

Reclaiming the Role of Rongo: The Pacifist Traditions of Parihaka.

Introduction:

This paper seeks to introduce a form of radical politics centred on the role of Rongo, the Māori god of peace. As part of the focus on Rongo, this paper will discuss the pacifist traditions of Parihaka, the Day of Reconciliation and what the future trajectory for Parihaka may hold. The theoretical analysis will encompass a discourse analysis of the traditional waiata or Maori songs, as well as highlight the living history component of Parihaka by following an autoethnographic approach. The central question behind this paper asks whether the pacifism of the past influenced by the scriptures is less influential and needs to be replaced by an understanding of Rongo – a revolutionary and radical form of nonviolent politics.

History and context of Parihaka:

Parihaka was established in 1867 in Taranaki, the west coast of the north island of New Zealand. It wasn't the first Maori settlement of peace in Taranaki, it followed on from other attempts to establish a peaceful community at Warea, Ngākumikumi, Te Puru, Kēkēua and Waikoukou. The leaders of the movement Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi were well versed in the bible and decided to provide refuge to the landless Maori of Taranaki who had suffered the land confiscations in the 1860's. Although the land was confiscated, it wasn't enforced north of the Waingōngoro river from 1865 to 1878. (Riseborough, 1989, p. 31) The influence of Parihaka grew overtime, and it became difficult for government officials to bypass Te Whiti and Tohu, who were patient on waiting for their reserves that were promised to them. The resistance movement was reinforced by the monthly hui held at

Parihaka, where decisions were made to counter the encroachment into Maori land. A meeting in March 1870 was attended by Robert Parris who went to encourage Te Whiti to allow the building of the roads into Taranaki. Hazel Riseborough shares the following sentiment regarding Te Whiti's position with the roadmaking.

Te Whiti knew full well that roadmaking was but the thin end of the wedge of European encroachment and warned the gathering to beware lest by agreeing to this first step, they lose their land and become homeless. 'Take the people with you' he said to Parris, 'make the road, take them to town, let them have access to everything, and if they steal or get drunk, mind you do not imprison them.

(Riseborough, 1989, pp. 35, 36)

Another meeting in September 1870 attended by up to 1,200 people was to set up to discuss 'the question of peace and war with the English' As the influence of Te Whiti and Tohu grew other iwi and hapū who were disenchanted by the weak promises of the government to provide reserves decided to join the Parihaka community. They were the Ngāti Rahiri people of Te Ātiawa, the Ngāti Tūpaea hapū of Ngāti Ruanui, and the Ngāti Mutunga people who had just returned from the Chatham islands and were excluded from the Compensation Court awards. (Riseborough, 1989, p. 36) Government attempts to quell the resistance movement enlisted the help from outside chiefs, namely Rewi Maniapoto, who organised a meeting in Whaitara.

About 5,000 people poured into Whaitara from the four winds, including all the leading chiefs from Whanganui, Wellington, Ōtaki, Waikanae, Heretaunga and Maniapoto territory. A public holiday was to be proclaimed in New Plymouth and surroundings and the leading citizens planned a banquet and ball on a 'suitable scale' to commemorate the occasion. (Riseborough, 1989, p. 39)

Te Whiti and Tohu never attended this meeting but instead sent 'thirty, forty, fifty cartloads of food' Despite their non-attendance it was shown that by feeding the visitors who arrived, that Parihaka was an economic and political force that would decide on process of peace-making according to the authority of the prophets - not an outsider chief.

Once the surveying began in 1878, it sparked the resistance from Parihaka beginning with the removal of the surveyor's pegs, in 1879. Riseborough describes the government's actions as 'provocative' an 'indifference to Maori sensibility and to justice and morality'

Failure to make reserves on the ground was not just careless, but a reflection of a deeply rooted view that Europeans could do what they liked in the country they governed, and that their actions in the interests of the colony were *ipso facto* in the interests of the Maori people. (Riseborough, 1989, p. 55)

Importantly, the surveys and the resistance spurred a tirade of communications between the government officials and Te Whiti, that demonstrated his resoluteness to not bow down to parliamentary supremacy. It is replete with imagery and exquisite metaphor – yet clearly a staunch position against the legitimacy of colonial law and their right to conquest.

The government has no claim on the lands this side of Waingongoro...Why did you not occupy them at the time of your conquest? According to Maori custom you should have done so...My blanket is mine...You want to cut my blanket in two. It will be too small for me then. (Riseborough, 1989, p. 60)

John Sheehan the Native Minister of the time had a 'disastrous' meeting with Te Whiti on the 22nd of March 1879 where the 'confrontation accelerated' (Waterson, 1993) and eventually led to Te Whiti to begin the ploughing of land.

On Sunday 25 May 1879, in a symbolic assertion of proprietorship, he sent his ploughman, unarmed, to cut his moko into the land at Oakura where the second Taranaki war began in 1863. (Riseborough, 1989, p. 68)

Eventually it would force the hand of the government to start arresting the ploughman, which they did on 29 June.

The first batch of eleven ploughman was committed for trial on 5 July...charged with malicious injury, forcible entry and riot...the arrests continued throughout the month on 5 July 90 ploughman were in custody, the next day 105. (Riseborough, 1989, p. 76)

When the government under the leadership of John Bryce the Native Minister from 1879 to 1884 and William Rolleston decided to invade Parihaka on November the 5th 1881 for the civil and non-violent resistance of the followers of Te Whiti and Tohu, Parihaka experienced the “Rā pāhua” or the “Day of plunder”. It became a defining moment in the history of Parihaka and New Zealand. 1600 volunteers and the armed constabulary invaded Parihaka, they destroyed the village and forced the inhabitants to disperse and arrested Tohu and Te Whiti. ‘The government managed to suppress all official documents relating to these events, and their publication in New Zealand was delayed until 1883 and 1884.’ (Riseborough, 1993).

Both Tohu and Te Whiti were imprisoned for 16 months. A detailed sketch of their imprisonment is written in John P. Wards (1883) book: Wanderings with the Maori Prophets Te Whiti and Tohu. Importantly, when they both came back, as according to Joe Ritai ‘...they went down in Maori clothing and came back in European clothing, signifying that they had accepted the Pakeha way of life’. (A. Smith, 1990, p. 118)

Te Whiti decided to use money as a source of 'koha' or donation to provide for Parihaka, when he said:

E te iwi, tohungia atu i te tōta nei. He aha te āhua o te puta mai i roto i a ia? He turned the saucer up, he put his hand in his pocket and placed a shilling in the saucer, and said, *'E te iwi, ko tō arohā, ko tō kete kai, ō mataitai ō kumara ō tuna, ka mutu i tēnei rā. Mā tēnei e ora ai te tangata'...*" My people from this day your kit of food, your arohā, your mātaimai – that's your seafood – your tuna (and all the things that people were living on, karaka berries and all that), are finished. (A. Smith, 1990, p. 119)

Since then Parihaka has celebrated this custom as part of the monthly meetings every 18th and 19th. Te Whiti was rearrested in 1886, and again in 1889, the first time for the people building make-shift buildings on confiscated land, and the second arrest was for a disputed debt of 203 pounds. (Parihaka, 2017) The last prisoners to be released back to Parihaka came back in 1898. Both Tohu and Te Whiti died in 1907, leaving a 40-year legacy of resistance as leaders who stood their ground and never faulted from their position over their legitimate right to govern their land.

Te Rā o te Haeata – The Day of Reconciliation

"The Crown responded to peace with tyranny, to unity with division, and to autonomy with oppression."

(Te Kawenata o Rongo Deed of Reconciliation, 2017, p. 10)

On June the 9th 2017 the crown officially apologised and began a process of reconciliation with the community of Parihaka. Spearheaded by the Papa Kāinga Trustees the deed of reconciliation or Te Kawenata o Rongo set out the following as to the purpose of the agreement.

- recognise the importance of Parihaka and its legacy;
- acknowledge the significant historical events that occurred at Parihaka; and
- provide support for Parihaka's future development.

On that basis, Te Kawenata o Rongo records the following matters agreed by Parihaka and the Crown:

- a legacy statement;
- a Crown apology to the Parihaka community;
- the development of a draft Parihaka bill;
- a Parihaka-Crown leader's forum;
- a relationship agreement with specified local authorities and Crown agencies; and
- a fund to support Parihaka's future development. (*Te Kawenata o Rongo Deed of Reconciliation, 2017, p. 3*)

It has taken 150 years for the government of New Zealand to reconcile with the Parihaka people since the establishment of the community in 1867. It also took 150 years for the Parihaka community to formally reach an agreement with the crown as well. Te Kawenata o Rongo literally means the Covenant of Rongo (the god of peace), although it may be confused for being the Deed of Reconciliation. It essentially means a sacred agreement between the agreed parties and the god of peace – who is Rongo. That aside, Te Rā o te Haeata, which is a new dawning, or to be more specific, a new beginning – represents a new era for Parihaka. A chance to rebuild a community who has survived despite the length of time it was ignored. To a certain extent when reconciliation can be seen, as it is described by the quote below, it opens a lot of possibilities:

“Reconciliation depends on the Arendtian moment of the political because it is a revolutionary moment in which ‘the people’ constitutes itself by taking back power from the state. For, in so far as it is a political undertaking, reconciliation is not about restoring a moral order but initiating a new political order. When conceived in these terms, reconciliation is not about settling accounts but remains as an unsettling experience since it seeks to enact a radical break with the social order that underpinned the violence of the past.” (Schaap, 2006, p. 272)

A ‘radical break with the social order’ can be seen at many levels. Already, there have been a lot of innovative projects take place at Parihaka, such as Taiepa Tiketike.¹ Although, it has only been 6 months since the Day of Reconciliation, the community is vibrant as ever, and continues to maintain the traditions that are specific to Parihaka. The way forward will undoubtedly be the continuation of the current traditions that are followed in Parihaka, as well as the provisions set out in Te Kawenata o Rongo. Other initiatives, such as the idea to have a Parihaka Day on the 5th of November as a day of commemoration for wider New Zealand will be a challenge, but could also be catalyst for change. This compels the question as to whether Parihaka still practices pacifism, or not.

Understanding the resistance narrative(s) of Parihaka:

“Not all acts of resistance are the same; each is conditioned by particular locational and historical contexts that risk being suppressed under the weight of any homogenizing rubric.” (Wakeham, 2012, p. 25)

Asking the question as to whether Parihaka has a pacifist tradition or not, and whether this is a part of an appendage of a long-term colonial legacy that has reinforced the

¹ www.parihaka.org.

notion of Parihaka as indeed being exactly that - a pacifist community is relevant. When the political resistance strategies employed by the Parihaka people are illustrated as they are by Peter Low and Ailsa Smith in "Legacy and Future Nonviolence" (1996)

"Methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion used by the Parihaka people included the following: public speeches, wearing of symbols, singing, marches and assemblies of protest and support.

Methods of social non-cooperation were consumers boycott, a policy of austerity, refusal to leave property, revenue refusal, and refusal of government money,

Methods of political non-cooperation were refusal to assist enforcement agents 'sit down' and disobeying of illegitimate laws.

Methods of nonviolent intervention included hunger strike, nonviolent harassment, nonviolent obstruction, overloading of facilities, alternative social institutions and the seeking of imprisonment"

It can be construed, at least historically that pacifism or the nonviolent action of Parihaka was robust, to say the least. Highly subjective the notion of what a 'pacifist community' constitutes may be, by at least raising the discussion to a point where we can traverse the 'indigenous pacifist' landscape, and see the extent to which Parihaka and its tradition(s) fit, or not may answer these questions. It is to 'redress the balance' (Devere, Te Maihāroa, Solomon, & Wharehoka, 2017, p. 54) an add to the dearth of academic literature on indigenous pacifism, and in particular, adding to the insider voices of Parihaka. Bridging the divide between peace tradition(s) and pacifism, from a Western and an indigenous perspective is a complex task given the socio-historical and cultural differences that exist.

Nevertheless, the 'local turn' that comes from being part of the 'global south' (Roger Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013, p. 763) as part of wider indigenous peace-making traditions has implications as well for global initiatives to help with 'peace-making interventions' (R. Mac Ginty, 2008, p. 140)

It also raises other pertinent questions such as: What is an indigenous or Maori pacifist tradition and who practises it? Did these movements identify with pacifism as a unique feature of their founding philosophy? Or were their philosophies misunderstood because of the lack indigenous or Maori knowledge being utilised to see the nuances, the tribal differences, the role of Tūmataunga and other deities? Just as relevant, what can the socio-historical narrative of Parihaka offer by uncovering some of the conceptual differences and similarities if its syncretic nature is part of a wider struggle for recognition of indigenous pacifism. That, in turn becomes a unique part of Aotearoa/New Zealand? Is there a connection that pacifism has with the concept of 'mana' that is unlike the connection between 'power' and 'pacifism'? How do Maori communities that do not subscribe to pacifism view those that do? What is a conscientious objector in Maori society?

The definition of pacifism can be expanded upon and in doing so reveals some distinctive features that is particularly Maori, and part of a geopolitical context that is particularly Taranaki – that in turn – influenced the resistance narratives of Parihaka.

Pushing the Taranaki worldview and the interface it has had with Parihaka as part of a recognition of the importance of the local and traditional influence is relevant. Tore Wig argues that:

“...groups with strong traditional institutions that are not in control of government are less likely to be involved in civil wars, because they have a high capacity for nonviolent bargaining” (Wig, 2016, pp. 520, 521)

Taranaki Iwi is replete with other narratives of peace-making that is integral to understanding the existing tribal worldview prior to the establishment of Parihaka. Firstly, the spiritual worldview was informed by the existence of many gods – Rongomaraeroa being one of them.

Te Ao o Rongomaraeroa: The world of Rongomaraeroa – the god of peace.

“Before the Pākehā taught him that there was such a thing as religion, the Maori had no term to show that he knew such a thing existed; but his reformers very quickly found that whilst he may have had no set term for it, the " state " of religion was something he was very well acquainted with, though he lived in it without actually professing it; it coloured the routine of his whole daily life.”(Andersen, 1940, p. 513)

Isolating Rongo away from, or looking at ways as to how Rongo intersects with other deities can be fruitful if it exists as part of the cultural norms and customs of Te Ao Māori. More importantly if Rongo is part of a wider political phenomenon of indigenous resistance to colonialism – as it is an integral part of the identity of Parihaka, then coming to an understanding of Rongo and how this god influences Māori forms of ontology, and political discourse can shed some light and understanding of this god. Moreover, to not recognise a potential source of peace that has been presiding - explicit or not, over Māori ways of asserting political influence is to not recognise the current ‘peace’ that exists in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Opening to an ontology that is grounded in tradition and part of

whakapapa, and how this is centred in indigenous knowledge traditions will help create the path to engage with Rongo.

Rongomaraeroa, the Māori god of peace, is recognised as the deity that signifies the Māori concept of peace. Rongomātane, another god – who is the deity that presides over cultivated food, is less known as being responsible for peace, despite the obvious sharing of the word “*Rongo*” According to the latest research on indigenous peace traditions the following provides a description of Rongo “The whare is the domain of Rongo, the atua of peace (also called Rongo Hīrea, Rongo-marae-roa-ā-Rangi, Rongo-mā-Tāne), who also presides over the entrance of the whare. He is the deity responsible for peace, humanitarian elements, emotions, generosity, sympathy and everything that comes under manaakitanga or hospitality.” (Devere et al., 2017, p. 55) Dispute resolution, or peace building can be described as “*Hohou te rongo*”, where peace is “*entered into*”, or can “*come in*”. The Rongo-ā-marae is peace entered through the guidance of men, whereas Rongo-ā-whare is enacted by women. (Mead, 2003) Typical of many Māori words, Rongo is both a noun and a verb. The name of the god of peace on one side, and to listen, feel, intuit – on the other. Both states co-existing as an external recognition of Rongo, the deity - and an internal process of engagement with the environment, or with oneself.

Significantly this is used as the translation of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict studies in New Zealand. The translation is sufficient to convey the concept of peace but is remiss in precluding the translation of conflict – which belongs to the domain of Tūmatauenga, the god of war, and the god of people. An important god nonetheless, and has wider appeal than Rongo, and is responsible for the warrior class – which is why according to Vayda gave Māori their popular reputation (Vayda, 1960) Spurned on by

European settlement, violence in Māori society increased as according Andrew Vayda (Vayda, 1961) and even had the subsequent effect of improving the expansion into the wider environment. (Vayda, 1956) The following quote rationalises the use of war in terms of tribal and territorial expansion

“...warfare had the function of maintaining the dispersion of people over the land and that this function was adaptive for the Māoris as a whole because it entailed a more extensive exploitation of the total New Zealand environment which, in turn, enabled the Māori population to continue to grow without the over-exploitation and degradation of particular localities.” (Vayda, 1970, p. 563)

To a certain extent, the classical relationship between peace and war, good and evil can be compared to that of Tū and Rongo. This however presumes that peace and war from a Māori point of view are diametrically opposed to each other, and all forms of violence and virtue are sourced from this classical struggle between good and evil. The moral division between good and evil as representative of the division between peace and war as a simple juxtaposition and transplanted as an explanatory rationale for Māori understandings of peace and war, and good and evil is partially true. It fails to grasp the basic and fundamental aspects of Māori ways of engaging with the metaphysical, and Māori spirituality by employing a judicial level of moral coercion within the narrative. The ethical framework that underpinned the morality the political social order of Māori was a virtue ethical framework. (Patterson, 1991)

“...An ethics of being rather than an ethics of doing” was the predominating way that cultivated better behaviour. The lack of emphasis ‘on moral rules and principles’ was a notable feature of the research.

Tribal traditions are varied and are relevant given the extent to which the tribal differences influence the many definitions of Rongo and Tū. Differences of understandings around ritual and the relationship between Tū and Rongo is varied - because of the essence of tribal epistemologies which doesn't give a consolidated view. Rongomātane the god of cultivated food has another complimentary deity – who is Haumietiketike, the god of uncultivated food. An important aspect of Rongo in this role as being a deity who presides over cooked food is the ritual function of removing the tapu or freeing up the spiritual restrictions that came with certain activities. This regulatory function of whakanoa allows a person or place to reengage with society and is symbolic of the multi-layers of relationships that come with Rongomaraeroa and Rongomātane.

An integral part of this decolonial narrative is the intersections, the discursive formations - the interactions. The 'emancipatory space creation' (Llewellyn, 2017, p. 9) and the 'decolonial turn' (Mignolo, 2011, p. 62) which is integral to venture into this space. The relationship between mana and Rongo; that exists in a totally different space as opposed to the Western notions of 'power' and 'pacifism'. The relationship "Rongo" has had, and will continue to have with "Mana" is in my view unlike the asymmetrical bond endured by pacifism and Western notions of power – although this would require more analysis and more research. Importantly however is recognising the theological differences of Rongo to that of other religions or spiritualities that have their own socio-political and historical roots to their belief systems that have influenced the social and political context of pacifism. Rongomaraeroa - the god of peace lacks scripture; moral instruction is not a part of the domain of Rongo. Rongo does not exist as part of a dynamic to extoll and cultivate virtue, nor has Rongo been instrumentalised to conquer and colonise. Elsdon Best gives this interesting narrative of Rongo:

“A Bay of Plenty version of the old primal myths shows that, in the dawn of time, when the offspring of Rangi and Papa fell a-quarrelling, Rongo desired that the conduct of affairs be placed in his hands. This proposal his brothers would not agree to, hence war and many other troubles ever afflict mankind. Had Rongo but obtained the direction of affairs, then peace would have prevailed on earth for all time. Man would have confined his energies to peaceful arts; quarrels and war would have been unknown.”(Best, 1924, p. 179)

I do note that the lack of tribal reference neglects a potential enriching of this narrative. Best also offers the following waiata; recorded as being sung by the Ringatū prophet Te Kooti Rikirangi. It is revealing in that it exposes a classical tension between peace and war. When peace takes the upper hand, it is the “*moenga kura*” or the “*bed of treasure*” When Tū gains the upper hand it becomes the “*moenga toto*” or the “*bed of blood*”

He waiata nā Te Kooti	
Māori	English
“E mahi ana anō a Tū rāua ko Rongo I tā rāua māra, koia Pōhutukawa Ka patua tētehi, koia moenga kura Ka patua tētehi, koia moenga toto Na rāua anō ka hē i te riri Ka tīkina ki raro rā, kia Marere-ō-tonga Ki a Timu-whakairia E ora ana te wānanga-e Mauria mai nei ko te rongo-ā-whare Ko te rongo-taketake Ki mua ki te atua Ka whakaoti te riri-e.” (Best, 1903, p. 198)	Such was the intensity of the force created by Tū and Rongo over their garden it created the Pōhutukawa. As they both struck each other, the ‘bed of treasure’ and the ‘bed of blood’ came forth. They were both responsible for the conflict. And so, it was obtained from Marere-ō-tonga and Timuwhakairia, to promote the legacy of knowledge. To usher in the peace of the feminine, the matriarchal and the mother as permanent peace – in front of the gods and cease all violence! (Translated by myself)

This song is also recorded in “Ngā Mōteatea”, (Ngata, 2005, pp. 80 - 83) but is referenced as coming from Ngāti Kahungunu:

A Peace-making song from Ngāti Kahungunu	
Māori	English
<p>“...Nō te kakaritanga o Tū rāua ko Rongo Ki tā rāua māra, koia Pōhutukawa. Ka patua tētahi, koia Moengakura; Ka patua tētahi, koia Moengatoto Na Uehā anō ka hē i te riri Ka ūnga ki waho ki a Marereōtonga Ki a Timuwhakairia, e ora ana te wānanga Mauria mai nei ko te rongō-ā-whare Ko te rongō taketake ki mua ki te atua Ka whakaoti te riri”</p>	<p>Because of the quarrel of Tū’ and Rongo’ Over their cultivation, hence Pōhutukawa Because of a killing, hence the Warrior’s Couch, Because of another killing, hence the Blood-Soaked Couch. It was Uehā who saw the folly of war; A messenger went forth to Marereōtonga, To Timuwhakairia, and the sacred assembly was revived. Thus, was brought hither the house of peace, Lasting peace to the presence of the Gods, And the fighting ended!</p>

It differs from Bests’ version and is already translated by Pei Te Hurinui Jones. It is called a peace-making song and has the following account that Apirana Ngata included to highlight some of the deeper themes in the song.

“Rongomaraeroa and Tūmātauenga quarrelled over a cultivation at Tawarua and Tawararo. Tūmātauenga arose in the evening and overcame Moengakura (The Warrior’s Couch). In the morning the other arose and overcame Moengatoto (The Blood-Soaked Couch). Io (The Supreme Being) set about constructing a palisaded fort complete with an elevated platform. ‘Uehā then bethought himself that mankind would disappear, and there would be no survivors in the world. How was mankind to survive? He therefore upon went out to Mārereōtonga, to bring about peace-making. He came but did not quite succeed. ‘Mohanuiterangi was then fetched, and peace was made; peace in the house, a sacred peace in the presence of God; fighting

then ceased. ‘Rongomaraeroa occupied himself in the cultivation of food, the assembling of travelling parties, dances, and the building of houses. Tūmātauenga occupied himself in warfare and fighting. The work of Io is to build palisaded forts. This song is therefore appropriate” (Ngata, 2005, p. 81)

Giving more depth to the context of Rongo, deeper conceptual description – because of the lack of discourse on Rongo should reveal the inner workings of Rongo and how his relevance as a force of indigenous peace can be understood.

The following table represents a conceptual analysis, an initial start of a typology of Rongo. Rongo-tau-tangata-matua is a term explained to me by our local Kaumatua, Huirangi Waikerepuru, which he refers to be the first child of the Sun, Rāngī and Papatūānuku, our Mother Earth. He makes the argument that being the first child; his role was to ensure planetary balance between the sun, the earth and the rest of the solar system. I’ve attempted to give more contemporary translations of our gods, where each god and their translation could potentially open new areas of research.

The second column represents a type of moral impetus that underpins the activities that come with Rongo. I must emphasize this is an only a beginning. Comparative analysis with other tribes, and other indigenous peoples, would enrich and our understanding of an important Polynesian and Maori god.

The Many Names and Faces of Rongo:	
Rongomaraeroa: Everyday peace	Celestial beginnings.
Rongomātane: Sustainable peace	Political and Economic Horizons.
Rongo-Tau-Tangata-Matua: Universal peace	Guiding the Covenant.
Rongo-mau: Recently enacted peace	Giving Voice to the Silenced.
Rongo-taketake: Established peace	Never Conforms to Hunger.
Rongo-ā-marae: Male enacted peace	Remover of Restrictions.
Rongo-ā-whare: Female enacted peace	Interplanetary Balance.

Rongopai: Christian peace Te Kawenata o Rongo: The compact of trust with Parihaka	Diametrically Opposed to War. Punishes the Self-Centered. Counter-Hegemonic. Caught in an Asymmetrical Position with Tu. Pre-exists Sovereignty Based forms of Peace. Food sovereignty
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Some of these descriptions may prove to be contentious to some, the gender-based limitations, the broad stroke of translation, the isolation away from the other gods.

Why Passive Resistance?

“Passive resistance” (Scott, 1975, 1989, 2014) as coined by Dick Scott has been the predominating description for the type of resistance used by Parihaka. Ranginui Walker describes the approach as a “*modus vivendi*.” (Walker, 1984, p. 271) - a latin term that refers to an agreement or arrangement that allows conflicting parties to coexist in peace.

Lacking a definitive term can explain as to the relative ‘neglect’ in modern society on nonviolence. Kevin Clements asks: “Is it an ethical belief, an attitude, a tactic, or a strategy, or all of the above?” (Clements, 2015, p. 2) Gene Sharp, the foremost scholar on the strategies of civil resistance gives the following definition:

“Passive resistance is a method of conducting and achieving or thwarting social, economic, or political changes...The aim is to harass the opponent without employing physical violence and to force him to make the desired concessions whether or not he desires to do so.” (Sharp, 1959, p. 53)

For other theorists it is ...“an idea whose time has come” (Chenoweth, 2014a, 2014b), a ‘self-conscious tradition...making headway’ (Schock, 2013). Katherine Sanders points towards the strategic function of the protests at Parihaka.

“The acts of protest spoke to the relationship between legality and legitimacy...If legality and legitimacy are linked, even if only emotively, the power to govern is framed by an expectation that law and the system of law-making should aspire to meet moral and ethical standards.” (Sanders, 2005, p. 197)

Despite the lack of moral and ethical response, Parihaka’s resistance continued despite the Foucauldian description that Richard Jackson applies that pacifism is subjugated knowledge. (Jackson, 2017a). He goes on to say, if there is

“a peacebuilding model in which a radically pacifist, locally organised, agonistic politics replaces the Western-oriented, top-down state-building blueprint which is currently central to peacebuilding theory and practice” (Jackson, 2017b, pp. 1-2)

then there could be additional

“theoretical and empirical resources for thinking through the challenges of peacebuilding theory and practice”.

Parihaka, and a focus on Rongo could offer these theoretical resources as part of enhancement of our knowledge about Parihaka. A part of rethinking pacifism can be about seeing the pre-European roots of Maori, and how those peace traditions can inform our thinking about pacifism in the modern context. Incidentally, “*Te Parewhairiri*”, my great, great grandmother was given this name about the act of passive resistance as told to me by my Father. A term that is bound to our whakapapa and is generally not known.

Insider-view. Autoethnographic narratives:

This is a view that is constantly evolving, whether it is personal or part of a dynamic of social construction. As Ailsa conveys: “traditional histories were not static but dynamic and changing.” (A. Smith, 2001, p. 52) When whakapapa is used as a tool to frame the epistemology it becomes seemingly discursive and is focuses on the whanaungatanga of the knowledge. (Roberts, 2013). It is as Mere Roberts says: In such a system, knowledge creation and acquisition is non-linear; it is instead relational and reiterative. Its purpose is not to repeat the past or to facilitate progress towards some human-directed future goal”(Roberts, 2013, p. 112) Yet it is bound to a set of ethical principles, that is innately tied to a value system that has its own cultural roots. Carefully managing this process through research and participation, whether it is seeking intersections of knowledge between institutions, decolonised spaces, and political emancipation is part of critical reflexion. In this way I can explore as Paul Whitinui explains: I “...*can intimately speak about the cultural underlays/overlays associated with time, space, place, and identity.*” (Whitinui, 2014, p. 461)

From an indigenous viewpoint – when building and creating knowledge the insider-view precedes any objectifying forms of knowledge that is used to represent indigenous knowledge, if an insider desires to speak on the knowledge of the community. If however, an outsider wishes to do the same, without the consent of a community – the researcher would receive a diluted version or purposeful inaccuracy to keep the knowledge within the community.

As a tikanga-centred world where personal introduction is an establishment of one’s individual and collective mana; that is discursively linked to the ideal of individual and

collective responsibility – following the rule of tikanga is fundamental as an indigenous researcher. A form of ‘transformative praxis’ (G. H. Smith, 2005, p. 29)

Te Whare Tūrangā Kōrero o Te Niho o Te Ātiawa

An insider-view requires some level of participation within the community for the world-view to be intrinsically grounded in the values of the community. I’ve never lived at Parihaka. In my family history however – there is a level of residency, participation, struggle, conformity, resistance that is deeply linked to the Taranaki colonisation experience. This inter-generational legacy has bequeathed a working farm inherited by my siblings and myself. A male dominated family. A shared childhood experience that exposed us to the teachings of our grandmother - a form of atavism that has left an indelible mark on all her mokopuna. Our Father who was educated to be a teacher in English and Maori – and was very staunch behind the benefits of education. My immediate siblings 2 brothers and 1 sister, and my other ‘half’ brothers and sisters make up a family of 11. Both of our parents have passed on – my Mother where I connect to my Tūhoe/Ngāti Ruapani roots passed away when I was 9 years old. Our family has been a landowner and farming our land since 1883.

A significant part of our family history is the fact that we are a Māori family who owns land, and tracing this struggle for land ownership is central to our family narrative of survival and struggle in Taranaki. Our current homestead located just south of Ōpunake is riddled with hidden stories, the weight of our grandmother’s legacy, baby’s placentas buried in certain places, eeling stories, gardening stories, political struggles – most of which are enjoyed in passing conversation or a by longing glance at the photos in the house.

Our connection to Parihaka in our whakapapa is part of a continual discovery. The generations preceding our grandmother is part of a family historical whakapapa based narrative dating back to our maternal ancestor Ngāurupa who was born in 1801 and passed away in 1881. The year of the Pāhua. She felt and experienced the Northern Raids in the Musket wars and was sold back to the missionaries for the price of biscuits. She was then named “*Utu Pihikete*” as a form of remembrance for her being freed from slavery. Her children, Louisa Taylor (our ancestor), her brother Hori Teira were deeply caught up in the colonisation of Taranaki in the 1860’s, and a lot of our family assets we have are connected to the efforts of Hori Teira in the ‘Taranaki wars’ and the lands he received as payment for service in the Armed Constabulary. He fought for both sides, he was imprisoned for murdering a Doctor Hope in the wars and was prosecuted to be hung as punishment for his crime. Luckily, he was let off his defense counsel argued that it was an act of war and not a civil crime. He spent 3 years in Mount Eden, and then returned to farm in Pungarehu which is located outside of Parihaka. Te Te Niho o te Ātiawa – since my grandmother’s time up until now has been a big part of our family.

My role and function - when I’m called upon is to maintain the mana of the paepae for any visiting groups who come to Parihaka. The ritual of pōwhiri is conducted entirely in Te Reo Māori with the expectation that the visitors can engage in the history, the lived experience of being in a Māori environment, and most importantly – to be made to feel welcome in a place of peace and to listen to the philosophies as espoused by the prophets Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi.

This responsibility of sharing community knowledge that is connected to the legacy of your own ancestors is reflective of the *mana* of genealogical knowledge that is shared

and handed down. In short, the worldview that was designed into the house – is a worldview that must be aspired to, spoken to; listened to; institutional knowledge that defines your identity. To be true to my Parihakatanga, what is written will always be secondary to the obligation of allowing the house to speak for itself; and to speak with, and for the house. To warm the house with visitors and whanau, their tears, their laughter, their debate, their presence – is the life that breathes and sustains the peace traditions of Parihaka and my own indigenous identity.

Seeking the message of resistance in song:

For the purposes of understanding the philosophies and resistance narrative of Parihaka I've decided to focus on 3 waiata. The first is written by Tohu Kākahi which is called a ngeri, a type of haka that does not require the hand actions to be in unison. The second waiata is termed a harihari kai or song that is sung when visitors are arriving to take part in a feast. The third song is recent composition which is another ngeri composed by our elder Huirangi Waikerepuru.

He ngeri ² na Tohu:	
Māori:	English:
Maka atu ai e Tohu te kupu taimaha! Ki runga ki te Pirimia Ha, haha Tū tonu, tū tonu, Ue noa, ue noa Mou tonu, mou tonu, Ue noa, ue noa Tē taea te ueue Tēnei to kai ko taku tenetene Piri ki te hūhā A ha ha Hapainga ake taku raparapa taki ture Nāku ko koe, nāku te motu, nāku te ao! E Whiua, e Tāia aue! Whakarongo mai te motu nei, whakarongo te lwi nei Ahakoa whakapiri koe ki a tauwiwi E kore e taka tō ingoa Māori	<i>So, it shall be! The Prime Minister will suffer the derision of Tohu! Forever standing! Never Moving! Forever resolute! Never Moving! This force is immovable! Here is your food, nothing but my resistance! Clinging to my thighs! Raising my adorned thighs that seeks the law! You belong to me! The land belongs to me! The world belongs to me! Share it! Create it! Take heed everybody! Those of the land and the people! Despite our assimilation You will never be considered as a Maori</i>

Ki runga i a koe! He mangumangu taipō hoki tātou pakia! Te kupu a Tohu ki ngā iwi e rua! E kore e piri te uku ki te rino Ka whitingia e te rā ka ngāhoru Ki, ki, ki, ki, ha! Tēnā ka ngāhoru! Ki, ki, ki, ki, ha! Tēnā kōpaia! Kā, kā, aue Hi	<i>person!</i> <i>We are just black little devils!</i> <i>As Tohu professes to the two peoples, that</i> <i>Clay will never stick to iron.</i> <i>It will be shined upon and eventually fall</i> <i>away.!</i> <i>That's Right! So, it shall fall!</i> <i>That's Right!</i> <i>To the end we proceed!</i> <i>And so, it shall burn!</i>
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Morehu kore kai	
<i>Maori</i>	<i>English</i>
Mōrehu kore kai Hi!	We survive even without food!
Mōrehu kore kai Hi!	We survive even without food!
Mōrehu kore kai mo te tina mo te tī	We survive even without dinner, tea or
Mo te parakuikui Hi!	even breakfast

Titiro, titiro!	
<i>Māori</i>	<i>English</i>
Titiro, titiro	Let your eyes take hold
Ki te Maunga tītōhea	And you will see the barren top Mountain
Runga o Parihaka, Waitotoroa	Where Parihaka, and the river Waitotoroa
Ngāti Moeahu, Ngāti Haupoto	are. The subtribes being Ngati Moeahu and
Ko te takiritanga i te kahu	Ngati Haupoto
O Wikitoria, Kaitoa! Kaitoa!	Victoria's cloak will be cast off. And so, it
Ko Tohu, Ko Te Whiti	shall be!
Ngā Manu e Rua	Tohu and Te Whiti are the 2 sacred birds
I patu te hoariri ki te Rangimarie	Who fought the enemies with peace
Ahakoia i te pāhuatanga o Parihaka	And despite the plunder of Parihaka
Hue! Hue! Hue! Ha!	It will be affirmed.

Analysing the meanings and symbolisms in the above waiata reveals some underpinning ideas on the political philosophies of Parihaka in the past as well as the present. The first ngeri can be described as the Taranaki 'national' haka, when sports teams represent Taranaki, be it rugby or rugby league, this tends to be the haka that is performed. The first verse of this haka has just been recently revitalised in Taranaki tribal haka

competitions and I hope in the future it will be the standard format. It is clear in its message however, and shows the bite and irreverence Tohu had for the government. 'You belong to me! The land belongs to me! The world belongs to me! You will never be considered as a Maori person! We are just black little devils!'

The second waiata, Mōrehu kore kai was sung a lot by my grandmother and the other kaitiaki, Aunty Marj, Aunty, Neta and Aunty Ina during their time as a kaitiaki of Te Niho o te Ātiawa, and is also sung during the "Pāhua Day" commemorations when the visitors carry their food into Te Rānui, the dining hall on Toroānui marae. Mōrehu kore kai the survivors without food is connected to the time immediately following the Rā Pāhua, where the food was scant, the gardens were destroyed, and the people were unable to travel to the coastline to gather food. It is usually sung with a lot of vigour and joy and serves as a reminder each time a group of visitors are ushered into the dining to partake of the feast.

The third ngeri, is a tribute to the prophets, the landmarks and the philosophy of resistance as according by Huirangi Waikerepuru. 'Ko te tākiritanga i te kahu o Wikitoria" literally means, the casting away, or the throwing away, of Victoria's cloak which came to symbolise the encroachment, and colonisation by the colonial and settler state. It is part of the repertoire sung by the younger generation since the language revitalisation period began in the 1980's.

Despite the time lapse since the Te Rā Pāhua, and the death of the prophets since 1907, Parihaka waiata have continued to be sung, analysed, and shared with those who come to Parihaka. They form an integral part to the maintenance of the rituals on the marae and are significant pathways to understanding the historical narrative of Parihaka. As part of

my methodology I have only selected songs that I can sing. Part of the duty on the paepae is to always have memorised songs on hand to follow on from the speeches. These songs are usually reserved for formal stages of the gatherings and sacred in nature.

Analysis: Seek that which is lost.

“E Whiti e Tohu, Rapua te mea ngaro

Me hoki ki tā Rawiri he roimata taku kai i te ao i te pō

Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga

Me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki”

The above Kupu Whakaari of Tāwhiao, the second Māori King is a plea to Tohu and Te Whiti to seek that which is lost, and to follow the psalms of David to be consumed by tears each day, and each night. Using the nourishment of rengarenga lily and the kawariki plant will help ease the pain. The central argument in this paper is that Rongo the Maori god of peace is an effective way of engaging with Maori peace traditions. This is not an attempt to dissolve or dilute the historical influence of the scriptures on Parihaka or Maori peace traditions. It is to a certain extent a methodological argument that begins at the core of understanding Maori culture which is to understand the pre-European influences that preceded the advent of Christianity. The auto-ethnographic or whakapapa-based methodology allowed me to catch a glimpse of the inter-generational legacy that is both traumatic and empowering. It also captures the living history aspect by being brought up in the philosophies of Parihaka, while being cognisant of the duty of care that comes with maintaining the rituals in Parihaka and Te Niho. The brief analysis of waiata reveals the depth of passion that came with being resistant towards the crown. They also demonstrate

the extent to which the community uses these songs as a form of critical reflection and to understand the impacts of history and colonisation.

Te Tau o te Haeata: A Year of New Dawning.

Parihaka, as a living community is at a stage where the Kawenata o Rongo now needs to be implemented and upheld by the next generation of followers. Being informed by the radicalism and non-violent pacifism of the past is critical to understanding the philosophies that comes with the peace traditions of Parihaka. Just as significant is the inter-generational legacy that will ensure the future generations are equipped to participate in both worlds. Giving Rongo a modern context and using language that enables to hear and see the moral, economic and political impetus behind Rongo is part of the exercise. By introducing a discourse on Parihaka, indigenous peace traditions and Rongo into the sphere of peace and conflict studies it allows Maori to be able to conceptualise their own tribal peace traditions within their own geo-political context and history, and also provide a pathway for Westerners to be able to engage at the cultural foundations of indigenous ideas behind their peace traditions.

Ē Rongo whakairihia ake ki runga, tūturu whakamoua kia tīnā, Tīnā – Hui ē Tāiki e.

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