disciplines as varied as religious studies and anthropology and business studies.

Te Miringa says there is also a huge pool of traditional knowledge which the *wānanga* would not only help preserve but continue to develop into the 21st century. He says Parihaka's experience and knowledge of non-violent resistance would be a unique feature of the *wānanga* and attract students from around the world.

If Te Miringa's vision of Parihaka as a thriving centre of scholarship, art, enterprise is to become a reality the Crown is going to have to take some serious steps towards reconciliation. The first step might simply be agreeing to fund the establishment of the *wānanga*.

THERE WILL BE PEACE,
BUT A DIFFERENT KIND OF PEACE
IT WILL BE A FIGHTING PEACE
WITH NO SURRENDER OF OUR LAND
NO LOSS OF OUR INDEPENDENCE.

WE TRIBES OF TARANAKI
DID NOT SIGN THE TREATY.
WE ARE STILL MASTERS OF OUR LAND
SO HOW THEN, CAN WE BE REBELS
SINCE WE WERE NEVER BRITISH SUBJECTS
THEY HAVE NO RIGHT
TO CONFISCATE OUR LAND.

OUT OF PEACEFUL STRUGGLE
WE WILL NEGOTIATE OUR OWN TREATY
- A TREATY BETWEEN EQUALS.
IN THE DAYS TO COME,
LION AND LAMB, HAWK AND WREN
CAT AND MOUSE WILL LIVE IN HARMONY.
MĀORI AND PĀKEHĀ
WILL LIVE SIDE BY SIDE
BUT THE CHIEFTAINSHIP OF THE LAND
WILL REMAIN WITH MĀORI
THEY CANNOT CUT UP
THE BLANKET OF THE PEOPLE.

TE WHITI O RONGOMAI

KEI TE PAKANGA KĒ TE MATAMATA O TAKU ĀRERO HEI
TAONGA MŌ NGĀ WHAKATUPURANGA
THE VERY EXTREMITY OF MY TONGUE IS AT BATTLE AS A TREASURE
FOR THE GENERATIONS.

TOHU KĀKAHI, 1895

PĀKEHĀ RESPONSES TO PARIHAKA

JEREMY
ROSE

HISTORIAN DICK
SCOTT RECENTLY TOLD
AN OVERFLOWING

AUDIENCE IN THE CITY GALLERY'S THEATRE, THAT HIS FIRST ATTEMPT AT A HISTORY OF PARIHAKA, *THE PARIHAKA STORY*, WAS ALL BUT IGNORED BY THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA WHEN IT WAS PUBLISHED IN THE 1950S.

There were a few exceptions, he said, and then went on to name the economist Wolfgang Rosenberg and another refugee from European fascism as being among the only people to write reviews of the work.

There was, it seems, a reluctance among mainstream Pākehā New Zealand to face up to the injustices and brutalities of the past (let alone the present) and little interest in celebrating the heroic and pioneering non-violent resistance of the people of Parihaka.

Rosenberg, now in his 80s but still as lively as ever, says it was only natural that a left-wing journal such as *Monthly Review* should take an interest in the work. "We shared a similar pacifistic conviction and we were always pro ethnic minorities."

By the 1970s when Scott's second work on Parihaka, *Ask That Mountain*, was released, the times had changed. Scott suggested to the Gallery audience that the anti-Vietnam protests and the radicals it spawned had made New Zealand far more receptive to the ideas of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi.

The words of the prophets had a familiar ring to them. "The governments of the earth have built up a structure that exists only by the power of money," *The Taranaki Herald* had recorded Te Whiti as saying in a piece of revolutionary rhetoric which could have easily been uttered by Che Guevara or Gandhi. Te Whiti continued, "The head of the land – the Queen – is honoured in proportion to the pomps and vanities of her immediate attendants. Her governors all hold out their hands for the wages, without which their patriotism would shrivel up. The legislators, the magistrates, the police etc make laws and put them into force at so much per day. From the highest to the lowest money is the motive force. Strike away this prop and the confusion that would result could only be compared to that which eventuated at the building of the Tower of Babel."

As the Parihaka story became more widely known outside of Māori circles, it was to inspire works by many of the nation's leading Pākehā artists, including Colin McCahon, Tony Fomison and Michael Smither. The story of Parihaka was permeating its way into the conscience of the country's artists and left-leaning intellectuals but it was still a long way from becoming part of the nation's mainstream history.

In an essay in the soon to be published catalogue of the Parihaka exhibition, Gregory O'Brien quotes the poet J. C. Sturm as suggesting that artists partly relate to Parihaka out of their sense of outsidersness.

"When someone is in that position themselves they have an awareness of others who are placed outside the pale. So creative individuals make a connection with the Parihaka people."

O'Brien ends the essay with the hope "that rather than the Parihaka story being perceived as 'outside', the Parihaka story will be recognised as something that can be accommodated at the very heart of Aotearoa/New Zealand". Victoria University religious studies Professor Paul Morris echoes O'Brien's hope with a call for New Zealand to declare November 5 "Parihaka Day". A day "to remember the power of spiritual resistance against tyranny".

It is a hope that must surely have been shared by every writer and artist that has recorded and paid tribute to the Parihaka story since the days of the ploughs.

But it will remain just that, a hope, until some form of meaningful reconciliation takes place between the people of Parihaka and the Crown. In 1996 the Waitangi Tribunal released *The Taranaki Report Kaupapa Tuatahi* which included a section on Parihaka which must rank among the most damning official indictments of a Government's actions on record.

"The events at Parihaka provide a graphic account of the Government's antagonism to any show of independence. The result, which might have no parallel in world colonisation, is that not one acre exists where land is held and matters are managed entirely on Māori terms."

The report provided a remarkable opportunity for the Government to begin the process of educating mainstream New Zealand about the crimes of the past and their ongoing consequences. It should have been the beginning of the end of the dispossession of the people of Parihaka and Taranaki in general. It wasn't.

"Parihaka is symbolic of autonomy," the report said, "of the right of indigenous peoples to maintain their society on their own terms and to develop, from mutual respect, a peaceful relationship and partnership with the Government."

When Parihaka becomes not only a symbol of autonomy but a living example then it will be time for the nation to declare a national holiday in its honour.

A PACIFIST'S STORY

JEREMY
ROSE

ARTIST JOHN BAXTER
REMEMBERS HIS
GRANDFATHER,
ARCHIBALD, BEING SO
MOVED BY DICK
SCOTT'S BOOK, *THE*

PARIHAKA STORY, THAT HE GOT PHYSICALLY ILL. "HE COULDN'T FINISH IT, IT UPSET HIM TOO MUCH," JOHN RECALLS.

Archibald Baxter ranks alongside Te Whiti o Rongomai as New Zealand's best-known pacifist. His classic account of being a conscientious objector during World War One, *We Will Not Cease*, has introduced generations of New Zealanders to the concept of pacifism. Subjected for days on end to No 1 Field Punishment, a form of crucifixion, Baxter refused to serve the military in any way. Dragged to the front and thrown into the trenches, Archibald steadfastly refused to fight.

Prime Minister Helen Clark recently commented to a journalist that she would look favourably on any request by the Baxter family for a pardon for Archibald.

It's an odd thought, a family requesting a pardon for a relative whose only crime was being tortured for refusing to take part in the wanton slaughter of World War One. John Baxter can't see the family taking the PM up on the offer. He's more interested in hearing an admission from the Government "of how truly appalling" the events at Parihaka were.

Baxter, who has three paintings in the Parihaka exhibition, describes himself as a fifth-generation pacifist. His mother Jacqui Baxter, who writes under the name J. C. Sturm, is descended from a Parihaka family. He says the land issues need to be settled immediately. "We're still dispossessed. I find it very hard to go up there. The only places I have where I feel I can stand are the urupā [cemeteries]."

"We are the living urupā."

Baxter says his one-year-old great niece will be 63 before some of the leases on Māori-owned land come up for renewal. "It's not good enough."



SHANE COTTON, *Te Whiti*, Oil on canvas, 2000.
Gifted to the people of Parihaka by the artist



MICHAEL SMITHER, *Ask that mountain*, Oil on board, 1973
On long term loan to the Hocken Library, University of Otago,
Dunedin, from Dr Maarire Goodall

E KORE NGĀ IWI NEI E WAREWARE
THE PEOPLE WILL NEVER FORGET
KI TAKU NGĀKAU
MY HEARTFELT FEELINGS
I PANIA TAKU KIRI KI TE TŌMAIRANGI
MY SKIN IS SMEARED TO THE MISTS
E TŪTURU NEI KI TE WHENUA
THAT CLING TO THE LAND

TE WHITI O RONCOMAI

A CITY VOICE

ALICK SHAW

IT SEEMS THAT THE
EXTRAORDINARY
STORY OF PARIHAKA
TOUCHED EVEN

PĀKEHĀ NEW ZEALAND AT THE TIME OF THE INVASION OF THE SETTLEMENT BY COLONIAL TROOPS. The photographic record of the event, some of which forms part of the exhibition, stands as testimony to that. It certainly has been a focus for the work of New Zealand writers, painters and songwriters ever since.

This exhibition not only challenges our understanding of the history of this land but also brings together a pantheon of New Zealand artists, which underscores the nation's wealth in the arts.

The City Gallery has staged a truly remarkable event. It should be far more controversial than either the Mapplethorpe or Haring exhibitions. This exhibition does not stage or invent controversy, the images are not 'offensive' but it does invite us to think. I am proud that the city is not only host to Parihaka but that one of Wellington's own institutions initiated the project. It is appropriate that this is so and the exhibition is extremely timely.

We tend to concentrate on the invasion of the settlement and on Te Whiti and Tohu's philosophy of pacifism and strategy of resistance to the encroachments of the settler-state. We often ignore the remarkable experiment in township living that was also Parihaka. Reports of the time confirm that Parihaka was a very advanced community indeed.

Over the last couple of years Wellington City Council has struggled to find how best to give form to the relationship between the council and Te Atiawa. It has not been an easy process and no one can be confident that the city has yet managed to get it right. The Treaty imposes the responsibilities of partnership on local authorities but successive governments have shied away from defining those responsibilities. That needs to change at least to the extent that local authorities are given some options to put to the communities we represent.

The exhibition reminds us that Parihaka was a model settlement to the rest of New Zealand. Not just in terms of values but also in terms of technology. It is useful to be reminded that Pākehā New Zealand has never had a monopoly on how to use technology, agriculture and trade. At that point in New Zealand's history, Pākehā did not have a monopoly on town planning either!

I grew up in the far north and the Waikato. During those years some local authorities destroyed many Māori settlements in the districts I lived in with just the same certainty as the colonial government attempted to destroy Parihaka. Councils armed themselves with the orders



COLIN MCCAHON, *Parihaka Taranaki looking towards the East*. Acrylic on Steinbach paper on board, 1972
Private collection, Auckland. Courtesy the Colin McCahon Research and Publication Trust

of health inspectors, building inspectors and an assortment of other bureaucrats. Houses and entire settlements were emptied, not just because their residents chose to move to towns and cities in search of work but because the communities were deliberately destroyed.

Wellington should be proud of this exhibition. It talks about our country and showcases our artists. The City Gallery has always been in that vanguard of institutions that brings great works and exhibitions from throughout the world to this country. We have been privileged to see work that would not have been available to us were it not for the Gallery. Population does not define Wellington as a city. This is just a small town. The efforts of our artists, musicians, actors, theatres, festivals and galleries help to make Wellington a city.

It is great when we do this on our own terms and talk about our ancestors and ourselves. The invasion of Parihaka was a defining incident in the history of this country. The exhibition helps our understanding of that and is itself a defining time in the history of the City Gallery and Wellington City's contribution to the arts in New Zealand.

Parihaka reminds us that the city's support for the arts isn't justified by economic benefit alone!

HE WAIATA TENEI MO PARIHAKA

Have you heard of Parihaka
Between
Maunga Taranaki
And the sea

Where Te Whiti o Rongomai
And Tohu Kākahi
Preached
Passive resistance, not war?

Have you heard of Parikaha
Where Taranaki iwi
Gathered
Seeking a way to keep their land?

Non-violence was their choice
Peace their aim
Raukura their badge
Ploughs their only weapons.

They pulled down fences
Pulled out pegs
Then ploughed whatever
The settlers claimed was theirs.

Have you heard of Parihaka's
Boys and girls
Waiting outside the gates
When the mounted soldiers came

To rape and murder
Pillage and burn
To take Te Whiti and Tohu away
With all the ploughmen

And ship them south
To build a causeway
Around Dunedin's
Wintry harbour?

Have you heard of Taranaki iwi
Denied a trial,
Chained like dogs
In sealed caves and tunnels?

Ngai Tahu smuggled
Food and blankets
To the prisoners
Comforted the sick in the dark.

Kua ngaro nga tangata
Kua ngaro i te po!
Aue te mamae
That followed after!

If you haven't heard of Parihaka,
Be sure
Your grandchildren will
And their children after them.

History will see to that.
But for now,
He waiata tenei mo Parihaka-
Aue, aue, a-u-e-

J.C.STURM

FUSE

(MAY 2000)

The road winds back in time
as we drive down the Otago Peninsula
to Te Rauone. It is a visit,
a kind of unveiling – in my mind
the meeting house at Otakou,
Weller's rock, the fishing wharf,
and around the corner a wooden house
with an orange roof and a pohutukawa tree.

A long stone wall runs beside the road
from the head of the harbour
all the way along the peninsula northwards,
a blue-black drystone wall
built by the Māori prisoners from Parihaka.
This wall runs back in time –
in one of these small bays
you might see soldiers at ease under a tree
toss crumbs to seagulls
while they watch the Taranaki men break rock.

Fire springs from the curved steel pick;
anger drives deep inside the lizard wall
that twists through torn fields of their sleep
in stone cells cut in the cliff
where clay walls sweat like dying men.
The scarred moon blesses the hands of whanau
that twine at the bars like roots.
Te Whiti's words, white feathers, fill the darkness.
A candle, a murmur of prayer.
at night the iron-barred window sings.

The lizard flickers its tongue
as we pass the fishing wharf, the small boats,
and round the corner – there is Te Rauone beach,
the sandhills, seagrass, Taiaroa Head beyond,
the seabirds, the channel, Aramoana –
only there is no house,
and in the ground no trace of ash.
Just soft green lupins,
growing in clean sand,
red stars on the pohutukawa.

Loss of possessions is a kind of freedom;
loss of the land is exile.
The pickaxes strike fire.
The wall runs back towards the city,
a fuse slow-burning through the generations
ready to flare; past time nearly visible
behind the surface of this sunny day,
the harbour sparkling – on the car radio, news
of an unarmed Māori man
shot dead by the police last night, in Waitara.

CILLA MCQUEEN

FRIENDS OF CITY GALLERY
WELLINGTON www.citygalleryfriends.co.nz

The Friends of City Gallery Wellington are invited to regular Gallery events which provides a chance to meet others interested in the arts, and to share in the life of the Gallery. Friends also receive concession rates to charged exhibitions, priority bookings for public programmes, invitations to openings and regular information about the Gallery. The Friends membership card currently entitles you to discounts at The Vault Design Store and Circa Theatre.

Yearly membership:	
Individual membership	\$30
Family membership	\$50
Student membership	\$15

Please check website or phone the Gallery on phone: 04 801 3021 for more details.
All welcome.

PARIHAKA

THE ART OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE THE CATALOGUE

PARIHAKA – THE ART OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE EXPLORES THE ARTISTIC LEGACY OF PARIHAKA, ALONG WITH GROUND-BREAKING ESSAYS ON THE HISTORICAL, POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PARIHAKA. The 200 page hardcover book includes full colour plates of major artworks in the exhibition, including the commissioned works. The commissioned poetry is also featured, collecting themed work from some of New Zealand's leading poets. *Writers include New Zealand's foremost historians and art historians, including Dr Hazel Riseborough, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, Professor Paul Morris, Ruakere Hond and James Mack, Huirangi Waikerepuru and Te Miringa Hohaia.* "Parihaka – The Art of Passive Resistance" (NZD\$69.95) is a co-publication between the Parihaka Pā Trustees, City Gallery Wellington and Victoria University Press.

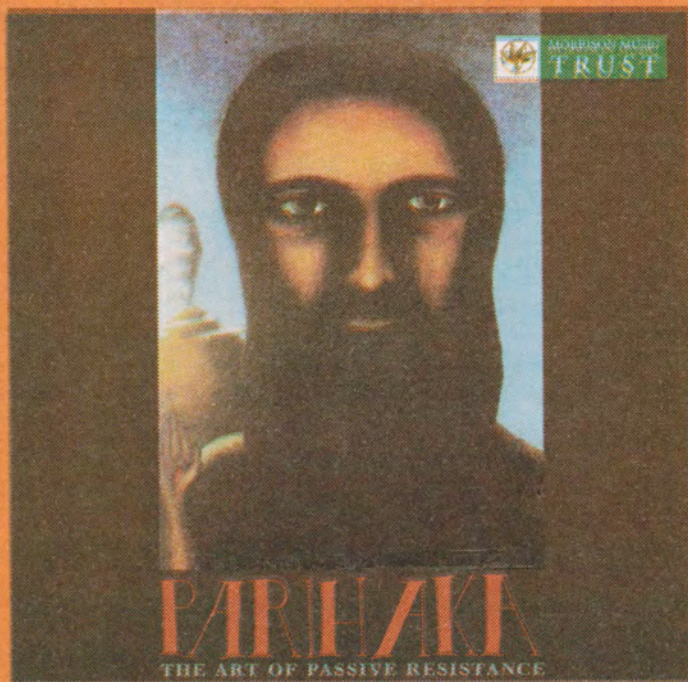
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PARIHAKA
THE ART OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

26 AUGUST – 19 JANUARY 2001
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Generously supported by: New Zealand Millennium Office, The New Zealand Lottery Grants Board, Creative New Zealand Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, Wellington City Council, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Taranaki Museum.

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CITY GALLERY WELLINGTON IS MANAGED BY THE WELLINGTON MUSEUMS TRUST WITH MAJOR FUNDING FROM THE WELLINGTON CITY COUNCIL.

