

Parihaka Legacy Statement (Draft, 24 February 2017)

Opening comments

The Crown offers this document as a first draft of the Parihaka Legacy Statement. The Crown acknowledges that the Parihaka Papakainga Trust intends to consult with the wider Parihaka community on this document, and that the document will be refined following that process.

The Parihaka Papakainga Trust have indicated that they would like to include additional waiata or traditional proclamations in the Legacy Statement where appropriate. Some potential locations are highlighted in italics in the text that follows. These will also be finalised after further discussion.

Origins of Parihaka

1. *[To be drafted, based on research to be provided by Ruakere Hond.]*

Taranaki before 1840 and early Crown purchases

2. For at least a millennia before the arrival of Europeans, iwi of Taranaki had occupied the length of the Taranaki coast. In the 1820s and 1830s, inter-tribal fighting led to a series of movements out of the region. During this time some Taranaki people remained in the rohe while others returned intermittently, thereby retaining ahi kaa or traditional title based on occupation.
3. British settlers started arriving in Taranaki in the early 1840s. Taranaki Māori began returning to the area soon after, becoming involved in agriculture, raising live-stock, and building flour-mills. Some used their produce to engage in trade with the new European settlements. As more British settlers arrived, the Crown sought to meet their demand for land by purchasing large areas in central and northern Taranaki. Some iwi from other parts of Taranaki refused to sell.
4. By the late 1840s iwi across Taranaki were beginning to resist any further alienation of their land. As the willingness to sell diminished, Crown agents sought to buy land from individual Māori or small subgroups, sometimes without the consent of key leaders or the wider collective, and sometimes despite their strongly stated objections. These practices led to tensions within and between iwi and hapū of Taranaki, and in some cases to armed conflict. In the early 1850s, iwi of Taranaki attempted to make formal arrangements to prevent further land loss. At an important meeting in 1854, several iwi committed to opposing further land sales in Taranaki.

The First Taranaki War

5. The cumulative effect of Crown purchases carried out in Taranaki during the 1840s and 1850s created a situation that ultimately led to the outbreak of war. In 1859, when tensions around land sales were high, the Governor declared that he would not consent to the purchase of any

land in Taranaki without an undisputed title. Soon after, the Crown entered negotiations to purchase the Pekapeka block near Waitara. Despite the immediate and repeated objections of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaake, widely acknowledged as the principle rangatira of Waitara, the Crown sought to conclude the purchase.

6. The Crown's attempts, in February 1860, to survey the Pekapeka Block were prevented by unarmed Māori, mainly women. The Crown responded by proclaiming martial law in Taranaki and sending troops to occupy the block. Kingi's supporters then erected a pā at Te Kohia at the south-west extremity of the block. When Kingi refused to surrender it, on 17 March 1860, some 500 government troops began a bombardment of the pā. This marked the beginning of war in Taranaki.
7. Other iwi of Taranaki quickly entered the war in support of Wiremu Kingi and his people, with some carrying out attacks against settlers and their property. Crown gunships shelled coastal settlements including Warea, and Crown troops attacked Taranaki settlements, destroying cultivations, flour-mills, and taking livestock. In June 1860 Taranaki fighters defeated a force of 350 British troops at Puketakauere, just inland from Waitara. In September 1860 the Crown increased its military forces significantly and carried out further attacks against fortified pā.
8. In April 1861, after a year of fighting, a peace agreement was reached with the involvement of Kingitanga representatives. One condition of the agreement was that the Crown would investigate the Pekapeka purchase. In the meantime Crown forces continued to occupy the Pekapeka block, while iwi of central and south Taranaki retained control of the Omata and Tataraimaka Blocks which the Crown had purchased earlier.

The Second Taranaki War

9. In March and early April of 1863, before the promised inquiry into Pekapeka had been completed, Crown forces re-occupied Omata and Tataraimaka. Two days later, the Governor accepted that the Waitara purchase had not been properly carried out and decided to abandon it. However this decision was not publically announced until more than a month later. In the meantime, armed conflict had resumed after Crown troops crossing between the Omata and Tataraimaka blocks were attacked, and some killed.
10. In the following weeks Crown warships again shelled coastal pā, and soldiers attacked Māori settlements south of New Plymouth. In early 1864, troops conducted a scorched earth campaign in the area and built several redoubts on former pā sites and on wahi tapu. Conflict continued through 1864, and at the start of 1865 Crown forces embarked south from New Plymouth and north from Whanganui in an attempt to establish military settlements along the length of the Taranaki coast. Through 1865 and 1866, Crown forces travelled across Taranaki, destroying villages, food stores, livestock and crops. Many Māori were taken prisoner, displaced, or killed.

Raupatu

11. Eight months after the Second Taranaki War began, the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 was passed. The Act stated that the best way to achieve peace in Taranaki was to establish military settlements, and enabled the Governor to take land within certain defined districts for this

purpose. Through a series of proclamations in 1865, the Governor defined approximately 1.2 million acres of Taranaki land as districts within which settlements could be established. However, in September 1865, the Governor declared the entire area confiscated. Every iwi in Taranaki lost vast areas of land, with several losing their entire rohe.

12. The amount of land confiscated enormously exceeded that which was necessary to achieve the original Act's purpose. The confiscations were also indiscriminate in depriving every Māori in Taranaki of their customary lands, regardless of whether they were considered to have been in rebellion.
13. The raupatu severed access to sites of profound ancestral significance, to traditional sources of food, and to other resources that the people of Taranaki had utilised for centuries. The effect that the raupatu had on the mana, welfare, economy, culture and social development of the iwi of Taranaki is immeasurable.

Compensation

14. Under the New Zealand Settlements Act, Māori could seek the return of confiscated land by bringing claims to a Compensation Court established by the Act. Claimants had to prove both that they had an interest in the land, and that they had been loyal to the Crown. Claimants had to attend hearings, which would have been difficult for many given that hearings were held in New Plymouth and Whanganui only, at a time when military operations were continuing in parts of Taranaki.
15. By the time hearings began, the Crown had already disposed of much of the best land to settlers, leaving only poor quality or isolated land available for Māori claimants. In total, the Compensation Court issued awards for the return of less than 80,000 acres, or approximately 6 per cent, of the land that had been confiscated in Taranaki. The Crown then failed to issue grants for the vast majority these lands. By 1880, only 3,500 acres had actually been returned. This represented less than one-third of one percent of the confiscated land. Further, this small amount of land was returned to individuals rather than hapū, extinguishing customary forms of land tenure and long-established hapū occupation rights.

Parihaka

16. During the Second Taranaki War, members of the Ngati Moeahu and Patukai hapū established settlements at Warea, Ngā Kumikumi, and Waikoukou, only to be displaced by a series of Crown attacks. After troops destroyed Waikoukou pā and its extensive cultivations in early February 1866, Ngati Moeahu and Patukai relocated to Parihaka.
17. Under the leadership of Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai, the new community chose to lay aside all weapons, and instead began to promote a vision in which Taranaki Māori and the Government would negotiate the future on equal terms, and in which Pākehā and Māori would live side by side under the chieftainship of Māori, the owners of the land.
18. The adoption of a non-violent kaupapa or philosophy by Parihaka is commemorated through traditional whakawai (adages) known as "**Te Haeata**" (new dawn) and "**Te Tau Ariki**" (a time of prominence)'. In March 1869, Te Whiti and Tohu declared "te tau o te takahanga" (the year of

the trampling underfoot) as an assertion of Parihaka's right to exercise autonomy. This vision was captured in an 1869 proclamation:

Ka noho tahi te kiore rau[a] ko te ngeru te ruru raua ko te karewarewa ka noho tahi te kingi te kawana te poropiti kotahi ta ratou rihi e toutou ai ratou...

The lion and the lamb, the falcon and the wren, the cat and mouse would live in harmony and eat from the same dish.

19. By 1871, confiscation had not been enforced on the ground, giving rise to doubt amongst Māori in Taranaki and some Crown officials as to whether confiscation was still in force or had been abandoned. From 1872, the Crown tried to secure access to land within the confiscated area first by formally purchasing it, and then by distributing informal payments to Māori with interests in the land. Together, these actions left many Māori with little security about where they were to live.
20. Through this period the permanent population of Parihaka grew rapidly as Māori displaced by confiscation and war sought sanctuary there. Tohu and Te Whiti began to hold six-monthly meetings to communicate their message, which were attended by large numbers of visitors from all the iwi of Taranaki and from groups from elsewhere in the North Island. In order to provide the large amount of food that was required to sustain these guests, Tohu and Te Whiti encouraged visitors to establish their own cultivations at Parihaka, with the result that some members of the visiting communities took up permanent residence, further swelling the settlement's population. Meetings began to be held on a monthly basis, attracting thousands of visitors from across the region and beyond.
21. As Parihaka grew, it adopted several key principles which guided both the culture of the settlement and its interactions with the Crown :

Unity: Parihaka was a refuge for people with diverse whakapapa and senses of identity. These diverse identities were acknowledged, but were subsumed within the collective 'pan-tribal' identity of Parihaka. For example, while iwi groups were able to build marae for their people within Parihaka, outward symbols of tribal identity such as carvings were actively discouraged. Similarly, members of particular iwi were encouraged to form groups to perform at Parihaka events, but most of the poi and waiata performed recited the principles and experiences of Parihaka rather than of the particular iwi.

Collectivity: All activities within the settlement were coordinated to contribute to the betterment of the collective. While individuals could own possessions and accumulate resources, these were shared freely to ensure the well-being of the community and the achievement of collective goals.

Equality: People of high birth or status were expected to participate in roles that would otherwise be considered menial or debasing of their mana, and it was forbidden to mock people with physical or intellectual disabilities.

Goodwill: Compassion and non-violence were core concepts that were repeatedly reinforced in statements and waiata, and reflected in practices and tikanga. For example, pōwhiri at Parihaka were characterised by the sharing of hongi before speeches, which symbolised the acceptance of people into the community regardless of their intentions or past indiscretions.

Self-sufficiency: For Parihaka, self-sufficiency was a key aspect of self-determination. Parihaka developed extensive cultivations of both traditional and imported crops, embraced new technologies, and actively engaged in the growing settler economy. By doing so, Parihaka was able to sustain itself and support its many visitors. These activities were also powerful assertions of the right to retain ownership and authority over their customary lands and resources.

22. Initially, Crown officials commended the leaders of Parihaka for their promotion of peace and their ongoing efforts to improve the welfare of Māori people at Parihaka and elsewhere in Taranaki. However, by the end of the 1870s, when the influence of Parihaka had grown significantly, Crown officials began to view the settlement's promotion of Māori autonomy as a challenge to the authority of the Crown.
23. In 1878, the Crown sought to secure access to the fertile Waimate Plains in south Taranaki. After obtaining assurances from the Native Minister that large reserves would be made for Māori occupation, and that burial places, cultivations and fishing grounds would be protected, the Ngaruahine leader Titokowaru allowed surveyors to enter the plains. Te Whiti and Tohu agreed that the surveys should not be opposed, stating that it was "not advisable that blood should be spilt a second time on the land".
24. By the end of 1878 it became clear that the surveyors were not marking out the promised reserves. After surveyors cut lines through cultivations and a burial ground, south Taranaki Māori began to turn surveyors back and to remove their pegs. Titokowaru sought counsel at Parihaka, and in March 1879 Te Whiti ordered the surveyors to be peacefully evicted from the Waimate Plains. The following month, Te Whiti told a Crown official that he did not desire war, but wanted only "to be allowed to remain at peace on my own land." In the following weeks, communication between Parihaka and the Government broke down.

Protest and arrest

25. At the end of May 1879, Te Whiti and Tohu sent men out from Parihaka to plough land near Oakura on the western Taranaki coast. The ploughmen said that their intention was to force the Governor to come to Taranaki to discuss land issues. In line with Te Whiti's instructions, the ploughing was carried out in a peaceful manner. Over the following weeks, Taranaki Māori ploughed more land at Tapuae near Oakura, Pukearuhe, Opunake, Te Hawera and at various locations around the wider Waitara area. Throughout this time, the ploughmen continued to carry out their protests in conformity with Te Whiti's instructions. A Crown official described one group of ploughmen as "orderly and good tempered" and "very earnest and determined to do their work".

26. Settlers felt threatened by the protests and demanded an increased armed presence. On 1 June 1879, both the Governor and Premier of New Zealand arrived in New Plymouth and began to arm large numbers of settlers. They also stationed additional Armed Constabulary officers around the Taranaki district. On 25 June 1879, the Premier instructed a commander of the Armed Constabulary to arrest any ploughmen whose actions were likely to lead to a disturbance of the peace.
27. Over the following month, Crown forces arrested 182 ploughmen at locations around Taranaki. The first 136 men arrested appeared before the New Plymouth Magistrate Court and were transferred to Wellington to await trial in the Supreme Court. In January 1880 they were transferred to South Island prisons. The final forty-six ploughmen arrested were tried in the New Plymouth Magistrate's Court, found guilty of causing damage to land over £5 in value, and sentenced to two months imprisonment in Dunedin, some with hard labour. All were required to pay £600 sureties each for good behaviour for a period of twelve months.
28. The Crown offered to release the elderly Taranaki Iwi rangatira Wiremu Kingi Te Matakatea soon after his arrest. He declined, stating that "it is good of the Pākehā to think of me, but I will not leave the prison, if my children are to suffer, we will suffer together. If I may go, let them go also. Our hands are not soiled with crime and therefore we are not pouri about being imprisoned".
29. Soon after the last ploughmen were arrested, the Māori Prisoners' Trial Act 1879 was passed to enable the time and location of the prisoners' trials to be changed for any reason. As a result, none of the first 136 ploughmen arrested ever received a trial, and all of the forty-six prisoners who did receive trials were detained for periods longer than the sentences imposed on them by the Court.

The First West Coast Commission

30. In January 1880 the Crown appointed the West Coast Commission to inquire into the grievances of Taranaki Māori concerning confiscated land. The Commission's inquiry was limited to investigating Compensation Court awards and specific Crown promises, and did not extend to considering the fairness of the confiscations and compensation process.
31. The Commission concluded that many promises had not been kept by the Crown, including promises to provide reserves for Māori. Among other things, the Commissioners attributed the problems in south and central Taranaki to the Crown's failure to establish reserves, noting that the Māori people involved 'have never known what land they might call their own'. However, the Commissioners also stated that 'the true solution of the trouble on the coast is, after all, occupation and settlement; and that, as on the Plains so even more certainly at the very doors of Parihaka, the establishment of English homesteads, and the fencing and cultivation of the land, will be the surest guarantee of peace.'
32. The Commission recommended that 25,000 acres of land within the Parihaka block be reserved for Māori, and that a further 10,000 acres on the seaward side of the coast road be made available for allocation by the Compensation Court.

The Arrest of the Fencers

33. Early in 1880, the Armed Constabulary was sent to repair and work on a coastal road through the Parihaka district. When the road reached the Parihaka block, the troops pulled down fences around Māori cultivations, exposing them to their horses and wandering stock. Some soldiers also looted Māori property. Residents of Parihaka repaired the fences to protect their crops, and Crown forces pulled them down again. On 19 July 1880, the Armed Constabulary began to arrest the fencers. Four days later, the Māori Prisoners Act 1880 was passed. This Act stated that it was 'not deemed necessary to try' the ploughmen who remained in prison, and made the arrest of the fencers and their subsequent detention without trial lawful.
34. Te Whiti and Tohu continued to send out small parties of men and women each day to repair the fences, and by the end of August 1880, another 157 people had been arrested. None of the first 157 fencers arrested ever received a trial, and they too were sent to South Island prisons. In September 1880, the West Coast Settlements (North Island) Act was passed to make activities such as removing survey pegs, erecting fences and ploughing criminal offences. On 4 September, fifty-nine more fencers arrested were tried under this Act, found guilty of obstructing a constabulary road, and sentenced to two years of hard labour in Lyttleton. On 5 September 1880, the final seven fencers arrested were sent directly to Lyttleton without trial.
35. In total, the Crown imprisoned 405 men and boys, including 182 ploughmen and 223 fencers for their participation in the peaceful resistance campaigns of 1879 and 1880.

Imprisonment and release

36. Prison conditions in the South Island were harsh and included hard labour. Contemporary reports described gross overcrowding and prisoners being subject to solitary confinement on bread and water rations for up to seven weeks for "trifling offences". Prisoners later complained of insufficient rations, while at one location prisoners were reported to have been forced to swim out to sea and back at gunpoint for the "amusement" of prison sentries. The detrimental impact of these conditions was compounded by the effects of exile.
37. The prisoners were released between October 1880 and June 1881. Those fencers released at this time had been in prison for between 10 and 12 months, while those ploughmen released had been in prison for almost two years. A few of those released were reported to be very unwell.
38. Four prisoners died while in exile from Taranaki. In 1880, Watene Tupuhi and Pererangi of Te Atiawa died of consumption in Dunedin, and in 1881 another Te Atiawa member, Pitiroi Paekawa, died of unknown causes. All three men were buried in paupers' graves in Dunedin's North Cemetery. A fourth prisoner, Tame Raiha, died while imprisoned at Mount Cook jail in Wellington.
39. Taranaki Māori oral traditions record the grief that prisoners suffered as a result of their separation from their homes, community, wives, children and families. *[Could include examples here?]*
40. The removal of 405 men and boys from Parihaka and other Taranaki communities created considerable hardship for those who remained. Taranaki Iwi remember that these imprisonments and the consequent loss of labour reduced the once prosperous Parihaka

community to a state of subsistence living, and had extreme impacts on whānau and kinship structures within the papakainga (village). Furthermore, Taranaki Iwi recall that the survival of Parihaka papakainga at this time relied on the resilience, courage and leadership of the community's women. This is symbolised in an aphorism encouraging Parihaka women to take on the roles of men in their absence: "E tu tamawahine i te wa o te kore" (women will arise out of a time of extreme adversity).

Second West Coast Commission

41. In December 1880 the Crown appointed a second West Coast Commission to implement the return of land to Taranaki Māori. In total, the second West Coast Commission arranged grants for 214,675 acres of confiscated land to be returned to Māori of Taranaki. Much of the returned land was rough, inaccessible, or covered in bush, and did not include enough quality agricultural land to provide for the present and future needs of Taranaki Māori. Less than two per cent of the reserved land was made absolutely inalienable, and by the end of the nineteenth century, legislation had removed all restrictions on the alienation of Māori reserves. Further, virtually all of the Commission's awards were returned under individual title, overriding customary forms of land tenure and making the reserves more susceptible to alienation.
42. Within the 56,000 acre Parihaka block, 21,482 acres were granted as reserves to 590 Māori individuals, significantly less than the 25,000 acres that the first Commission had recommended. Most of the fertile 15,000 acre coastal section of the block was retained by the Crown and on-sold to settlers, with only some urupa, small traditional cultivation sites and small fishing stations located at stream-mouths being reserved for Māori. Except for these reserves and other areas allocated for public reserves, the Crown sold the remainder of the block.

The Invasion of Parihaka

43. By the end of 1880, the Native Minister, John Bryce, had come to view Parihaka and the powerful influence of its leaders as a direct challenge to the authority of the Queen's law.
44. From June 1881, tensions grew as Crown forces engaged in road-making again opened fences around cultivations near Parihaka, and as residents of Parihaka again repaired them. The Crown again increased the Armed Constabulary presence around Parihaka. In September, Pākehā reporters published stories stating that recent speeches by Te Whiti and Tohu, delivered in te reo, had suggested violent intent. Te Whiti immediately stated that he had been misinterpreted and that he "did not mean to fight".
45. In October 1881, the Crown issued a proclamation giving Te Whiti fourteen days to accept the reserves that had been recommended by the West Coast Commission and to "submit to the law of the Queen". If he refused, the offer would be withdrawn and all previous Crown promises "will have passed away". In the following week more than 1,500 Armed Constabulary and volunteers gathered around Parihaka. Te Whiti and Tohu informed the people of Parihaka of the impending action and encouraged them to be steadfast in their commitment to non-violence. [*Could possibly use quote that was used in the Taranaki Iwi account: Takoto e te iwi i raro i nga korero a nga whakatupuranga...?*]

46. Shortly after 5:00am on 5 November 1881, 945 armed volunteers and 644 Armed Constabulary, led by the Native Minister, invaded and occupied the settlement of Parihaka. Its residents offered no resistance. Parihaka's leaders declined to respond to the Crown's proclamation, and after the assembled residents refused to disperse, Tohu and Te Whiti were arrested. As he was arrested, Te Whiti o Rongomai told his people to "be of good heart and patient". Tohu Kākahi said that "we looked for peace and find war. Be steadfast. Keep to peaceful works. Be not dismayed. Have no fear."
47. In the following two weeks, more than 1,500 residents were evicted from Parihaka. Soldiers ransacked houses and stole greenstone taonga, mats, cloaks, and other treasures. Te Whiti's son later reported that Te Whiti had lost a cloak so rare that "money could not buy it". Troops also stole or killed livestock, and systematically destroyed forty-five acres of cultivations. As troops pulled out the crops, Parihaka residents presented them with a gift of potatoes. In late November the Native Minister ordered the "sacred medicine-house" at Parihaka to be demolished. Entry into Parihaka was regulated by a pass system.
48. Women suffered rape by Crown troops after the invasion of Parihaka. This caused profound trauma for the women involved, their families, and their descendents to the present day. The women of Parihaka later composed and performed the following poi which described their experiences being raped or otherwise molested by Crown troops, and the anguish that followed:

*Muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga
 Mā te huki anō ka tae mai ka whāki
 Kātahi au ka mahara ko au pea e
 Te pakia e te ngutu, te hāwenga i kaipeke
 Tū mai e Riki whakaponohia mai
 E tika kei a taka kihei te huruhuru i whakapiki ki runga
 Ki tō kai ngā kanohi kei raro o te hope kei te herepū e
 E pae kawau ana ka rato mai ki te tini
 Nā mua ra e te tau te karawhiunga mai
 Ka kino te tara nei ka kitea tinitia
 Nā Tiki whakapuare, nā Tiki whakakōtata
 Nga mahi a te tipua e mau nei e
 Ka kai mai ō mata ka tomo mai ki roto
 E rongu matua ake nā te hika i tū e
 Te uinga i raro nei, te komenga mai ō ngutu i*

*As evening falls I lay on my bed, unable to act
 Another generation arrives and is informed of the ordeal,
 My thoughts are overwhelmed knowing that it is I
 who is the subject of gossip and derision carried afar.
 Rise up Riki (Te Ariki, Archangel Michael), believe my statements to be the truth
 It is true that this happened just prior to puberty
 I was the object of their desire, gazed upon, below my hips, virginity intact
 They were like cormorants on their perch, ready to lunge, at any chance. I was exploited.*

*Please my dear one, this impact from the past still tortures me
My women-hood bears this abhorrent affliction, it was witnessed by all
It was Tiki (personification of the phallus) who forced open, it was Tiki who tore apart
It was that monster who left its mark
Look upon me now, put yourself in my place,
Comprehend this, lust's vile act and perverted sexual desires has defiled,
My motherhood is now questioned, bringing resentment to your lips.*

49. The mass eviction and the destruction of crops placed many of Parihaka's former residents at risk of starvation. Māori from southern Taranaki sent supplies of food to people displaced from Parihaka, but some residents were reduced to gathering and selling edible fungus to earn money to buy food.
50. In December 1881, the Crown announced that it would retain 5,000 acres of the Parihaka reserve and a further 5,000 acres of the Waimate Plains reserves as "an indemnity for the loss sustained by the government in suppressing the ... Parihaka sedition".
51. In early 1882 Crown forces prevented Māori from elsewhere in Taranaki from sending supplies to Parihaka in an attempt to prevent the monthly meetings from reviving. However in April 1882, 800 people gathered at Parihaka and held a short meeting before being dispelled by the Armed Constabulary. The following day Armed Constabulary reinforcements travelled to Parihaka and pulled down more houses as a punishment for holding a meeting against Crown orders.
52. The Armed Constabulary continued its occupation of Parihaka for four more years. In March 1883, the 'station' at Parihaka was the largest in New Zealand with 103 permanent members. Sixty Armed Constabulary members remained at Parihaka in 1884, before the station finally closed in March 1885.

The Trial of Te Whiti and Tohu

53. Te Whiti and Tohu were taken to New Plymouth jail and charged with sedition. In April 1882, they were transferred to Addington jail in Christchurch to await a Supreme Court trial. In July, the West Coast Peace Preservation Act was passed to provide for Te Whiti and Tohu to be detained without being tried for the offence they had been charged with. The Act also enabled the Crown to imprison Te Whiti and Tohu at any place the Governor saw fit, to release them at any time, and to re-arrest them at any time without charge.
54. Te Whiti and Tohu were exiled in the South Island without trial for sixteen months. On several occasions, they were offered their freedom, reserves, and a Government income on the condition that they would agree to cease assembling people at Parihaka. These offers were refused. Te Whiti and Tohu visited several Māori communities in the South Island, forming some long-lasting connections. The two leaders were released in February 1883 and escorted back to Taranaki the following month. Both remained subject to re-arrest and imprisonment without charge.

Continuing Protest

55. In 1884, Crown officials wrote that Māori in Taranaki maintained strong support for Tohu and Te Whiti, and noted that the influence of Parihaka was 'producing effects' in many other parts of the North Island. Māori from the South Island sent frequent gifts of fruit, fish, and preserved birds, while gifts of preserved eels, albatrosses, and money was received from the Chatham Islands. The population of Parihaka remained about 1,500 in 1884.
56. After legislation lapsed in August that year, Te Whiti and Tohu were able to once again legally assemble people at Parihaka. For the next two years, groups of up to 2,000 people gathered at Parihaka and then traversed Taranaki to raise awareness about Māori land grievances.
57. Iwi from across Taranaki provided Parihaka with material assistance to enable these mass processions. Support continued after the marches ended, and Parihaka used the donated funds to build several large guest houses and meeting houses at Parihaka. The settlement's streets were paved, electric lighting, water and drainage systems were installed, and several shops and a Bank were established. The residents of Parihaka helped to sustain the community by labouring and running agricultural contracts throughout Taranaki that involved seed sowing, cropping and other skills developed during imprisonment.
58. In July 1886, the ploughing campaign resumed. Te Whiti, Titokowaru and eight others were arrested, and Te Whiti was sentenced to three months in prison. Te Whiti was arrested again in late 1889 following a disputed debt, and served three months in New Plymouth jail. During this time his wife Hikurangi fell ill and died. Crown officials declined to release Te Whiti for her tangi.
59. In the 1890s, many Parihaka people refused to accept the rents accruing from the West Coast Reserves out of protest against the regime under which they had been returned. Rather than return the reserves to the ownership of Māori, the Crown vested them in the Public Trustee, who was given full power to sell the alienable reserves and lease the inalienable ones. Much of the land under the Public Trustee's administration was leased to Pākehā farmers without the consent of the owners. In 1892, the West Coast Settlement Reserves Act enabled European farmers to convert their fixed-term leases to perpetually renewable leases of twenty-one year terms, and many did.
60. In 1897, many Parihaka residents resumed ploughing to protest the Public Trustee's administration of the Taranaki reserves. About 130 ploughmen were arrested and, after refusing to pay the ten shilling fine, were imprisoned for one year.
61. In addition to the ongoing protests conducted by Parihaka residents, at least one community set itself up elsewhere in New Zealand to emulate the work of Parihaka. The leader of this community was Te Mahuki, a Ngati Kinohaku man who had lived at Parihaka from the late 1870s and was among those imprisoned without trial for participating in the ploughing campaign of 1879. Upon his release Te Mahuki returned to his hapū at Te Kumi, near Te Kuiti, and established a community which adopted Parihaka songs and speeches, and even replicated the location of buildings. Under the name of Tekau-ma-rua, the community at Te Kumi actively resisted the encroachment of Pākehā into the King Country. Te Mahuki was imprisoned several times for various acts of resistance, and died in prison in 1899.

Parihaka in the Twentieth Century

62. By the end of the nineteenth century, a separation had occurred between Tohu and Te Whiti. In early 1895, Tohu delivered a speech in which he counselled the people of Parihaka to leave matters to himself and Te Whiti to settle:

Whakarongo ake e nga iwi nei. E whakamarama naku ki a koutou ki te take i wehe ai maua ko Te Whiti. Na lhowa ano i wahi to maua ioka, ehara i te tangata i wahi to maua ioka. Tokorua maua he mea whakawahi na lhowa, na to maua Atua. Na maua ano ka pakaru maua, e wehe nei maua. Kauga te tangata hei aru ki runga ki to maua raruraru. Waiho mai ki a maua anake. Kei te mohio ia, kei te mohio au. Ki te rere to tangata ki runga ki to maua raruraru, ka whara ia.

Listen to me my people. This is to enlighten you on the subject of the separation of Te Whiti and myself. It was Jehovah who broke apart the yoke binding us together, men did not break our yoke apart. We two were anointed by Jehovah, by our God. It was by our doing alone that we broke up and are now separated. Don't let anyone think to follow us on account of our trouble. Leave it for us two alone. He knows, and I know. If anyone proceeds on the basis of our trouble he will do wrong.

63. Both Te Whiti and Tohu died in 1907.
64. Soon after, the population of Parihaka began to decrease as residents who had come from outside Taranaki returned to their homes. Over the following decades, the permanent population of Parihaka decreased further, and by 1949 the Māori Electoral Roll listed only 23 people of voting age living at the settlement. Despite this, the kaupapa of Parihaka was preserved, in large part through the continuation of monthly meetings at Manukorihi near Waitara and at Ketemarae in south Taranaki.
65. The events that had occurred at Parihaka received little attention in twentieth century works of New Zealand history. In 1959, the government's official *Descriptive Atlas of New Zealand* removed Parihaka from the map and replaced it with a settlement called 'Newall', named after the military officer who arrested Te Whiti and Tohu in 1881. Many of the buildings at Parihaka including Tohu's Te Rangikapuia fell into disrepair, and in 1960 Te Whiti's Te Raukura building burned down.
66. The declining population of Parihaka in the middle years of the twentieth century mirrored that of many other rural Māori communities over this period. [Research still being conducted into Māori urbanisation in Taranaki]. One of the main reasons for this change was a steady decrease in employment opportunities in rural areas, and increasing opportunities in urban areas. In the area around Parihaka, this was very likely exacerbated by a further wave of alienation of the West Coast reserves. Between 1916 and 1925, the Crown purchased over 8,500 acres (or 38%) of the land that had been reserved for Māori within the Parihaka block.
67. These losses exacerbated the already low levels of income that were being derived from the Māori reserved lands around Parihaka. In 1908, 9,000 acres of the lands reserved within the Parihaka block were being leased by the Public Trustee, for a total income of £1,500. However this was not the sum the Māori owners of the reserves received, as the Public Trustee deducted

money to cover expenses such as bush-felling, roading, surveying, and administration. Some owners continued to refuse any payments from the reserved land. The Parihaka reserve, for example, generated an income £340 in 1907, but only £64 of this was paid to owners.

68. By 1912, Europeans held 138,510 of the remaining 193,966 acres of Taranaki reserve land under either thirty-year or perpetually-renewable leases. Māori held only 24,800 under less secure licences at will. A further 25,798 acres were held as "papakainga or commonages", which referred to the communal land upon which Māori homes and settlements rested. Most of the reserve lands promised to Māori for their use and occupation during the nineteenth century were therefore used and occupied by European farmers.
69. In 1934 Taranaki Māori successfully appealed against further rent reductions in the Supreme Court. In response the Government introduced legislation to amend the definition of improvements, effectively nullifying the court decision.
70. By 1976, 63 percent of the Māori reserves created in Taranaki had been sold by the officials administering them. Today less than five percent of the reserved land in Taranaki is owned as Māori freehold land.

Development schemes

71. Over time, the partitioning of Taranaki reserves for sale and through inheritance meant that many reserves became divided among large numbers of owners. In the 1930s, Native Minister Apirana Ngata established Māori Land Development Schemes to amalgamate fragmented Māori land-holdings into economically viable farms. While the schemes aimed to have Māori landowners farming the land, the Crown retained significant administrative control, and charged the costs of development schemes against the land for which they were incurred. Many land blocks accumulated large amounts of debt.
72. Compared to many other areas of New Zealand, Taranaki had relatively few development schemes, due to the scarcity of Māori-held land not already utilised by Pākehā farmers under perpetual leases. The Parihaka Development Scheme was created during the early 1950s, after the local Council applied to bring several sections around Parihaka under the administration of the Māori Trustee because of unpaid rates and the presence of noxious weeds. By 1954, the Parihaka Development Scheme comprised 1,600 acres, and included the site of the Parihaka pā. Stock was grazed on the pā, causing significant distress to residents. By 1972, the Parihaka Development Scheme carried debt of \$223,000 on land valued at \$274,000. In 1986, the land was released back to the Māori owners with an associated debt of \$250,000.

The Legacy of Parihaka

73. Parihaka was established as a refuge from war, grew into a centre of protest, and was dismantled after military invasion. The history of Crown aggression against Parihaka has burdened the followers of Tohu and Te Whiti with a legacy of grievance and deprivation ever since. For many other New Zealanders, this history has made Parihaka a potent and enduring symbol of Crown oppression and peaceful resistance.

74. The history of the Crown's repeated injustices against Parihaka should never be forgotten. However, the people of Parihaka do not wish to be defined by the historical injustices they have suffered. For Parihaka, the legacy of grievance and deprivation has prevented the true legacy of Tohu and Te Whiti from being fulfilled.
75. The symbols of the plough, the white feather, and the references to Tohu and Te Whiti as leaders in the development of peaceful resistance are well known elements of this legacy. However, a deeper appreciation of the history of Parihaka – beyond the community's protest action, the invasion and imprisonment – reveals principles and purposes that are as valid today as they were in the past.
76. The role of Parihaka as a place of refuge open to all regardless of whakapapa was a founding principle at the establishment of the settlement and still applies today. Related to this is the principle of open communication, under which all members of the community are actively encouraged to express their views openly, honestly, and respectfully.
77. This is exemplified by the monthly meetings that the followers of Tohu and Te Whiti have maintained for almost 150 years. These meetings bring many benefits, including the fostering of te reo Māori and Taranaki reo, the passing on of Parihaka tikanga (such as manaakitanga and manuhiritanga), the teaching of traditional knowledge such as waiata and poi, and discussions about their meaning. Participants also discuss the ways in which the teachings of Tohu and Te Whiti can be applied to a broad range of contemporary challenges. Underlying these discussions is the belief that the talk itself is the rongoa or 'medicine'. Ultimately, it is this commitment to communicate that binds Parihaka together in a spirit of mutual empowerment.
78. Today, Parihaka continues to face many challenges. In the 1970s, residents of Parihaka initiated significant repairs to buildings such as Te Niho o Te Atiawa marae and Te Rangikapuia. However much work remains to be done. In the spirit of self-sufficiency and innovation, Parihaka is planning to design and build new homes that address contemporary challenges by using renewable energy, maximising energy efficiency, and managing waste sustainably. Parihaka has a small area of land within the papakainga (approximately seven hectares) that it uses for food production, and residents continue to explore ways to farm more effectively and sustainably. To this end, the Parihaka community has established a relationship with Massey University to research viable sources of renewable energy such as wind, solar and water. Members of the Parihaka community are also considering how best to conserve and care for the land that remains in their care, and to provide opportunities that will enable people to return to the community permanently.
79. The fulfilment of these aspirations will represent an important step towards the fulfilment of the legacy of hope that Tohu and Te Whiti promoted. It will also be a first step towards transforming Parihaka from a symbol of historic Crown oppression to a symbol of resilience, innovation, sustainability, and self-determination. For the people of Parihaka, this will mean release at last from the legacy of grievance, and a first step into a positive future.