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The Maori King Movement in New Zealand

Thomas Buddle

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THE
MAORI KING MOVEMENT
IN
NEW ZEALAND,

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WITH A
FULL REPORT OF THE NATIVE MEETINGS
HELD AT WAIKATO,
APRIL AND MAY, 1860.

BY THE
REV. THOMAS BUDDLE.

AUCKLAND:
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[INTRODUCTION]

INTRODUCTION.

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To preserve the history of an important movement among the Native tribes of this country, and also to furnish the friends of Christian Missions with correct information on the bearing of that movement, upon the social and religious progress of the Maori race, are the objects of the following pages. The information given has been obtained by personal intercourse with the Natives, and the addresses are published from notes taken at the time of delivery. It is hoped that the frank expression of Native views contained in those addresses, literally translated, will furnish the public with the means of ascertaining the opinions of the Native tribes on the subjects that are now occupying the Native mind, and disturbing the amity that has so long existed between the races.

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ORIGIN.

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ORIGIN,

HONGI HIKA, the renowned Warrior of the Ngapuhi tribe, was probably the first New Zealand Chief that entertained the idea of a Maori King. In 1820 Hongi visited England; "To see King George and bring back Missionaries, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Europeans, and twenty soldiers," was the declared intention of his visit. He was invited during his stay in England to Carlton Palace by George the Fourth. He saw the king's greatness, and heard of his power; he saw the Guards, the Tower, and Military Stores; he received a present of a suit of armour, and a supply of arms; he listened to stories of the sieges and battles of Napoleon; his ambition was excited, the spirit of war enkindled, and Hongi said, "There is but one King in England, there shall be only one King in New Zealand." No sooner did he return to his own country than he employed the guns he had obtained in England and Sydney, in attempting the subjugation of distant tribes. He carried his new weapons of war to the Thames, to Waikato, and to Taranaki, and employed them with terrible advantage over his countrymen, who depended on Native weapons for their defence, no doubt with a view to carry out his expressed determination, to become King of New Zealand. But Hongi never realised the object of his ambition. After seven years of savage warfare he received a bullet wound in a conflict at Whangaroa that finished his career of blood.

The next attempt in this direction was made by Matini Te Whiwhi, of Otaki, in 1852. He is described by Rev. R. Taylor, in his work on New Zealand, as "the nephew of Rangihaeata, a very shrewd intelligent man, who speaks a little English, and lives in European style in a very good house." This chief, either from patriotic or ambitious motives, initiated a Maori King movement in the South. His friend Tamihana Te Rauparaha had just returned from England, and it is said that Matini's ambition was fired by the accounts he heard of England's king. Gathering a few other chiefs around him who sympathised with the project, they formed

a deputation, and went forth to visit Roturua, Maketu, and Waikato, ostensibly for the purpose of exhorting the chiefs of the interior of the Island to submit to the authority of the Governor, but really on a mission of King-making. Their principal motto was "Whakakotahitanga," "Union." They proposed a confederacy of all the tribes, and that one chief should be appointed as King or Governor. It was commonly thought that Matini aspired to the kingdom. They returned from Rotorua and Maketu, having met with no sympathy from the chiefs of those districts, who addressed a letter to the chiefs of Wanganui and Taranaki expressive of their desire to live in peace with all, in substance as follows: – "We salute you all. This is our word to you, New Zealand is the house, the Europeans are the rafters on one side, the Maories are the rafters on the other side, God is the ridgepole against which all lean, and the house is one."

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About the same time, and connected with the subject, arose the Taranaki Land League. In 1849, the Ngatiapa, whose territory lies between Whanganui and Otaki, sold to the Government a tract of land reaching from Wangaihu to Rangitake, and containing about 400,000 acres, for the sum of £2,500. This transaction caused no little excitement among the tribes along the Western Coast from New Plymouth to Wellington. Some wished to follow the example of Ngatiapa, but numbers loudly declaimed against the small amount received for the land, and contrasting it with the high prices which had been paid by natives for allotments near Wellington, opposed further sales. Hona, of Waitotara, and Karipa, of Taumaha, proposed to sell a fine block lying between Patea and Manawapou, but many who possessed no claim in the block raised an outcry against the proposal. In May, 1849, the entire tribe met at Turangarehe, on the occasion of the opening of a new Church. The subject of land sales was introduced at that meeting and warmly discussed. It was proposed that no person, or family should sell land within the boundary of the Ngatiruanui territory without the general consent of the tribe. This proposal was approved by many, but the meeting was not unanimous. Many asserted their right to do as they pleased with their own; and Hona and Karipa persisted in their determination to sell. The opposition was prompted by various motives: some opposed from patriotic feelings, declaring it to be their wish that the land they had received from their ancestors should be by them handed down to their children. Some of the thoughtful men spoke of the invariable results of colonization, and argued that a pakeha's town would bring immorality and disorganization among them; that

their young women would be debauched and their young men be tempted to drunkenness. How much it is to be regretted that our European settlements, composed as they are of professedly Christian people, should furnish savage tribes with such arguments as these!

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Others were influenced by exaggerated ideas of the value of native land, derived from the increased value of lands improved by English labour and capital, and argued that to sell land was to enrich the pakeha and impoverish themselves. And numbers opposed the sale from barbaric pride, – dwelling alone on these large tracts of land, they felt they could maintain individually a degree of self-respect, importance, and independence, that would be lost when they came to mingle with the better informed and civilized European; that, in fact, if they parted with their land, they would soon be made to feel their inferiority, and must become the pakeha's slave. These opponents pushed their views, and sought to make it "Te Tikanga o te Iwi," (the Law of the Tribe) that no individual or family should alienate land without the consent of the whole tribe. To make the law popular and binding, they determined on a more general meeting, and to invite all the tribes along the coast to join them in this measure. Tamati Reina, a zealous opponent of land sales, made a tour along the coast from New Plymouth to Wellington, soliciting the co-operation of the principal chiefs. The proposal was, that a League be formed that should be both defensive and offensive in its operations, not merely binding its members not to sell, but also prohibiting others from selling, and which should employ any amount of force they might be able to command, in carrying out their measures. Tamati met with a favourable reception at Waitara, at Otaki, and from some of the Wellington Chiefs. After the usual amount of agitation, a great meeting was summoned to be held at Manawapou, for which extensive preparations were made. A large house was built, said to be the largest ever erected in the country, measuring 120 feet in length, by 35 in breadth. Matini Te Whiwhi, who attended this meeting, named the building "Taiporohenui," a word that is used as a symbol of union. The meeting was held in 1854, about 1000 persons attended, and the following measures were resolved upon:

1st. That from this time forward no more land shall be alienated to Europeans without the general consent of this confederation.

2nd. That in reference to the Ngatiruanui and Taranaki tribes, the boundaries of the pakeha shall be Kai Iwi on the South side, and a place within a short distance of New Plymouth on the North.

3rd. That no European Magistrate shall have jurisdiction within native boundaries, but all disputes shall be settled by the runanga.

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To give solemnity to the proceedings, and confirm the bond into which they entered with each other, they buried a New Testament in the earth and raised a cairn of stones on the spot; and to re-assert and perpetuate their determination, parties have been appointed to beat the boundaries at certain periods.

This was the origin of the notorious Taranaki land league, which evidently contains the elements of the present King movement, and which has proved so fruitful a source of dissension among the tribes of that district, caused so much bloodshed, and brought about the present collision between W. King and His Excellency the Governor.

Its fruits soon appeared. But a few months after its formation, land was offered for sale to the Government by a tribe not connected with the league, and Rawiri Waiau, a Native Assessor, went with his people to cut the boundary. Katatore, one of the most active chiefs in the league, with sixty armed men, met them on the land and fired at Rawiri's party, killing seven and wounding ten, Rawiri being among the dead. Thus commenced the Native War at Taranaki, which has continued from that day to this, and has at length involved the Governor in a conflict with the obstructive party that threatens to be more serious in its results than any of the collisions of former years.

There is reason to hope that Matini has seen the folly of such proceedings, as he appears to have been one of the speakers who attended the meeting of chiefs at Wellington in April last – a meeting convened by his Honor the Superintendent of that Province for the purpose of hearing the views of the native chiefs in reference to the Taranaki War, and at which Matini joined others in expressions of good will to the Europeans and of desire to live in peace and unity.

The present King Movement has been initiated in the Waikato district. William Thompson Tarapipipi, principal chief of Ngati-haua, is universally regarded as its author and chief promoter. Thompson is a man of high rank in Maori society, the son of Te Waharoa, a renowned warrior of the last generation. He has been connected with the Church Mission since his boyhood, remarkable for his intelligence, his desire for self-improvement, and his love of peace. During the wars in which Te Waharoa, his father, was engaged, and to which he often urged the son to follow him, William generally remained at home, preferring the exercises of the

Mission School to the excitements of the battle field. He has well stored his mind with Scripture truth, made his observations on men and things as he has passed through the world, obtained a slight acquaintance with the English tongue so as to be able to use an English Bible, and is a very intelligent man. He is not what would be called a handsome man, but his dignified carriage marks him as one of nature's nobles. His principal residence is Matamata, on the Thames.

Thompson evidently regards himself as the author of this movement, for he said at the late meeting at Ngaruawahia, "Naku tatou i he ai"; (I have been the cause of our troubles). And his friends universally point to him as the "take," the originator of the Maori Kingdom. They say that it originated thus; Thompson, in conversation with a friend, expressed his great admiration of some of our usages and especially of the manner in which justice is administered in our courts. His friend replied "E tomo koe i raro i aku huha." (Your path is through underneath my thighs). He enquired the meaning of this strong figure, and received for reply "me rapu koe;" (Search it out). He thought, he pondered, and at length arrived at the conclusion that it must point to oppression and slavery. "That path," he reasoned, "is the path of dogs only, then, are we to be treated like dogs? Does the pakeha intend to put us beneath his feet? But he shall not be permitted." And he resolved on devising some means to preserve himself and countrymen from the degradation thus figuratively indicated. The statement is given as it is commonly related in Maori circles.

Whether the idea of setting up a King was suggested to his mind by the movements already alluded to, or whether it originated with himself, does not appear. But this idea was adopted and he began at once to work it out.

Te Heuheu, Iwikau, of Taupo, was one of the first of the Chiefs who joined Thompson in this King Movement. He is the successor of the far-famed Heuheu, principal chief and native priest of the Taupo District, who was buried beneath an avalanche of mud that fell on him and about thirty of his people a few years ago, and whose name he adopted. The present Heuheu is a very sanguine and excitable man, entering into any subject to which he has committed himself with all his heart. Having taken up this new thing in Maoridom, he soon became one of its most zealous and persevering advocates, and remains so to this day.

In December 1856, the first public meeting held to deliberate on the subject and to prepare some plan, was held at Taupo, at which several influential chiefs from various districts were present. Many

proposals were made to adopt extreme measures, – the most violent party advocated a clear sweep of all the pakehas, Governor, Missionaries, pakeha maories, (settlers) – all. At one of the evening meetings which was held in a large house lighted up for the occasion, one of the advocates for a general clearing out was very eloquently pressing his views upon his audience, when Tarahawaiki of Ngaruawahia walked quietly round and one after the other put out the lights, till the place was in total darkness and the speaker in possession of the house was brought to a full stop. "Don't you think you had better light up the candles again?" he said. "Most certainly," replied Tarahawaiki, "it was very foolish to extinguish them!" The meeting at once apprehended the meaning of this symbolical act, and the orator sat down amid roars of laughter enjoyed at his expense. Tarahawaiki is now a leading man in Potatau's councils at Ngaruawahia, and exhibits a spirit of moderation and friendliness towards Europeans which induces the hope that he still considers it would be foolish to extinguish all the lights.

Whether Te Heuheu ever dreamt of being monarch of the New Kingdom is not stated, but at any rate it was decided that "Tongariro, (the burning Mountain of Taupo) should be the centre of a district in which no land was to be sold to the Government, and that Hauraki, Waikato, Kawhia, Mokau, Taranaki, Wanganui, Rangitikei, and Titi Okura, the circumference; that no prayers should be offered for the Queen, no roads be made within this district, and that a King should be elected to rule over the New Zealanders, as the Queen and Governor do over the settlers."

The next meeting was held at Paetai, on the banks of the Waikato in May 1857, and, by adjournment, at Ihumatao, Manukau, in the same month. At Paetai there were upwards of two thousand natives present. The meeting was divided into two parties, one headed by Thompson and Te Heuheu comprising their respective tribes, with a few others that sympathised with their views; the other party was headed by William Naylor, and included the tribes of lower Waikato – at that time all opposed to the movement. The flag given by William IV. to the united tribes at the Bay of Islands, was hoisted by one party with the inscription, "Potatau, King of New Zealand," and the Union Jack by the other.

William Naylor, Te Awaitaia, who led the opposition, is the principal chief of Ngatimahanga, the tribe that resides at Waingaroa on the West Coast. He has been one of the greatest warriors of his day. A man of keen intellect, great sagacity, and indomitable courage. Wise in counsel, eloquent in debate, and famous in battle, his name is held in great respect among the Waikato tribes,

and his influence is widely extended. He became connected with the Wesleyan Mission upwards of twenty years ago, and still maintains his Christian profession. He signed the Treaty of Waitangi, and has never meddled with those given to change, but has opposed the King Movement from the beginning. When the present war broke out and the Waingaroa settlers feared invasion, he engaged to protect them against all invaders, and is at this moment one of the Governor's firmest friends.

The Paetai Meeting being assembled, – the usual amount of Maori eloquence was displayed on the occasion, both pro and con. The advocates of the movement enumerated their real or supposed grievances, pointed out the dangers they thought they saw looming in the distance, and presented them in Maori type and figure to the assembled tribes. The opponents of the movement met them, and in their turn described the scheme as pregnant with trouble. Thompson and some of his friends took a moderate view of the subject. They expressed no disaffection towards the Government, but urged the necessity of maintaining peace, order, and

good government in the country, which they argued the Governor was unable to do. "I want order and laws," Thompson said. "A King could give these better than the Governor. The Governor never does anything except when a pakeha is killed. We are allowed to fight and kill each other as we please, a King would end these evils."

Paora said, "God is good: Israel were his people, they had a king. I see no reason why any nation should not have a king if it likes. The Gospel does not say we are not to have a king. It says, 'Honor the King, love the brotherhood.' Why should the Queen be angry? We shall be in alliance with her, and friendship will be preserved. The Governor does not stop murders and fights among us. A King will be able to do that. Let us have order. So that we may grow as the pakeha grows. Why should we disappear from the country? New Zealand is ours, I love it."

Te Heuheu was more violent, and expressed himself as decidedly opposed to British rule. He spoke of insults to which the Maories were constantly subjected from white men. Referred to the prostitution of their women, the spread of drunkenness among the men, of indignities frequently offered to chiefs, and declared his determination to throw off the yoke, and to seek the ultimate expulsion of the pakehas from the country. William Naylor, Te Awaiaia opposed their views. "I am a small man, he said, and a fool. I am ignorant of those scriptures you quote. Ngatihaua don't be dark. Waikato hear; Taupo attend. I speak as a father,

and my word is this. I promised the first Governor when he came to see me, and I promised all the rest that I would stick to him and be a subject of the Queen. I intend to keep my promise, for they have kept theirs. They have taken no land. The desire to sell was mine, and they gave me money. Why do you bring that flag here? There is trouble in it. I can't see my way clear. But I know that there is trouble in that flag. I am content with the old one. It is seen all over the world, and belongs to me. I get some of its honour. What honour can I get from your flag? It is like a fountain without water. Don't trouble me. You say we are slaves. If acknowledging that flag (pointing to the Queen's) makes me a slave, I am a slave. Let me alone. Don't bring trouble upon us. Go back to the mountains. Let us live in peace; I and the Governor will take our own course."

The address of this loyal and influential Chief produced a powerful effect on the assembly. He carried with him the feelings of his friends, deepened their impressions against the scheme, and so completely took the wind out of the sails of its advocates that half an hour elapsed before they attempted to make sail again. When Thompson arose after this long silence, he said, "I am sorry my father has spoken so strongly. He has taken away my life."

At Ihumatao, William Naylor referred to the great changes that had taken place in the country, contrasted their present with their former condition, and ascribed the improved state of the people to the teaching of Christian Missionaries. He congratulated the people on the protection they enjoyed and the advantages they possessed under the Queen's Government, and spoke of the kind consideration they had always received from Her Majesty's representatives. This was too much for the mercurial temper of Te Heuheu, who suddenly sprang into the arena, and skipping to and fro like a merry-andrew, good temper excepted, abruptly interrupted Naylor, and denied the truth of his statements. He evidently considered that William was aiming a quiet blow at the king movement; and said, "It is true the Gospel has done much for us; but the Gospel has not done all we want. The Queen has done something. And the Governor too has done something. But there is great deal yet to be done. We must have a king to do it."

The result of these meetings was a determination on the part of Thompson, Te Heuheu, and their supporters to have a king, and Te Whero Whero, or Potatau, as he is now called, was fixed upon as the sovereign elect. Perhaps no man could have been found who is so generally popular as this old and renowned warrior.

His rank by birth gave him a prestige beyond that of many. His connexion by blood with several important tribes secured him extensive influence. His conquests in different parts of the island had rendered him famous in Maori history. His wisdom in council, his eloquence in debate, and his known sagacity, recommended him as a man most likely to attract the largest number of tribes to the standard about to be erected. It may be questioned whether any other chief in these Islands could have drawn around him, or brought to one common centre, so many distant and independent tribes. The promoters of this scheme no doubt knew this when they proposed Potatau as their king. They did not select him for his vigour and energy, mental or physical, or for his ability to give them new laws, and to administer the affairs of the proposed Maori Kingdom. His ideas and habits are all fixed and stereotyped in Maori. His day for improvement and progress is gone by. He is verging on the dotage of a second childhood, comparatively inert both in body and mind. It was the prestige of a name they wanted to give popularity to the project. Their success depended on numbers, and Te Whero Whero was a name universally known and respected, a name likely to induce numbers to join the league.

When the leaders of the movement were referred to his age, and to his ignorance of the laws and usages of civilized society, and his consequent incapacity for such a position, they shrewdly replied, "He make laws! we do not intend him to make the laws or to do the work, we shall legislate and carry on the government, he is only a head for us."

This idea has been obviously carried out in the practical working of the scheme. Potatau lies on his mat, wrapped in a dirty blanket, in an old Maori whare, smoking his pipe or sleeping, while his ministers make laws and send them abroad without ever consulting their King, though they use his name to give authority to their acts. He may often be seen lying asleep while his council of chiefs is deliberating on matters of state, himself perfectly unconscious and regardless of what is transpiring in his presence. He will occasionally freely confess that the work is not his but that of the chiefs around him. "This work is yours, not mine, I am getting old," he said in his address on the erection of the flag-staff at the late meeting, "What can I do, who am but a bundle of bones?" he will sometimes enquire. In fact it is evident that those around him endeavour to keep him in ignorance of many of their plans. They also do their best to prevent intercourse between him and his

European visitors, and take care not to allow him to be alone with strangers. They are evidently jealous lest European influence should be brought to bear upon him. And hence not only are some of his chiefs present at all his interviews with strangers, but they generally reply for him. He says but little, and his replies are generally so diplomatic that they impart but a small amount of information. These are so many proofs that it was only the name that the originators and promoters of the scheme wanted – not so much the man or his mental power and capabilities for government. The council indeed resolved at the close of the late meeting, "that no chiefs whether native or European shall be allowed to hold private conversation or discussions with Potatau, especially on Maori politics."

Thus far was the scheme brought in 1857, – the Ngatihaua, Ngatimaniapoto, and Te Heuheu, being its principal supporters. The tribes of the lower Waikato and the Ngatimahanga, Wm. Naylor's tribe, opposing it. Waata Kukutai said at one of the meetings in 1857, "I shall remain a subject of the Queen and look up to this flag (the Union Jack) as my flag for ever, and ever, and ever. If it is dishonoured I shall be dishonoured too. If it is honoured so shall I be. I accept fully the arrangement made between the Governor and Potatau, – Laws, a Magistrate, and the Assembly. I don't want to talk, for my mind is made up. I shall go to work on the basis of that agreement; you may go on talking and when you have done we will let you join us, for if you follow your road you will be benighted, get into a swamp and either stick there or come out covered with mud." The projectors however were not discouraged, they had taken their ground and were not to be easily beaten from it. They arranged for another meeting to be held in 1858 and returned home to work out their plans. They laboured most assiduously, travelling, agitating, diffusing

information, and gradually winning over to their views the young chiefs of various tribes who were just rising into life. Amongst this class of Maori society the movement found many prepared to sympathise with its objects and to enter into its plans, heart and soul. The young men obviously look with great jealousy and dissatisfaction on the changes that are taking place in Maori society. They see the old chiefs passing away, and with them the status, power, and influence, or what they call the mana of chieftainship. They must see that there is no probability that they shall succeed their fathers in their mana, or occupy the position of power and influence in their tribes that was occupied by their ancestors. They wish to retain it if they can, and do not intend it to pass away without a struggle; they therefore readily

entered into the new movement, and have become the chief promoters and most zealous and earnest advocates of a scheme which now numbers among its supporters the intelligent, active, energetic young men of many tribes.

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The next meeting was held at Ngaruawahia, on the 2nd June 1858. Invitations had been sent to all the tribes of this Island, but none of the distant tribes sent representatives save the people of Ahuriri who were represented by the chief Te Moanui. So that the meeting comprised the Manukau, the Lower Waikato, the Matamata (Ngatihaua), the Upper Waipa, Kawhia, and Rangiaohia, (Ngatimaniapoto) tribes.

The object of the meeting was to decide the question of Potatau's installation as King of New Zealand. The King party wished him to be installed by all the tribes then present, and acknowledged as their King. The other party was decidedly opposed to this course, declaring they were willing to give Potatau the 'Mana Maori,' but not the dignity or power of King. Ihaka, of Pukaki, remarking that he held his own land independently of any one, and would give it up to nobody.

The parties were nearly balanced, each numbering about 1000 men. They met at nine a.m., the flag was hoisted, and a party comprising Ngatihaua, Ngatimaniapoto, and part of Ngatimahuta proceeded to Potatau's tent. William Thompson entered to ask Potatau if he would become their King. When he returned these tribes were asked by Paul Te Ahuru "Will you have this man for a King?" The reply was "Ae." He asked again "Will you give all the power (mana) and all the land to the King?" They replied "Ae," again.

The Manukau and Lower Waikato tribes headed by Ihaka and Katipa then faced the other party, and Katipa addressing Potatau said, "Will you be a father to us?" He answered in an audible voice "Ae," when a salute of blank cartridge and three hearty cheers followed.

William Thompson then addressed the assembly, and said: "Listen to our words, as the south, east, and west winds are too weak to carry out the law of God and man amongst us, as evils are still existing amongst us, as God says, 'Come to me ye that are heavy laden and I will lighten your burden,' we have united this day to give the power into the hands of one man, so as to give force to the laws of God and man amongst us. The birds of heaven are uniting and warbling their thoughts, the fishes in the sea are doing the like, the rivers and rivulets are running into one body, and so we are uniting to give hands and feet to this man, that he may

assist the oppressed and wrench the sword out of the hands of those that are dark."

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A heavy shower of rain falling, the meeting broke up for the day.

Next day they reassembled, and W. Thompson resumed: "I asked Potatau yesterday which he preferred, 'Mana Maori' (native power) or to be king; he declared the latter, therefore, this our King; his parliament and magistrates will terminate all disputes about land, he will carry out the laws of God and man. Let us live in peace with every body."

He then handed over a document to be given to Potatau, of which the following is a translation:—

June 3, 1858.

"The laws for the king are these. The power he is to exercise over men and land is the power of protecting them against quarrels, wars, and murders, — a power to extend to all the chiefs and councils of all the tribes."

Second. "Every man is to live upon his own land, and the king is to defend him against all aggressions against his land or person."

Several speeches followed, principally in reference to an adjourned meeting to be held at Rangiaohia. The King's party urged the others to accompany them, but they firmly refused, and Hohepa Otene, of Ihumatao, closed the proceedings by addressing his friends thus: "You all heard Katipa ask Potatau to be a Father to us, and heard him consent to it. We must abide by this." The Waikatos repeated "Yes," three times. Hohepa added, "Let them have a king. Let us have a matua (father). Never forget it."

Thus ended the Meeting at Ngaruawahia, which was regarded at the time as a great triumph obtained by the conservatives. The great body of the Waikatos returned home, and the Kingites proceeded to Rangiaohia to complete the installation of their sovereign, — one party accepting Potatau as a Patriarch for the tribes, with what views and for what purpose did not transpire; the other vowing allegiance to him as a King, who is to protect their lands and their interests against all aggressors — not to give them laws, for they gave laws to him.

The new-made Maori Monarch and his friends reached Rangiaohia on Thursday, 17th June, and entered the settlement with as much state as they could command. He rode on horseback, accompanied by his son, preceded by his flag, and followed by the chiefs and others who had attended him from Ngaruawahia. They were met at the entrance to the settlement by a procession of the inhabitants. A leading chief presented an address of welcome, and 150 young men saluted him with a volley of musketry, then fell into lines, and formed a guard of honour through which the procession passed to the place of rendezvous. At a given signal to "Honor the King" all uncovered and made obeisance; a Native Teacher then read a portion of Scripture, sang a Hymn, and engaged in prayer, after which Te Heuheu chanted a song of welcome.

Another salute was fired, and another "whakahoneretanga" (obeisance) presented, so the ceremony ended.

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The speeches that were made at this meeting contained no declarations of policy by which future movements could be ascertained. Katipa accompanied the party to Rangiaohia and spoke on the occasion. He insisted that there should be no divisions, but that Queen, King, Bishop, Ministers, and Laws should be held in one hand, and the bond of union be love. Potatau said, "Let the other chiefs be Kings, as for me, I am only a cook for the Pakehas: and the work for my children is to wash the plates of the Pakeha." The burden of the King party was, a clear division of territory between the Queen and the Maori King. "The Queen on her piece, the King on his piece, God on both and ever binding them to each other."

The subject of opening roads through Maori territory for the Queen's Mails was keenly contested: the party with Te Heuheu at its head saying No, another and much larger party saying Aye, so that at that meeting the Ayes had it. A Rangiaohia chief during the discussion declared that if anything were done hostile to the

Queen, he would hew down the King's flag.

The objection to opening Mail roads through their territory arose from the foolish idea that is entertained by the Maories that opening roads will certainly lead to the alienation of their lands; and as their main object clearly was the formation of a land league to prevent all further sales, the roads were opposed on this ground.

Thus ended the formal recognition of Potatau as Maori King, by the originators and supporters of the movement, and he returned to Ngaruawahia, the place selected as the centre of the new Kingdom and the residence of its Monarch.

Ngaruawahia is most favorably situated for the purpose. It lies at the confluence of the Waikato and Waipa rivers, central and of easy access from all quarters, either by land or water, and may be reached by horse from Auckland in two days. It has been surveyed by a Maori surveyor and a large Town laid out in one acre allotments, with good streets at right angles, the streets being named after Maori tupunas (ancestors) and living chiefs. The map of the town is in the custody of the Secretary of State. Two years have elapsed since Potatau took up his abode there, but the city is still unbuilt.

OBJECTS.

OBJECTS.

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The chief objects proposed by the originators of the scheme are very important in their bearing on the happiness and progress of the race, are highly creditable to their intelligence, indicative of their progress in civilization, and worthy of the best energies of any people. If the accomplishment of those objects had been attempted by legitimate means – if the means employed had involved no violation of the treaty already existing between the Maori race and the British Government – if there had been no attempt to throw off their allegiance to our most gracious Queen, or to repudiate the Sovereignty ceded by them to Her Majesty over these Islands, the objects aimed at might have commended themselves to the suffrages of the best friends of the Maori race, and secured the sympathy of all those who are interested in every thing relating to the progress of mankind. But the means employed to secure the objects proposed, are so pregnant with evil to the Natives themselves, so obstructive of the progress of the country, and so perilous to all its best interests, that every true patriot must view the movement with the utmost regret, and every sincere philanthropist must deeply deplore it.

The object made most prominent in the early meetings held on the subject, was a more efficient form of Government. – "I want order and laws" said Thompson. "A King could give us these better than the Governor." "The Governor does not stop murders and fights among us" said Paora. "A King will be able to do that. Let us have order, so that we may grow as the pakehas grow." "At present, when two tribes quarrel about land, we murder one another and there is no power to prevent it. We want a King and laws to meet such cases, that these evils may cease."

They did not complain of being over-governed, but rather of defects in the application of our laws to their people; they said nothing about British law being oppressive, but complained that it was not applied so extensively as they wished. These defects in the application of our laws to the Natives were forcibly represented by the Hon. C. W. Richmond, the Colonial Treasurer, in his place in the General Assembly in 1858, in introducing a "Bill to make better provision for the administration of Justice in the Native Districts." The hon. gentlemen said, "Hitherto there has been no attempt to meet the special and local wants of the Aborigines by that kind of regulations which British citizens all the world over are allowed to frame for themselves. Between the Provincial Councils and the General Assembly the wants of the Natives in

these respects have slipped through and been wholly neglected." Thus confessing that the Natives did not complain without reason, and that their independent movements in this direction were partly attributable to our neglect. The above measure was intended to remedy the existing evil and to supply the defect, and is no doubt admirably adapted to meet the circumstances of the native tribes-but it came too late. The Natives had taken the initiative and were not willing to retrace their steps. The probability is that a desire to imitate the pakeha, together with their innate love of independence, very materially influenced them in their demand for law, and in their attempts at self-government. Whatever might be the motive, the professed object was good, and it becomes matter of regret that the desire was not anticipated so as to have left no excuse for any independent action in this matter. "If," said an intelligent Waikato Chief, "some means had been initiated at an earlier period to give the Chiefs a status in connection with the Government and some part in the administration of our affairs, we should not have had a Maori King."

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Now, Native Magistrates are appointed by the King, who issue warrants, try parties accused of felony, levy fines, settle disputes, and enforce the payment of debts. Their decisions are generally received with respect within the King's territory, and obeyed by those who acknowledge his authority. No European Magistrate is permitted to officiate within their territory, as the following translation of a circular issued from Ngaruawhia shows: –

November, 1859.

Four things have been determined by our late Council: –

1. That no European Magistrate shall be permitted to officiate in any part of our territory.
2. That no Native shall be imprisoned in the Gaol of the Governor.
3. That no roads shall be opened in our territory.

(Signed)

HOANI PAPITA,
REWI MANIAPOTO,
PARATENE MAIOHA,
HETA TE WHEROWHERO,
TE AREA.

Four things are said to have been determined, three only are named.

Another object aimed at is the preservation of what they call the "mana" of the Chiefs. This word means authority, power, influence. It was originally applied to persons and their words or acts, not to land. A Chief whose authority or influence enabled him to gather together an army for war, was "he tangata whai mana" (a man possessing mana). Commands readily obeyed are a "kupu whai mana" – words having influence. A promise faith-

fully kept and duly performed was mana – "Kua mana te kupu o te Kawana" – the Governor's word has been fulfilled. This word has of late been used in reference to land, and now we hear of the "Mana o te Whenua" – (the mana of the land) – what distinct idea is attached to it, it is difficult to say. The disputed land at Waitara is claimed by the Maori King party because the King's mana has reached it – "Kua tae te mana o te matou kingi ki reira," – the mana of our King has gone there. And wherever this mana is gone, the land is held as inalienable without the King's consent. "Kia mau te mana o te whenua" is another expression now in frequent use, i.e., "hold fast the mana of the land." What does it mean? This is altogether a new application of the term; perhaps it has been adopted in consequence of the Queen's Sovereignty over the Island having been translated as the Queen's mana. But it certainly did not originally mean that which is now claimed for it, viz., a Chief's "manorial right." This use of the word was not heard until this Maori King movement originated it. (See Paul's speech, p. 51.)

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It is by no means clear that any such custom as "manorial right" ever obtained among the Native tribes – was either claimed by the Chiefs, or ceded by the people originally. A man took possession of territory by the strength of his arm, and rested his claim on his conquests. "Na tenei," he would say, stretching out his arm, "by this I obtained it." Or he claimed it in consequence of having cultivated it. What reason could exist originally for such rights? Land sales were things unknown. If land exchanged hands, it was not by sale but by conquest – by might disregarding right. Much has lately been written on the subject, in attempts to defend W. King's claims to the Waitara block. Has King himself ever asserted "manorial claims"? Rather did he not confess he had no claim. "Does the land belong to Teira and party?" enquired the Commissioner of W. King. "Yes," was the reply, "the land is theirs, but I will not let them sell it." Does he not say this because the Land League says that no land shall be sold. Apropos to this subject, a Waikato Chief who was adducing reasons for the King movement, remarked, "Hoko tahae" (dishonest sales of land) was one reason. A Chief offered land to Government, and because he was a Chief it was taken for granted the land was his own, "but," he added, "you must not suppose that every Chief, because he is a great man with a great name, is a great land owner; there are many great Chiefs who have no land, and therefore have no right to sell." How does this accord with manorial rights?

Take another fact. One man, at the great meeting lately, drew a circle around him and said, "This is mine; let no man interfere with me. I am on my own land, and shall do what I like with my own." Another asserted the same right and declared his intention to sell what he pleased when he returned from the meeting. Did these men acknowledge the Chiefs' manorial rights? Take another fact, Potatau himself sold a block of land to the Government a few years ago, and received a deposit of £50; but the sale has never been completed, because the men who had cultivated the block deny his right to sell, though he is principal Chief of the tribe, and refuse to allow him to do so. Manorial rights are imaginary rights when claimed for New Zealand Chiefs.

It was not this new thing that the King's party sought to establish, but an old thing that they sought to preserve, viz., the Chief's status, his influence in his tribe, and the national independence. They felt that the spread of European customs was fast undermining the authority of the Chiefs, and destroying their independence as a people. They thought that a King would preserve their nationality, and uphold the status of the Chiefs by giving them a position in the administration of Native affairs within their own territory.

Another subject that illustrates the native desire for independence is the great change that has taken place in their views in reference to Native Teachers of religion. A few years ago they would scarcely tolerate a Native in the pulpit. Now, Native Ministers are in request. They are not merely willing to receive them but earnestly request their appointment. That this partly arises from a wish to be independent of European influence is clear from the fact, that one or two of the leaders of the extreme party do not hesitate to propose publicly, that the European Missionaries should be sent away and Native Ministers substituted. The same feeling is evinced by the manner in which Natives constantly declare that the Pakeha's intention is to make them all slaves, and the frequently expressed determination on their part to "Whakaiti te Kawanatanga," – to humble or put down the Government. There can be no doubt but that this feeling has been fed and fostered by the representations of some of our own countrymen, who have either wantonly or under provocation, whispered to them of a coming day when the whole race would be reduced to slavery. Nor can there be any doubt, that the feeling is being strengthened by that portion of the newspaper press that deals so much in abuse of the Maories and all who take an interest in their welfare, and which threatens them with such heavy visitations. Those disgraceful

productions find their way into the country and are freely translated to Maori ears.

The main object proposed by the movement party is the preservation of their land. Their watchword is, "No further alienation of Maori territory." To prevent this it is required that the tribes joining the league shall give over their territory to the King, to have and to hold for ever. This is done in writing, and the records are carefully preserved. (See the speeches of Tomo, P. 51, and Kopara, p. 57.)

The land thus given over to the King is not to be alienated without his consent. This might be all fair if the party stopped here. But they resolve that no land shall be sold within their territory, even though the owner may not have joined the league. Any man therefore attempting to sell a block of land, would subject himself to summary proceedings at war. And any attempt to take possession of the purchased block by the Government would be resisted by force of arms – as in the case of the land at Waitara. The Taranaki people, not by W. King's direction but at the instigation of a man named Erueti,¹ came to Waikato for the King's flag and handed over Waitara to the league – no doubt in order to draw Waikato into the quarrel and secure their powerful aid against the Governor. This is the reason assigned by the party who have gone to aid W. King, for their having taken up arms in his defence; "Our flag is there," they say. Others of the extreme King party only wait to ascertain whether their flag reached Waitara before the Queen's money was paid or after, declaring, that if the flag was first there the land shall not be given up, but that they shall go and take it. They do not profess to claim the land for W. King on the ground either of hereditary or manorial right, but because Potatau gave it to him, because it now belongs to the land league, and because they consider he is engaged in fighting for the principles of that confederation. But does not the objection to sell land apply only to sales to the Government? Are the natives not desirous to negotiate sales with private purchasers? This has sometimes been asserted, but it is a mistake. The objection does not lie against sales to the Government merely, but against all sales, absolutely against any further alienation whatever, and not only are they opposed to absolute sale but also to leasing; – the practice of leasing cattle runs has existed for some time, but they are now sending away the leaseholders and their flocks. A discussion was raised on the subject at the late meeting by a man stating that

Potatau had sent down a message to the effect that he had no objection to the practice of leasing: – the discussion went against the system, and next morning Potatau's proclamation, sent out in writing, settled the question. It was to this effect: –

"Ngaruawahia, May 30th, 1860.

"Be it known to all men, that I do not approve of leasing land. Let no man henceforth say that leasing land is a work of mine. My word is this, be kind to the Europeans and do not rob the stores.

"From King Potatau."

The reasons assigned by the party for this land league are as follows: first, the frequent and clandestine sales of land by parties who had no right to sell or who were at most but partial owners of what they sold. This frequently led to disputes and often to bloodshed and they maintain that the only security against this "tahae whenua" (land stealing) is such a league as they have now formed. The fear of being left without sufficient land to sustain them has also operated powerfully on the Native mind. Seeing the rapid increase of Europeans, and the constantly advancing wave of colonization, block of land after block passing from them into the occupation of the white man, their fears are aroused. "He wants all our land," they say, "and we shall soon be destitute." In vain are they told by their real friends that no such result can possibly follow the colonization of their country; that the Queen would not allow them to be left without land on which to subsist. They are more ready to listen to those who tell them that all their land will soon be taken away. Then the dread of being out-numbered by pakehas has had its effect, as also with many, has the love of savage independence, – the desire to have large tracts of land for pig and cattle runs, over which the herds may range without danger of trespass on the white man's cultivation, or without the need of fencing to keep them from straying. "When I go to Auckland," said one, "I see the horses of my

native friends all tethered lest they should stray; I have no such trouble." It is much to be regretted that they should entertain such views on this subject. It must be obvious to thoughtful men, that the possession of such large tracts of unoccupied land has long militated against their progress in civilization; has fostered their natural indolence and covetousness; led to constant squabbling, not unfrequently to inter-tribal wars; and has occupied their time in talk and runangas that might have been employed in profitable agricultural operations. It must also be obvious that the extensive tracts of country claimed by small and rapidly declining tribes, can never be cultivated by them, and must

remain waste in their hands. The questions very naturally arise, does Divine Providence intend these vast tracts of country to remain a wilderness, or are these parts of the earth, like other parts, to be subdued and made to yield food for man and beast? Would it not be greatly to the advantage of the owner to dispose of such portions as are not likely to be required for himself or children, and thereby obtain the means of improving his property, and of securing the instruction and example of civilized neighbours to aid him in the improvement of his circumstances?

It is not intended by these remarks to suggest anything affecting the Treaty of Waitangi. That Treaty, made in good faith, should be kept in good faith, and its provisions faithfully carried out by all parties who accepted it.

It does not fall within the objects of this pamphlet to enter into a defence of the Missionaries of this country, against those whose pens are now so ready to slander them, to charge them with disloyalty to the Queen, and to stigmatise them as opponents of colonization and enemies to the country's progress. Nor is it necessary. Intelligent and candid observers of Missionary labour will not be influenced by insinuation, nor by assertions that are unsustained by facts. It may be right to affirm, nevertheless, that the views expressed above on the subject of Native lands have not been withheld from the Natives by their Ministers. It is not forgotten that a tract was published in the Maori language a few years ago, entitled "Some Questions to the Maori People about the Selling of Land," which, though possibly written with the best intentions, was, to say the least, calculated to unhinge the Native mind; but though there may have been a solitary exception or two, yet the Missionaries, as a body, have faithfully placed the subject before the Native mind as having a most important bearing on their religious and social progress. It may be also proper to place on record a denial of the allegations that have lately been made in some of the journals of this country against the Missionaries, and to protest against the injustice done to them as a body, by insinuations of disloyalty and selfishness. If any solitary members of the body, have acted foolishly, let them bear their own burdens, but sweeping condemnation of all for the offences of one or two is manifestly unjust.

¹ Erueti is the man who plotted the murder of Mr. Parris.

PROFESSED PRINCIPLES OF ACTION.

PROFESSED PRINCIPLES OF ACTION.

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The King party has adopted three mottoes – "Te Whakapono, Te Aroha, Te Ture," Christianity, Love, and Law, are the principles that professedly form the basis of the new Kingdom. Potatau

makes constant reference to the three. He repeats them on all occasions, and especially when reference is made to any action that has been taken by his people. "Heoiano taku, ko te whakapono, &c.," is his general reply: I have nothing, or mean nothing, or wish nothing, but Religion, Love, and Law. What they mean is that they do not intend to abandon Christianity and return to former customs. In proof of this, one of the first public acts of Potatau, done in connection with the runanga soon after the movement took its rise, was the issue of an order for the building of several places of worship. Two have been built; one at Mangere, a good scoria building, another of wood at Pukaki, and others are in progress. That they have no intention of renouncing Christianity may be further seen by reference to the speeches delivered at the late meeting. Take Thompson's, for example, (delivered at a preliminary meeting). He met the arguments of the party advocating a further expedition to Taranaki, by objections drawn from Scripture examples. "Let me see that it is right first," he said, "for I read of Naboth's vineyard that was unrighteously seized by Jezebel, and God avenged the wrong. I read of many of the Kings of Israel who met with judgment and death by engaging in unrighteous wars. Therefore I say search out the truth. Don't make haste, lest you fall into error. I do not pronounce on the conduct of the Governor at present, for I am not informed. The Queen is a minister of God, and a minister of God is not supposed to do wrong. If there be wrong it is done by the 'Kaihapai,' (the parties entrusted with the administration,) not by the Sovereign. I also remember Paul's word, 'Be subject to the powers that be, for the powers that be are ordained of God.' I do not say enquire, that we may find that the Governor is right, in order that I may join him, nor am I indolent or unwilling to go to war if necessary, but I hesitate till I see; I have heard, but have not seen." Now there is nothing like a renunciation of Christianity in a speech like the above, and there can be no doubt but many of the leading men are influenced by similar regard for the truths of the Bible. This is our hope, and no opportunity should be lost of holding them to those truths by which they profess to be guided, and which alone can enlighten and direct the conscience.

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LOVE, is presented as their second motto, which they wish to be understood as implying love to both races. The principal meaning, however, appears to be Union among the native tribes, what Matini Te Whiwhi called – whakakotahitanga. Former wars had separated tribe from tribe, and caused them to look on each other as enemies: so that each man's hand was against every man and every man's

hand against him, and no man could venture outside the territory of his tribe without danger of being slain as utu for some old feud. This state of things rendered union of the tribes for any common object, or any united action against a common enemy, not only difficult but impossible. If any great movement were to be made to protect their interests as a race against the "kiri ma" – the white skin – as they term the Europeans, then these obstacles must be removed, old feuds must be settled, old enmities buried, and all parties reconciled. To accomplish these ends, peace-makers were sent out to visit contending tribes and heal existing differences. Meetings were held and feasts given for the same purposes. No small success has followed these efforts: many an old wound has been healed, and many a reconciliation has been effected. Now the party congratulates itself on the altered and improved state of society in reference to the love or union that has obtained amongst them, and in order to perpetuate it, proposes that there shall be no more native war, but that all disputes arising among themselves shall be settled by law.

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LAW, is the third motto. Their former plan was to punish transgressors by the application of club law. Might ruled, and where power existed to take summary vengeance for any real or supposed insult or wrong, it was taken without hesitation and without enquiry. Now there is to be no "muru," i. e. no plundering to obtain utu for insult or wrong, and no fighting; – all disputes and all offences are to be settled by appeal to law. Tamati Ngapora was the exponent of this principle at the late meeting. (See his speech, p. 45.)

These mottoes were cleverly selected, well adapted to attract general attention, and draw the native mind to the movement. It is not insinuated that they were adopted from wrong motives, but no words could have been chosen as mottoes better fitted to render the movement popular among all parties. The first recommends it to the zealous advocates of Christianity. Any objections they might feel at first sight on Christian grounds are at once forestalled by the assurance, that one essential element in the constitution of the new kingdom is Christianity. The second appeals to the best feelings of our nature, and not less to the powerful principle of self-interest. Each man is to love his neighbour, so as to aid in the defence of both his person and property against all aggression. The third commends the movement to the party who were demanding more efficient government.

The question arises, how far are these principles being worked out? Is not the very first step in the movement inconsistent with

Christianity? Does it not involve a breach of the covenant that has been made between Her Majesty the Queen and the Native Chiefs of this country? These questions have been proposed to the king party, and their reply is, first, that Potatau never signed the treaty, nor did the principal chiefs who form his Council, – that, in fact, only a few of the chiefs residing near the Waikato Heads signed the document, and that those who did sign it, signed it when they were children and did not understand its meaning. This may be quite true, but it is also certain that though Potatau did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi, yet in writing to the Queen on the death of Governor Hobson, and requesting Her Majesty to send another Governor for both Pakehas and Maories, he acknowledged the Queen's supremacy, as he has also done in receiving a yearly pension from the Civil List. And in applying for the appointment of Native Assessors, accepting them when appointed, and otherwise appealing to English law, the Waikato tribes have conceded and virtually acknowledged the sovereignty of the Queen. So that though the natives may not acknowledge the fact, and not be able with the present amount of light to see the inconsistency of their position, there can be no doubt that their present movement is clearly inconsistent with the principles and duties of Christianity. As regards the application of their second and third mottoes, it would be difficult for the most earnest advocate to make out a clear case for them. That the great body of the Waikato natives are firm on the side of love and law for all of both races there can be no doubt. Yet the extreme party would carry out these principles with a partial hand. Love and law for the Maori, but not much of either for the Pakeha. Hence the remarks of Whetini, who maintained that the Governor had cut the cord of love and severed the bond of union. Hence, also, the lame attempts by one or two individuals to justify the murder of our defenceless countrymen and helpless boys at Taranaki. – (See the speeches of Whetini, p. 44 and 45.)

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But these views did not meet with general sympathy, and the apologists themselves felt and acknowledged that by Christian law such acts as those committed at Taranaki were murder (see Tumuhia's speech, p. 50), and only attempted to justify them by reference to native custom, – a plea which was effectually exposed by the irony of Samuel Ngaropi. – See his speech, p. 51.)

Potatau, referring to the inconsistency of the parties who had plundered the stores at Kawhia and gone to Taranaki, said: "They proposed three principles, now they have added a fourth and a fifth:" shewing that the principal men are in favor of abiding by

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their principles, though some others may be reckless and disposed to disregard them.

The question is frequently asked, – Can these professions be relied upon? Is there nothing underneath? Do we see and hear all that is intended? Has there not been some whispering of secret plots to attack simultaneously the European settlements and sweep away the pakehas? Was the note of alarm that sounded from the mission station at Waipa a false alarm? No; the intelligence that was conveyed to the Rev. A. Reid of revolutionary proposals made at native meetings held at Kihikihi and Rangiaohia was true. The leaders of the party who subsequently plundered the stores for arms and went to Taranaki to join W. King, having received a letter from him asking aid, and advising them "to look toward Auckland," talked loudly at those meetings about a general insurrection; and if they had met with sympathy in Waikato, the probability is that they would have attempted to carry out their proposals. The men who, without provocation or cause of any kind, could go to Taranaki to aid King in his unrighteous proceedings are capable of the still greater aggression had opportunity favoured it. And their speeches delivered at Ngaruawahia when they conducted the Taranaki natives to present their allegiance to the Maori King, furnished evidence of their capabilities for evil. But the Waikato chiefs would hear of no violence – not even of an expedition to Taranaki – so that the party was left in a small minority, and went to Taranaki without the sanction of Potatau and, indeed, in direct opposition to his command. May not the forewarnings that came from Waipa be regarded as providential? Prior to the receipt of that information, no preparation had been in progress to ward off any sudden danger.

That some of the ultra kingites may have contemplated extreme measures against the pakehas is not improbable; various things have transpired in the progress of events calculated to lead to this conclusion: but this party is very small. Its ultra measures meet with no support from the great body of the Waikato tribes. The speeches of the principal chiefs may be referred to in proof of this. Nor can there be any doubt about the sincerity of those speeches. The Waikatos as a body are evidently anxious to be in a position to defend themselves against aggression, but they are not disposed to become the aggressors nor to involve themselves in a general war.

PROGRESS.

PROGRESS.

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When a Maori king was first talked of, the idea was laughed at by both Maori and pakeha. Few believed it would ever become a fact. Men acquainted with native history, and knowing the enmity that existed between various tribes in consequence of former wars and frequent reprisals, said: "Those old feuds will effectually prevent any extensive union taking place." And those who knew anything of native character said: "The pride of the Maori chiefs will never allow them to submit to the dictation of a chief of another tribe, nor will their love of independence permit them to become the subjects of a Maori king." Despite of all predictions that it would end in smoke or turn out "mahi tamariki" (child's play), the movement has gradually advanced. The advocates and promoters of the scheme were instant in season and out of season, carrying their flag to distant tribes, inviting them to accept it and join the league. Tomo denied, at the great meeting the other day, that they had done so, and wished it to be understood that the tribes who had joined them had done so unsolicited; but Hetaraka, of Waingaroa, confronted him and reminded him that they had sent invitations to Waingaroa again and again, and in fact had sent their flag and their emissaries far and wide to collect subjects. – (See his speech, p. 51.)

Land squabbles between different tribes or between subdivisions of the same tribe often presented a good opening for recommending the scheme and for obtaining adherents. Such occasions were carefully watched and sedulously improved. When any dispute arose, a party of king's men were sent to tender their kind offices as mediators, and having effected a reconciliation between the contending parties they generally wound up their mission by proposing a union with their league. They said: "Disputes will never end under the present system of holding our land, nor can there be any security against 'hoko tahae' (clandestine sales) until all the land is placed under the control of one runanga; we never have been able to manage these things, and never shall be on the old system, therefore join us and hand over your land to the league: then the cause of your quarrels will be removed, your land will be secured for your children, and peace will reign among the tribes." This view of the subject took with many parties, and drew many into the scheme.

A meeting was held at Waiuku in March last, which was attended by the Waikato and Manukau tribes, and resulted in the issue of the following proclamation by Potatau, which was printed and circulated among the natives: –

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"Waiuku, 15th March, 1860.

"The Proclamation of Potatau to all the tribes residing East, West, North, South, and in the interior.

"On the 14th day of March, at 7 o'clock in the evening, Potatau spoke to the people and to the chiefs.

"This is Potatau's request that he spake: – 'Hold fast Christianity, – hold fast love, – hold fast law: what is the worth or advantage of all other work? Christianity is not a wealth we have purchased; – it is wealth that has been freely given to us, and wealth for which we have made no adequate return,

"Maories, your former god was Uenuku the man eater. You have a different God now, the great God of Heaven: therefore let war cease in New Zealand among both Maories and Pakehas.

"Let all the evils that may arise, great and small, be judged by the law. Here we rest till the Evil Spirit comes to spoil our work."

This meeting appears to have had the effect of diminishing the opposition of the Lower Waikato tribes to this movement, and, in fact, of inducing many to join it who had hitherto stood aloof.

During 1859 two or three deputations visited the South and left the Maori King's flags at Taranaki, and with the Ngatiruanui. It is said that William King, Te Rangitake, refused to receive the flag or to join the movement, but in the Autumn of the present year a deputation from the Ngatiawa and Ngatiruanui tribes visited Waikato, entrusted with the important duty of presenting the allegiance of those tribes to the Maori King, and of handing over their lands to the league of which he is the recognised head.

The deputation consisted of about sixty picked men, chiefly young men. They arrived at Ngaruawahia on the 10th of April, accompanied by Ngatimaniapoto from Kawhia, Rangiaohia and Upper Waipa. They marched up to the flag staff, three abreast, wearing favors to distinguish the respective tribes.

On reaching the flagstaff one stepped forward, and with a clear distinct voice said, "Honour all men, love the brotherhood; Fear God; Honour the King;" then turning to the train he said "Honour the King:" all responded by uncovering and kneeling. The leader of the Ngatiruanui then read from a memorandum book an address beginning, "O King, live for ever: thou art bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; thou art a saviour for us, our wives, our children," &c., &c., and went on to pledge their allegiance. The leader of the Ngatiawa then read a similar address: "Honour the King" was again demanded, and a low salaam, and a general cry of hear, hear, hear, was the response. A native Teacher then stepped

out of the ranks and gave out a verse of the Maori Hymn beginning "Ka mahue i Ihipa," &c. "We have left Egypt the place of bondage, we seek another land, a land of rest," &c. The verse was sung, then prayer was offered for God's blessing on their King and on the people. This ended, they retired, facing toward the royal presence, then wheeled round and marched off to the place appointed for korero.

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During the visit of this deputation to Waikato the Taranaki war broke out, the murders were committed by the tribes to which these men belonged, the battle of Waireka was fought and several principal Chiefs of those tribes, near relatives of these men, fell on the field. This intelligence gave a more serious aspect to affairs, and gave a warlike tone to their deliberations.

As there is such frequent reference to the Taranaki war in the speeches delivered at the Meetings held in connection with this King movement it may be necessary to notice its origin. When His Excellency the Governor visited New Plymouth in March 1859, a block of land situated on the south bank of Waitara was offered for sale by a Chief named "Teira," supported by his friends who were joint claimants. The Governor accepted the offer, provided that the ownership of the land was undisputed, and Teira laid at His Excellency's feet a Parawai (a Taranaki Mat) as a symbol that the offer was accepted. William King was present, but did not take away the Mat, as he should have done according to Native custom if he wished to deny Teira's right to sell the land, nor did he condescend to assert in a becoming manner any claims on his own behalf, but in an insulting and defiant tone arose and left the room saying, "I will not permit the Sale of Waitara to the pakeha. Waitara is in my hands, I will not give it up; Ekore, Ekore, Ekore. (i. e. I will not, I will not, I will not) I have spoken."

Eight months elapsed between the first offer and the final acceptance of the land, during which period every opportunity was given to adverse claimants to prefer and establish their right. On the 29th November, 1859, the District Commissioner called a public meeting of both Natives and Europeans to witness the payment of the first instalment of the purchase money; King and his people were present. A document was read setting forth the boundaries of the block, and also a declaration on the behalf of the Governor, that if any man could prove his claim to any piece of land within the boundary described, such claim would be respected, and the claimant might hold or sell as he thought fit. No such claim was put forward. The question was put to King by the Commissioner, "Does the land belong to Teira and party?" He answered "Yes, but I will not let them sell it."

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The case being so clear, the transaction was ratified. To this course the Governor was bound by his own engagement. In his address to the natives at New Plymouth he had pledged himself to two principles: First, "That he would buy no land, the ownership of which was matter of dispute." Second, "That he would allow no man to interfere or prevent the sale of any land by the rightful proprietor thereof." The customary survey of boundaries was therefore ordered, the surveyors commenced their work, and King sent his women to take up their chains and prevent the survey being carried on. What then was to be done? Either this resistance must be submitted to, or means must be taken to protect the surveyors in their work. A military force was therefore ordered to the ground for the latter purpose. William King then offered armed resistance, and built a pa on the land in declaration of his determination to oppose the survey of it by the Government. On him therefore must rest the onus of the war.

The difficulty has been complicated by the atrocious murders that were committed by the Southern tribes on five defenceless settlers. Though King denies having been in any way accessory to that foul deed, yet it must be obvious that it was connected with the war which he had commenced, and was prompted by the spirit of the land league of which he was a leading member. Those tribes were on their way to assist him, and were meditating the destruction of the European settlement, when they came into contact with the troops, met with the retribution they merited, and were prevented from carrying out their diabolical plans. They could have no pretext whatever for taking up arms except their connection with the land league. They are obviously fighting for the principles of that league.

Nor can the Waikatos find any other reason for interfering in the quarrel. If they take up arms in William King's defence it cannot be on the ground of injustice done to King or to themselves. In reference to Waitara, they well know that King's "mana" was all taken away when they conquered his tribe, and that the land was then lost to him. They also know that Potatau received a sum of money from the Government in 1842 in extinction of the claims of Waikato as the conquerors of that land. King's mana was gone, and they who had taken it away sold it to the Queen. On what plea, then, can Waikato support him in his unjust attempts to prevent the sale of Teira's property? If they enter into this war, it can only be because they are resolved on carrying out the principles of an unlawful confederation, or because they desire a casus belli. The party who have gone to

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King's assistance are most probably influenced by the latter motive, but the main body of the Waikato tribes are not disposed to commit themselves to such a course.

The following Speeches were delivered during the visit of the Taranaki deputation at Ngaruawahia: –

Tapihana, (Ngatihikairo,) said: I begin not with the events of to-day. I go to the words with which Potatau set out: – Te Whakapono, te Aroha, te Ture (Religion, Love, Law). 1st. Religion. This is your work, Pakehas and men of religion, walk in the ways of God, and pray for peace upon all men. Our 3rd motto is Law. This is our work, let us take care of this and work it out. If, Governor go on to a piece of land I shall follow his steps; if he open roads I shall be there; if he shed blood I shall be there as well as he. I seek life for the people. I say save the land, and the paths for your children. Our 2nd motto is Love. Our forefathers lost this by their wars, we seek to restore it. These are the mottoes for all the world. I mourn for the blood of Te Rangitake.² My blood is the blood of Te Rangitake. I shall go and seek Rangitake and Kukutai at once. I am but one, but I shall go. If I fall it will be good, never mind that.

Karaka Tomo te Whakapo, from Rangiaohia: You are right, those are our mottoes. Let there be no evil of any kind, no war among the Pakeha, and no war among the Maories. But let us build our Pa, let us complete it. Let it be quite finished. I do not consider it completed yet. Leave the other things, the war at Taranaki for the Evil Spirit to carry on. Twice he has turned upon us, and twice we have forgiven. Let us abide by our three mottoes, and wait to see if he will be strong and persevere. Our Pa stands broken, listen William, Takarei, Wetini, listen, I consider that our pa for our wives and children is not yet complete, let us finish it, dig the trenches, throw up the breast-work and bind the fences. Look at his (the Pakeha's) work in other lands, never too late, never behind time (alluding to the prompt movements and careful preparations of the Europeans) – therefore I say quickly build our Pa.

Tapihana replied: What pa is that you are building? we have built our pa, and it is broken down and stained with blood. The wealth we had collected into our bag is scattered, it is thrown out into the fern, who shall gather it up again? (alluding to the men who had fallen at Taranaki.)

Tomo Whakapo replied: You may say that our pa is finished, but I do not. As for our blood Christianity had stopped its flow, but we ourselves opened the wound, (alluding to Maori quarrels.) I shall not hastily see the correctness of your proposal; should I consent now we shall all be ruined at once. The Governor has been to Taranaki and has returned to "Whangaihai" (i. e., to sing and exult over the slain): my thought is "How often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive?"

Wiremu Hikairo: We have two things to think of, our king and our blood. I am in pain. My foot is pierced either with a fern or wood. It is said that the king is to protect us. I want to see it. I have not seen it yet. What has he done for me? You are clearing your own paths and spreading your own mat, talking about Whakapono, but I am cold, a door has been opened to let in the wind, and it has blown directly upon me. You think you are providing a covering, but there is an opening made in it.

Tomo replied again: I do not condemn what you say, but I cannot see the wisdom or utility of it. If I could I should instantly consent and say our work is complete, but I consider our pa at present unfinished. Come, let us finish what we are now at.

Wiremu Hikairo replied: You, Tomo, are holding us back, you are hiding the thing. Your words may be correct, but what shall I do? Son, our intention will be carried out, whoever may oppose, but you are alone in your unbelief.

A Waikato; Think not that I am grieved or dark because of the doings of my friend the Governor. It is only what they (the pakehas) have done elsewhere. They

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have conquered and taken other islands, and they come to do the same with New Zealand. Let not the Pakeha bring war to this land, let him return to his own lands and fight there. How often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? Let him cease here and all will be well. He did not attack me in front openly, he came on me unawares behind, but I am not dark about it, it is all good (this was ironical).

Paetai, of Kihikihi: Great is the truth of your words my son Tomo, be strong to maintain yours. These are my thoughts for your question "How often, &c.:" I will answer it –

Sin the 1st. Te Rangihaeata (Wairau)
" 2nd. Hone Heke"
" 3rd. Whanganui (the war there)
" 4th. Auckland, the Waikato native that was murdered
" 5th. Tauranga

" 6th. Te Rangitake.

The Pakeha committed all these; if we had sinned as often we should have been punished long ago. Be strong. Taphana, for what cause do you propose to take your gun to Taranaki? is it not because the Governor has made war? Murder is talked of, but it was not murder, it was only a thing joined or added to the war already begun (he apiti). Tell me was it murder? No, he apiti (loudly replied the Ngatimaniapoto), according to the law of Christianity it was murder, but according to the Governor's it was "he uru whakaaro" a part of the battle which Governor had begun.

Te Wetini, (Ngatihua): There was a time when I was strong toward the Governor, for when I was thirsty he gave me drink, or naked he clothed me; now they have taken away the water and the garments. What can be the thoughts of the men that have done this? What? Potatau is a pakeha, let us do nothing else, let Potatau be our work at present.

Ta Karei (of Kawhia): Talk away: this is the pa, this is the house for us. We thought there had been a union of the black skin and the white one, but the white was only white outside, it was black inside; the black was black only outside, it was white inside. They put forth the strait law and praised it, but blood has been shed, not by the black skin, but by the white; they have gone to shed blood, and have trodden underfoot the law that was right. Friends, the blood of the black skin has been shed, has it not? (The Ngatimaniapoto responded, "Ae").

Wiremu Te Ake (Ngatihikairo): We see our error, New Zealand. The fathers came first with the word, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." I was sitting under their wings when the first Governor came. He said, here am I – I have come to see you. We asked, have you come to take our land? He said, No. After this we went to Remuera to attend the great feast and about 330 of us met at Government House. We said to Governor, We do not intend to part with our land. He replied, You may go and keep your place: hold it fast for yourselves: then he returned. After this we began to see the intentions of our fathers (the Missionaries) and the Government, and the result is, that blood is flowing. You (Waikato) have shewn us one thing, shew us the other. What can we do, they have strangled the child, they have pursued us along our path. It is the Governor that has committed the wrong. Is it not? (Again Ngatimaniapoto shouted "Ae;" the question repeated, the same reply given).

Te Kihirini – Te Kanawa: The work is not mine. I have done none at all. Listen to me, Pirongia (a mountain) is great, and Taupiri is great. My blood has been blackened at Taranaki before, and if it is to be blackened again let it be at Taupiri (meaning, Don't let us go away to fight, but wait till we are called to defend our own land).

Wiremu Hikairo: What go you mean? If the house be standing it is with the roof but partially covered, and all broken below; come let us repair the place that is broken.

Hori (Ngatimaniapoto of Kawhia): We were made one by Christianity. Our union commenced when we hoard the name of Christ – but I am looking at what

Taphana said – it is right. Yours is blood that was shed in one day not in two days – and my word is to Taphana, Let us arise and go. The Ministers who reside with the pakehas have not been strong to exhort their people against war. They have removed my pillow from under me. When Missionaries came first they had two ploughs, one for heaven and one for earth; the one for heaven was keeping going before our eyes, the other was kept out of sight they did not inform us, (meaning Missionaries were but pioneers who came to prepare the way for taking their land).

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Te Tamuhua (Waikato): If I lift my heels I shall have no strength in my knees. I am not dark, if I desire to go, I shall go without speaking of it. I mourn for the people (Taranaki); formerly we were divided by the wars of our fathers, now we are one, therefore I mourn for them.

Hoani Papita (Rangiaohia): I do not see the wisdom of this talk. The zeal of Taphana is the one thing, that is wrong; it is boast or bounce of his, and he has brought it to us, but his proposal falls to the ground. Rather let us keep to our point and not be drawn aside (the King movement); don't let us be divided; if we consent to Taphana, we shall be all wrong, don't let our talk go after William King, let us keep to our point. This will do at present, let our talk end for this day.

[The Natives of the Ngatimaniapoto tribe were no doubt encouraged to make these revolutionary proposals and to use the strong language contained in their speeches, by the speeches of two Waikato Chiefs, Te Wetini and Karamoa, who spoke the preceding day, when the Ngatiruanui and Ngatiawa presented their allegiance to Potatau.]

Wetini said: Welcome strangers. Come to us and bring the raupo and thatch that is to finish our house. This is the completion of our work (alluding to the fact of those distant tribes now joining formally the King party). Come, he said, the work is now finished. The house that God hath joined and made one is split, it is broken to pieces (referring to the collision between the Natives and Europeans at Taranaki); "Take my love to Kukutai," (a Chief that was killed at Waireka).

Karamoa followed in a similar strain, saying, Welcome, come and see me, I am pained, I have received a wound. Alas for me! my affliction is great. I have talked about land till I am weary, now I sit in grief, my very vitals move, I shake like the leaves of the weeping fern tree for my children. Come you and tell us of death. You have come from the scenes of death. Bring your grief to us, pour out your sorrow. Come to Waikato to the house we have built, let us hear all about it, our ears are listening to the intelligence of death.

He recited a Native waiata, expressive of his feeling-

Kokirikiri ai te ao kapura
E rere mai ra kei te moana
Kiko nei au, mihi atu ai
Tangi atu ai ki aku tamariki
Ehara i te tangata
Ko te whata toto, o te ngakau motuhia
Putunga mahara i a au, e, i.

The clouds are coming up from the sea (for the soldiers),
I am here, sympathizing with and weeping for my children;
Am I not a man?
The very fountain of blood in the heart will burst
With the depth of my feeling within me.

This Meeting was mainly composed of the Kawhia and Rangiaohia people, (Ngatimaniapoto,) a part of the tribe that advocates extreme measures, and forms the war party. Hence the revolutionary character of their speeches. Potatau peremptorily forbade them to go armed to Taranaki, but they

disregarded the prohibition, took arms, on pretence of conducting the Taranaki deputation (whom they also armed) back to their homes, but really with the intention of joining King in the war, declaring they should not return till they planted the Maori Flag on the Waitara land. The result of their expedition has not yet transpired. It is but just to record the honourable course pursued by them in the case of Mr. Parris. He met the party at Pukekahi in order to conduct the Taranaki men safely through the war district, and these men wickedly conceived a plot to take his life. But the Ngatimaniapoto divulged their treachery, took Mr. Parris under their protection, formed a guard around him, and conducted him safely beyond the point of danger, when they knelt down, engaged in prayer, and commending him to the care of Divine Providence, sent him on. Their conduct presents a striking contrast to that of the Taranaki men, who could so coolly

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conceive the idea of butchering one who had periled his own life to protect theirs.

The great meeting of the Waikato tribes, which was intended fully to establish the Maori Kingdom, was held at Ngaruawahia in the month of May of the present year. Great preparations were made, and expectations entertained of a very large and influential gathering. But the meeting was not so large as it was expected to be. It was principally composed of the tribes of lower Waikato, Manukau, Waipa, Rangiaohia, Matamata, and Taupo, with Representatives from Waingaroa, Aotea, Kawhia, Mokau, Tauranga, and Auckland, in all about 3000 souls, about 1400 males and 1600 women and children.

The Native Secretary Donald McLean, Esq., the Superintendent of Auckland J. Williamson, Esq., Mr. Rogan of the Native Land Purchase Department, Mr. Smallfield, of the "New-Zealander," Mr. Armitage, Bishop Selwyn, and Rev. Messrs. Morgan, Buddle, Wallis, Reid, Garavel, and several other Europeans were present during the meeting.

On the 18th May, the Superintendent, by appointment, had an interview with Potatau in the presence of several chiefs, when he directed his attention to the present disturbed state of the country, to its causes and its remedy. His Honor wished Potatau to understand that he did not come to him as a representative of the General Government, but as the representative of the settlers, and feeling much concerned on account of the disturbed state of the native mind, he had sought

this opportunity to assure him that the wish of the Europeans throughout the country is that the same peaceful relations and friendly feelings that have so long existed between the races may be still maintained and perpetuated. He also reminded Potatau of the great advantages the natives had realized from colonization, and the rapid progress they had made in those things which so materially contribute to their comfort and happiness as a people. He said he was very sorry to hear of the proceedings that had taken place lately amongst some of the tribes; and that he could see no good reason for the jealousies and suspicions that appeared to be entertained. Good-will toward the Maories had always been shewn by the Queen, by her Governors, and by her loyal people; the Queen's Government had been established with the consent of the natives, and ever since that time the Maori's rights and privileges were as carefully protected as those of the white man; the markets had been as free and open to them for the sale of their produce as to the Europeans, and when they wished to buy they were charged no more than the white man had to pay; the Courts of Justice were as accessible to them as to the pakeha, and in order that they might have confidence in the impartial administration of the laws, some of their own picked men had been appointed by the Governors to sit on the same bench with the Queen's Magistrates to try cases in which natives were concerned; Maoris had gone away from home to distant countries, and they had there enjoyed the protection of the Queen's flag when they were likely to suffer injury from foreigners; so long as they remained under the shadow of that flag they were safe, but the flag they proposed to set up could afford them no protection, and if they were so foolish as to persist in erecting it, they would most certainly bring evil upon themselves, and much confusion would follow. He expressed a hope that nothing would be permitted to destroy the good that was going on in the country.

Potatau listened attentively, occasionally indicating his approval by saying "korero tonu," (talk on – it is all true). He referred to the three principles on which they had set out, and declared his intention to abide by them; but, he said, "the people have added a fourth and a fifth, and may add more."

Karaka Tomo interposed and began to speak of the wars that had taken place between the Government and the Maories, in a strain that betrayed a wish to cast reflections on the Go-

vernment as the aggressors, when Potatau stopped him, saying, "The Maories only were to blame for the whole."

Takarei Te Rau took part in the conversation, and said "the first thing to be done is to get peace restored." He was told that the Governor had done all he could do to prevent the war, and now he would expect William King to ask for peace.

On the 21st, the tribes that had arrived announced, by a volley of musketry, their intention of visiting the king. Ngatihaua, with William Thompson at their head, came first. They numbered 150 men, all armed. They saluted the flag, and Wetini addressed the King thus, "O King! live for ever; thy Kingdom, thy mana, live for ever." "Honour the King," he said to the people: they all uncovered, made a low bow, and then retired.

The Ngatihinatu, Ngatihapakura, and Ngatimaniapoto came next, about 70 in all, 50 being armed. Hohepa, from Tauranga, gave the address, which was very revolting. "King, live for ever. Thou art not a man but a spirit. Thou didst not spring from earth but came down from heaven. Thou art a god. Thou art like Melchizedek, without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life."

The two parties then met at the encampment of Ngatihaua, to deliberate the question of peace or war; and to lay their plans for the great meeting.

The following korero (conversation) ensued: –

Tarei (Ngatimaniapoto): While men lived (i. e. before the war broke out), we could talk about plans. Now we have nothing to say (i. e. our course is clearly indicated). They say, I have transgressed (referring to his friends who have gone to the war). I have done no wrong. Pakehas are deceitful above all things. Our Ministers are negligent, I was asleep and they permitted me to sleep on (i. e. they did not warn). Now let us arise. Had we arisen in the beginning I should not have been here to talk.

Pairoroko: One word. Life for all. But let us wait for the sharp swords that are coming from Waikato. Let not the elders speak words that direct the way to evil; leave them inside, do not speak them out here. Words that incite to good accept them while they are being delivered. Let there be sincerity, but wait for Waikato, or the talk will be one-sided.

Porokoru of Kihikihi: "I have erred (referring to his people who plundered the stores at Rangiaohia), but then I erred from love. My word was pledged to my relatives, they are my blood, our blood is one. Hold fast New Zealand. Hold it. O Epiha (his friend absent at Taranaki). I salute thee, my son, who art gone south. Abide there, rest there. Let no memento be sent here, it would defile this place. We cast thee off" (a stroke of irony at those who condemned the expedition while at heart they approved its objects).

Paora Te Huatahi: You call New Zealand to rise. Are you placing it on a right foundation? Is it a foundation of truth? Loose her bonds and she will

stand firm. Do not serve her with eye service as menpleasers. How shall New Zealand be preserved? Not by war, but by the patience of her people. Let your patience be like Job's. Be a friend, an imitator of Job (meaning don't be tempted to take up arms). You say you intend to hold New Zealand and its mana. I say it will not be retained by going to war. But we are like Jews who, after they had received the Gospel, returned to the law of their fathers. We are looking toward the customs of our ancestors.

Patara: Fear not man, but do what is right. Never mind the sin of those who have gone, put that in your garments out of sight. Patience! It is our patience that has kept us quiet so long. But for patience we should not have held out to this day.

Eruere: Sleep there, young man, upon the bed you have made of new customs, but lay up in the storehouse that human thigh or the dogs will consume it. (A cannibal figure

for the land).

Huituara: I came here in my darkness. I came to Waikato at the call of the bell. Let us seek a refuge from the fierce dogs that fly upon us to tear us.

Tomō: Let us quietly search out the origin of this war. If the land be Taylor's, let him have it. Wetini says let us sympathise with W. King; let us hold the land. Thompson says, let us enquire into it, and see whether it is King's, and if partly Taylor's and partly King's divide it. The end of all is let us look to God. Wetini has opened this path to preserve our land.

Wetini: Send a letter to the Governor and request him to accompany William Thompson to Taranaki to investigate the matter. What disturbs me is, that the Governor did not send as his first army the Magistrates and Missionaries; but he sent the army of destruction that made Taranaki a battle field. His thought was not the right one. We must not consent to Thompson going there. Let us have our house built. I am an advocate for going; I do not say to fight. In fact, we have gone so far as our thoughts are concerned.

Tomō: We are preparing for the arrival of Waikato. Waikato has not yet seen us. Let us not be divided. Leave it to the decision of Waikato; though we are the majority, yet if our words be swallowed up by theirs, so let it be.

Henari: We are not divided. Let not our leaders go astray. The evil that has been done is traceable to our leaders.

Tomō: We are all leaders in turn. We sent messengers to Tāpīhana and Epiha and Waitere to detain them, but they would not be detained. If the Governor says Wm King must be destroyed, and the flag must come down, and the roads must be opened, I say No, no.

Tumuhua: Two sticks had been planted, one for the flagstaff and one for Taranaki. Tomō had thrown down the latter, indicating that it was not to be entertained. Tumuhua restored it, and said, "if this be cast away, let the other come done also": meaning our flag and our league bind us to support W. King, and if we do not, let us cast away this our flag.

William Thompson: I am disturbed by the letter received from Wm. King. I wish to understand the case, but do not see it. They (the Europeans) have forsaken the right way, they have become deranged like the King of Babylon who was turned into the forest. But let us not take up arms in an unrighteous cause. Ahab coveted Naboth's vineyard, and because Naboth would not give up the inheritance of his fathers Ahab was greatly disturbed. Jezebel his wife saw his trouble and said, I will give it thee. She brought Naboth to death by falsehood, and took it, but God avenged the deed. I do not forget some of the Kings of Judah who engaged in unrighteous war, how they perished in their sin. Therefore I hesitate, and say let us see our way. Wm, King says the land is his; Taylor says it is his. I say let us find out the owner. Do not make haste lest we make a mistake. I do not condemn the Governor for I not informed. As for the Queen she is the minister of God, and the minister of God is not supposed to do wrong. If wrong be done it is the fault of the Executive (te Kaihapai). I also remember the words of Paul, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power

but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God." I do not say, let us find out that the Governor is right, that I may join him: nor am I idle or unwilling to go to war if necessary, but let me have a just cause. I have heard, but I have not seen. Do you ask what shall be done if my proposition be accepted to go and investigate? If the Governor say that this (the Maori King), is the cause of the war, I see through it. If he say that it is the land, I see through that also. But I do not speak it, that is a matter not to be spoken here, it is a hidden word that is to be kept in the heart. We intend to keep our land, and if the Governor come to take another piece after this, then we shall have war.

Hoani Papita, of Rangiaohia: When Tamati went to see the Governor, the Governor told him he would hand over Waitara to Te Wherowhero. When Takarei visited the Governor he said that he must have Waitara, and that the murderers must be given up. But Maories will not consent to these demands. I do not condemn Tāpīhana (the leader of the Kawhia party, gone to Taranaki). And if the Governor demand the land, or the murderers, I say no, I shall keep my own. If he say Ngatiruanui shall be destroyed, and we consent, then he will do the same in other places, and land after land will go, but if he take another step, then we rise.

Wetini: I took away the stick that represented the Queen, because they took up arms after Christianity had been accepted and professed. I want to know whether the Governor paid his money before this movement of ours; if not, then I say what has been joined together cannot be put asunder. I had scarcely lighted my lamp and set it up before war was declared against us.

Kaperiera: I accompanied Wi Tako on his return from Waikato. I wanted to have an explanation about the Parawai (the mat that Teira presented to the Governor). We intended to see W. King, but on reaching Waitara we heard that war had commenced, that pakehas had been killed, so Tako would not visit King. We saw Ihaia and Teira. Teira asked – For what purpose have you come? We replied – To enquire about the mat and to take the truth back to Waikato. He said – The piece is small, the greater portion of Waitara is King's; mine is in the centre. Then came the news that Waikato was about to attack Auckland. I went to King and said – I have come to enquire about the mat. He replied – "The report is correct. I looked on in silence." I said – "That was your error, you ought to have taken it away." "I did not," he replied, "I simply threw a word at the Governor, and said to him 'I will not give you my land; I did not take up the mat, but I spake my word. The pakeha wants our land, but this war is about your Maori king. Don't listen to the pakeha, but bring your flag to Waitara. Go back and clear them out; send them all back to England.'"

Porokoru: I agree with Wetini and Thompson. Our three principles have been trodden down. Christianity is dead. The weight of the burden will fall on Hoani and myself. We shall have the consequences of the war expedition to meet. It cannot be helped. Hoani's words are correct.

Paora: Don't think us unwilling to take our share of the burden, only let us see that it is right.

Katene: I have some questions to ask. The Governor and W. King have been at war some time, and blood has been shed. Now, should you find that King is wrong, and that he persists in his wrong, what shall we do? One replied, "Take Waitara ourselves." If Governor demand the murderers, shall we give them up? If it were but the beginning and no war had taken place, we might see our way; but it is dark.

Patara: If W. King be wrong, we shall say, Give to the Governor the land he has bought, but don't give up the men. If the Governor be wrong, then let the land return to Rangitake. Let us not get our fingers bitten at that place. About the murders: that murder was committed is not clear to me. It was "uru maranga" – (carrying on war begun); therefore I will not give up those men. The Governor came first; if those deaths had been first and war after, I should say surrender them.

Heta (Ngatihaua): Make haste to hold the land – though it was Teira's, hold it.

Kohura (Tawhaki): Ihaia is the murderer. Yet he is the Governor's friend. Ihaia's conduct was not displeasing to the Governor – he did not look on Ihaia's work as murder, and we do not call such things murder here.

Katene: We all know, and the Pakehas all knew, that our King was elected and the kingdom set up when they bought the land. What I want to know now is, what we shall do if we find that William King is wrong, and that he persist in his wrong

Timoti: We have heard all that can be said on both sides, and now I say, leave that piece of land as an Aceldama, a field of blood – leave it.

Wetini laid down several branches of manuka to represent the places that had received Christianity. Moving them all he said, See, they are all disturbed; the doings of the Governor has made them creep. I do not call the work at Taranaki murder. It was the Governor's work, not the work of this land. I call the death of Hemi³ a murder, and the death of the woman⁴ was murder: the Pakeha has been guilty of murder. If I invite a Pakeha to see me on pretence of showing him kindness and then when he is in

my power kill him, I call that murder. Now when they attack us, either above or below, we shall not forbear.

Te Raihi: Leave it all alone. Why should we take it up? Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind, and do what he likes with his own land. If he choose to sell let him sell. If he wish to hold let him hold his own.

On the 24th of May, the Oraki, Manukau and Lower Waikato Natives arrived. They had pulled within three miles the day before, but according to Native etiquette would not enter Ngaruawahia in the evening, they therefore encamped by the river side. At early morning a discharge of musketry announced their approach. The settlement was all excitement, the men drawn up in front of Potatau's house, in in the old style of Maori warfare, firing at intervals, and flanked by nearly 200 women, dressed in European clothing, having their heads decked with feathers, waiting to sing the song of welcome.

About 11 o'clock a flotilla of about 15 war canoes rounded a point of the Waikato that opens the Settlement, and slowly approached. The canoes decorated, the flags flying (not the Union Jack as at former Meetings but the Maori flag) the men dressed in gay attire, some with spear in hand chanting a Maori canoe chant and beating time for the paddles, presented altogether an interesting picture, as they floated on the waters of the noble Waikato, under the wooded mountains which cast their shade over the scene. As they approached a Maori ngeri was heard issuing from the canoes, chanted by many voices, and expressive of their determination to hold their land.

Ka Ngapu te Whenua
Ka haere nga tangata Kihea?
E Ruaimoko
Purutia tawhia, Ki aita.

(FREE TRANSLATION.)

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Like creeping thing
The Land is moving,
When gone, where shall man
Find a dwelling?
Oh, Ruaimoko!⁵
Hold it fast
Retain it firmly
In thy grasp
And bid it stay.

The army on shore responded by another ngeri, signifying the Maori flag shall hold it.

E Tama, te uaua E
E Tama te Maroro E
Na hoki ra, te tohea, te uaua na,
I taku ringa e mau ana, e tu na
E tu nei te aroaro o Parutanaihi
E tu nei
E-E-E.

(TRANSLATION.)

Son, here is sinew,
Son, here is strength,
Hence this strife.
The weapon's held
Within my hand.
There you stand
And here am I.
In presence of Parutanaihi⁶
We stand.

The women chanted the usual welcome, and Potatau stood on the hill saluting his friends thus, "Come my fathers, come my brothers, come on the waters over which your ancestors pulled their canoes. Come on the Waikato. Welcome, welcome!

The visitors landed amid the wildest demonstrations of joy, and the parties joined in a war dance, in which men and women vied with each other in expressions of savage delight.

On the morning of the 25th a discharge of musketry from different parties, and military drill in some parts of the encampment, indicated another demonstration. About 10 o'clock the tribes turned out for a korero in the style of warriors rather than in that of politicians. They met near Potatau's house and repeated the war dance with great excitement. To thoughtful minds this second demonstration betokened evil. Wm. Naylor considered it as an indication of deep feeling against Europeans, and intended as an act of defiance. He evidently

felt greatly disappointed that the Lower Waikatos were throwing themselves so decidedly into this movement. It was expected that they would throw the weight of their influence into the opposite scale, and was relying upon them for support. To his great surprise, and contrary to the expectations of many, they came fully resolved on planting the new flag staff, which act was to be regarded as the complete establishment of the Maori Kingdom; "Te wakaotinga o te pa," (the finishing of the pa). This greatly disturbed Naylor and being also informed that it was intended to insult him by bringing a woman to reply to him if he addressed the meeting, he resolved to leave at once and return to Raglan. This determination he would certainly have carried out, but his intention becoming known to some of the leading men, they sent Thompson to request him to remain and take part in the meeting promising him an impartial hearing; to this he consented. (See his address to Broughton, p. 44).

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After indulging in this second demonstration they sat down for a korero, and the following speeches were delivered.

Iraia saluted the Waikatos – Welcome, welcome.

Wharepu: Call us; call us; bind the cord; make it fast; bind the tribes together; make fast the cords; hold them tight that the union be firm; it is not of yesterday, it is from time immemorial.

Tuhikitia: Come to us (mihi mai); drag out our canoe; paddle it hither; swim to us, (kau mai).

Patara and Hori te Waru⁷ – Welcome (Haere mai).

Ruihana: Call to us, call to us, Te Taniwha below; call to us, we float towards you; we are not of to day, Waikato is of old (o tua iho o era ra).

Te Paraone (Ngatipo): Call us, call us to land; let us see the finish – this is the finish.

"Ka ngapu te Whenua," &c., as before.

Hone Papita: Come and fetch me; cut me, tear me in pieces for the sin I have committed against thee, O Waikato taniwa rau (with hundred Chiefs).

Tomo followed in the same strain, concluding by saying, – Ma te pakeha e toro mai. (Let the pakeha first lift his hand to us.)

Wetini (Ngatihaua): We have been divided into parties, lived in enmity; now we are again united, but the land is gone, it is in bondage; the Governor has disturbed it.

Te Kereihe:⁸ Your work will advance; we help it forward. Taupiri we salute thee. This is the canoe – the canoe for us. We come to support you; you shall live by us. You rise; by us you shall advance (referring to the Maori Kingdom).

Wiremu Te Rahurahu: Come up hither; descend to us; bring to me the living water; come to truth – come in uprightness; come directly to truth.

Horomona (a blind man), opposed the war party by chanting the following song: –

The wind blows keenly,
Its blast has sorely pierced me.
The stars are hidden from me;
And I tremble like the birds
That flutter, when dark clouds

Fly across their path.
Who has created this night of sorrow
That now o'erspreads the land?
Who is he, that conceived
This thought of war?
Why does he not return
By the same plebeian path
That brought him here,
Nor dare to tread on sacred ground?
From the councils of the great ones
Has thou come
To break our long repose?
Whither would'st thou lead us?
End now thy strife
And leave us pure,
That we may rest in peace.
Who is the evil spirit
That prompts to war?
Bid him keep at distance,
Lest maddened by his wiles
We fall into the snare of Rongo,
The man who came to fetch us.
Withdraw thy stretched-out hand,
Return it to thy bosom undefiled –
Pollute it not.

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Tamati (Ngatipo) and Piripi Manaia: Each uttered a few words of compliment in the usual style

Te Tutere (Ngatihaua): Listen! Ascend, come up to us. We prayed to God, and asked him to send Potatau back to Waikato, and our prayers brought him back.

Te Munu: It is not right to leave it (the flag staff) on the ground; let us unite and rear it.

The korero was interrupted at this point by two men presenting a dish to make a collection for the King, at which many took umbrage, arose, and departed, and the meeting dispersed.

In the afternoon they met again, in a more quiet and subdued manner, and resumed the korero.

Heta commenced with a few words of salutation.

Porokoru: Waikato, come to us; although we are little among the tribes our fame travels (referring to the new movement), the Maori customs had separated us into units, but this unites us again.

Reweti (Ngatiwhatua): Call us; unite us; be strong; we swim to you. If your intentions and plans are straight I shall laugh (be pleased), if they turn out crooked I shall not; but I am in the whare-here-house of bondage; and therefore, have nothing to say.

Te Heu Heu (Taupo): Come up here; ascend to us; give us living water; I was dying; the water that was given to me was bad; now I live, for I have obtained living water (referring to the new thing); come, join us in this work; if the land die, (i. e., if it be alienated) the power of man will perish with it.

Hone Kingi: Here we come to you, to that which is right; be strong to work it out.

Lo this is the fortress!
And the sentinel keeps watch;
Vines from the forest bind its spars,
And I am safe within. Oh! oh!

Iraia Ngatikoroki: Here is the work for us; come to it all you men who know how to make canoes; this is the pa; this is the sentinel; we have forsaken the customs of our ancestors; sleep on Tamaki; sleep on all the places; let not your rest be broken, we have no evil intentions.

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Ihaka (of Pukaki): Here am I; I was here yesterday; I am here to-day to work at that which is good; evils have befallen me; I have gone wrong; you talk of your goodness, where is your goodness? If you ascend to that which is good all will be right; break up the house that stands before us; don't turn upon me to strike me, that is what I call good; my fathers don't strike me (meaning the Europeans, with whom he identified himself); let me strike the first blow (i. e. let Europeans strike first). Though I have been distant and unseen by you, I have been acquainted with your proceedings. He kuri patete tenei ekore e mutu (this is a dog that barks often and does not end – meaning the Europeans), My fathers, work at it, work at it.

Ruihana: Look here, you talk of being good, your good is like this (holding out his hand and presenting the palm) there is good there to-day, to-morrow it is turned to evil (turning the palm of his hand downward); talk about goodness, kindness, love! But my korero will not please you; I say let this good be more than talk; let it be real; let it be confirmed; take it into your breasts, and button it up in your shirts close up to the throat; if good prevail over the present evil, I shall be saved in these times of trouble; then I shall believe it is good you mean; but if not where is our goodness; if good be seen then I shall be able to worship God in peace the rest of my days. Onenuku was once my God; I have forsaken him and Christ is now my God.

Wiremu Te Ipu: Work away my friends, I also will work with you. Let your work be one; let it be in accordance with Christian law. The Maori talk to which we have listened for so many days is no good; let your energy be given to that which accords with Christian precepts.

Te Tutere: Work! pursue the path that leads you to that which is good. This is the house – New Zealand rise (for the flagstaff), if thou art left on the ground, the people decline, New Zealand is lost.

Ruhana: Clear the paths, let there be light (meaning speak out that we may understand your movements); as for the flagstaff that will go up. What of that? The stick is nothing; it is the things that are beneath it; bring them out; throw your plans down before us that we may see what they are like.

Hori Rakaupango spoke angrily to Wiremu Te Ipu. Guns have first been given to us, and afterwards we are exhorted to be good. Has he not given us cause (i. e. Europeans)? We have done no wrong this time, if any, it was in ignorance. You are talking about peace, nothing but peace. Let us not be mocked. I am not going to talk deceitfully about being good, when I have already done wrong.

Ruhana: I must persevere in asking you to clear the way. What is the utility of that stick? It is what is inside we want to see. What does it mean? What is it to accomplish?

Paora: The object for which I came here and left my wife and children at home is the thing that lies on the ground. This is the object for which I came up from Waikato (referring to the flagstaff).

Iraia: I am weary with replying to objections from the other side. I have been toiling at it for years, perhaps they (the Waikatos) have more light upon the subject, but I do not know what they mean.

Pakaroa: I did not come here to talk about anything but one. Come, now, let us be united; the sea is troubled, but though agitated now, our union will put it to rest. Come and find rest on your ocean, though stormy, come and see it. I did not invite you here to obstruct my plans, or to put down my work.

Apihai Te Taua: Though I am but little, of no name or note, I do not intend to join you or take up your plans. Where will it end? in what place will it finally rest? If I could see what is meant, I should return enlightened. My desire is to maintain unity, Christianity, friendship, truth, and peace.

Kiwi (an old chief of the Tainui tribe): I am a bird from the ocean. I am surrounded by the Pakehas. I am their friend; they are my friends. I intend to remain their friend. He then sought to draw out the intentions of the war party by the following song: –

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The dwellers on the hills and in the vales
Keep faithful watch toward the coast;
The dwellers on the shores washed by the tides
Guard closely every pathway from the land.
Like those who suddenly aroused,
We start amazed, and watch
With long and anxious looks
To find a clear untortuous course.
Hush, Tu!⁹ we bid thee sleep.
Rongo,¹⁰ awake! command the rivers;
Withhold them not, my son,
But bid them flow to ocean bed,
Straight as a tree, that boughless, shoots on high;
Then men will say, How noble!
When Rongo marks the path,
And leads the way.

Te Wetini (Ngatihaua): My remarks are in reply to those of Te Taua." (Planting three sticks in the ground, he pointed to the first, and said) "This represents the Queen, the middle one God, the third the mana of New Zealand;" taking a piece of flax he tied them together, intimating they were once united; breaking the flax, he remarked: "the love has been cut, the union exists no longer, the Governor has severed it." (Throwing down the stick that represented the Queen), "that, he said, we have thrown away, now only God and the Maories remain. You (Ngatiwatua) have nothing to say. Rewiti spoke truth yesterday. You are in the house of bondage, but I am determined to maintain my mana (sovereignty or power); therefore I turn my back on pakehas and my face to Taranaki, my mana rests on that land, and I go to defend it."

Paul (of Oraki): Turn your face again this way and look on the man you have so much admired (meaning pakehas); have you just now discovered a new and better way? Don't cast me behind you; I am the man who can teach you what is good and right; here it is. – love both races, both the white skin and the black skin; be kind and loving to all. I will set up the stick you have thrown away (stepping forward and re-erecting it). The wrong has been done by the Maori – my brother. I do not think the blame belongs to the pakeha.

SATURDAY MORNING.

William Naylor, Te Awaiaitaia, arose (after Morning prayer) and addressed Broughton, Maioha as the congregation was dispersing: – "Brother," he said, "I did not come here to be mocked; I am here by your invitation; I came because I was sent for; and now I am told that if I speak to the Runanga a woman will reply to me; what is my fault that I am to be insulted? I do not intend to allow myself to be thus treated; I therefore resolved on returning home this morning, but Thompson has been to detain me; at his request I have consented to remain; but I do not intend to be put to shame."

Broughton replied. You are correct; who has witnessed your wrong doing? when did you depart from your consistency? you have maintained it throughout; you chose your course, you have kept it, with you there has been no twisting about; no to and fro; you stand on your own ground.

William Naylor added: "I have one word more; the work you are engaged in is treachery towards my brother" (Potatau); then turned away and retired without waiting any further reply. This was a strong expression, but it was intended to shew the party how strongly he felt on the subject, and to be a protest against their proceedings.

Several Waikato chiefs visited Potatau this morning at his house, including Apihia Te Kawau, Wetere Kauae, Te Ao-o-te-rangi, &c. After a tangi, they severally addressed Potatau.

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Te Ao-o-te-rangi said: The truth my brother – kindness to the Pakeha; be like I am, my friend, let it be friendship and kindness; I have no disquiet about our relative, our grand-child, that was killed in Auckland (meaning Hemi who was killed in Chancery-street in 1854); let the waters of the Waikato flow gently on till they reach the sea; let there be no ripple on the stream; let it find its way to the ocean undisturbed; as for Taranaki, its troubles are its own; they have arisen from its own acts; you are no stranger to such things, that you should be drawn aside; the thing that is right for you is truth and kindness; be kind, my brother, maintain your friendship with the Pakeha; the Pakeha has done no wrong; the wrong has been committed by the Maori; be like me, my brother, be like me.

Wetere and Apihai followed in the same strain.

The great Runanga having met again, –

Wharepu began: Let us love both Pakeha and Maori; let this be the rule for all, from Upper Waikato to the sea gates. This is the work to talk about and to do; we have had enough of other things in days gone by.

Raihi (Ngatihaua) put down three sticks, drawing a piece of flax round them, one to represent the Governor, one the Divine Being, and a third the Pakeha, then asked the question, Who has cut the cord and severed the union?

Te Wetini took down the stick that Raihi had erected to represent the Governor, and set up another, then drew a circle round the whole: Now, he said, the first is the mana of the Queen, this gave us law. The second, is the Divine Being who sent the word and is the origin of the law. He has become the enemy of the first, and the keeper of the third. The third is the mana of New Zealand. Here is a fourth, this is Taranaki. Governor has been there and done wrong. He has cut the thread that bound us and severed the union. The Queen and her mana is cast off. God and the Maories remain united. Governor ought to have gone and enquired into the conduct of Te Rangitake, then returned, consulted Potatau and formed a committee of Missionaries, Magistrates and Chiefs to enquire into the matter and if they found that Rangitake is wrong, settle the matter by giving the land to the Governor. But he went to Taranaki and let out all his wrath at once. Therefore, I say, only God and Potatau remain in the union. Let the Governor cease to purchase, if he persist we shall have difficulties. A word about Te Rewiti's remarks, who said, "I am in the house of bondage." I know it. What then? I am not discouraged, or weak, because you cannot join me. I turn my face away from you because you look in the opposite direction. I look towards Taranaki because Governor has done wrong; he cut the cord, and now the Maori may fight against God, because of the acts of the Pakeha, for if you come behind to pluck my hair I shall then turn round in self-defence.

Raihi: By his talk you hear that Governor has done wrong, but don't be hasty; look at it, investigate, until the wrong is made quite clear, or becomes quite dark (i. e. proved unfounded).

Te Karira: If this talk be good let all the world hear and believe it. This is my thought for Waikato. If the water be dammed at the river's mouth the stream will return and overflow the banks; therefore, I say, dam it up till it becomes a great lake.

Tamati Ngapora: Enough of this kind of talk. We began at Paetai and all the talk there was of peace, we determined that peace alone should be our theme. The question arises, Peace with whom? The answer is, With all; of both families, with the Pakeha in every place. Let this word be fulfilled. Lift it up and I shall rejoice. If evil arise in any place appoint a committee to go and put it down. If it come from the Pakeha let this be the plan, that our motto "Peace" may be seen to be true. We have done wrong (referring to the expedition to Taranaki) but let

us not censure those who have erred, or condemn them, when they turn, let us bring them back to the right way. Let all agree to my proposal, let us cast guns, powder, ball, hatchets, and all such weapons into the great sea, and henceforth let all disputes be settled by arbitration.

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Luther: I agree with Tamiti who has just spoken; I do so because my day of judgment is near. I am a man of no importance, I am but a dog. Yet I approve of the three principles, Christianity, Love, and Law. I advocate love to both Pakeha and Maories. The best thing this great assembly can do is to unite and erect a Temple for the worship of God.

Wm. Thompson (Tarapipipi): I have been the cause of the trouble. But we are like the birds. Birds do not cry out unless there be an enemy in sight, except indeed in the morning and evening. At day-break their song is heard; and at the twilight again, but not in the day time unless some bird of prey appears. They sit quietly in the branches of the trees and make no noise until they see the great bird, the hawk, that comes to destroy them, then all cry out; great birds and small there is a general cry, (meaning we were quiet, and should have remained so, had not a great bird disturbed us and aroused our fears). I am about now to speak ill of our Ministers. The word of God lies clear and plain. The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests but the Son of Man has not where to lay his head. Have our Ministers spoken truly? I am grumbling, but it is the darkness of my heart that causes me to do so. "Seek not things of earth," this word cannot be true. "Lay not up treasures on earth," are these words true or not? These are my words to our Ministers; their eyes have looked to earth. They brought the word first then turned to purchase land.¹¹ Let these my words be laid up in a storehouse for our Ministers. Here is our territory, this is ours (pointing to the circle made by Wetini). Let us retain this. Let not the Pakeha cross to us. Let not the Maori cross to the Pakeha. I say, let both labour for things of eternity. If the Pakeha works only for earth I must do the same. But, I say, not for earth only, but for Heaven too. I have no desire for war. What then shall we say to the Governor? It is for him to shew us the way. Let him come to us in peace. Why should he be angry with us? What is the cause? If we had looked only to earth he might have had cause for his wrath. I love the Governor and shall not loose the cord that binds us; if loosed, he shall loose it. I love him in Christian bonds. Cease to censure the Governor. If all the Chiefs will agree to the proposals of Tamati I do, and let the Governor agree also. While he holds his weapons we hold ours. He holds his to defend himself, and I hold mine for the same purpose.

Te Oriori: The way to have peace is to love the Governor and to love the land. Don't go and sell land clandestinely, this is important advice. The Governor has plenty of arms but we have only half a supply. The Governor has done no wrong – the wrong has been done by ourselves, we have offered the land for sale. This is the gun that has caused the trouble; throw this away and we shall have peace.

Wm. Thompson (Tarapipipi): Let the subject be taken up and settled by the Chiefs. Let all questions be disposed of now we are assembled together. Shall we go to Governor, or shall we join Rangitake? Let us search out the merits of the case, that if we die we may die in a righteous cause. Let us find out who is wrong, if the Governor, then let us tell him to go. But let us not join in that which is wrong lest, like Israel of old, we fall into error and die for it. My desire is to investigate the matter, and if the Chiefs are convinced that the Governor has done wrong, then all unite in telling him to stand aside.

Te Waka (Ngatimahanga): If the Governor has done wrong, then I assent to the proposal to ask for his removal, but if it turn out that all the evil has arisen from this movement of yours, how then? Do you see the boundary line that Wetini has drawn to divide the Maories from the Pakeha? I shall remove it (taking a piece of fern and rubbing out the line that had been drawn in the sand).

Te Karamoa: I understand Waka's meaning, but I leave the subject for the present. My thoughts are dark about this matter. I shall speak on the subject of peace, which has been so much urged upon us. Who is it that has disturbed the peace? The Governor has refused to listen to the million, but any ill looking scrofulous old man, any slave that would go and offer land for sale could obtain his ear, he will listen to those who will sell their land.

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Heta (of Mangere): It may be all right, but I have a word about this scrofulous old slave. Who is he of whom you speak? Your wrong doing has been published abroad; the bad news has reached us, therefore, I approve of Waka's proposal to destroy the boundaries you have drawn.

Te Ao-a-te-rangi: I have no name. Yet I will stand up. Look here, this is mine (holding a food-basket (kono) in his hand, which he buried in the earth, and continued) this is for Hemi (his son who was killed in Auckland by a blow from a European). I have received no satisfaction for the death of my boy. The Government is my debtor to this day. Listen Ngatihaua and Ngatimaniapoto and all the tribes, listen. Let your patience be equal to mine. When I transgress you may follow my example. The Governor has done us no wrong. The wrong done has been done by ourselves, I have done it. I shall maintain friendship with the Pakeha, because I am within the pakeha's fence.

Paora: You have referred to the death of Hemi, and I could refer to Heta who was shot at the other day by the sailor at Waikato. In reference to the reports that reached us about an ambuscade waiting to cut off the Ngatiruanui, that was the Kiri Kumera's proposal to the Governor. I do not wish to seek utu for Hemi's death. As for Te Rangitake, he is my brother, but I shall tell him to fight his own battles. You advocate peace, and talk about being good, what kind of goodness shall it be? Let it not be that of the Pharisee, all pretence. Let us seek peace. If the Governor spit upon us twice, thrice, then we may have cause to move.

Tamati (Ngapora): Do I understand that what you mean about being good is, that you will not go to Taranaki? Some have gone, and they are blamed and censured; but do not let us be severe with them, when they return let us lead them back to the right way. Hold fast, be decided, don't move from this determination.

Wm. Thompson (Tarapipipi): I don't understand your thoughts. Don't let us spend time about those who have gone to Taranaki, but decide what we mean about peace and goodness. This is it, to search out the cause of the war, and when we have found it put this matter for ever to sleep – if we simply look at it with our eyes we shall see nothing. It is quite right to talk of friendship with the pakehas, let us be kind to the pakehas. But there are dangers. All pakehas do not behave well. We have those residing amongst us that often quarrel with our people, and treat them ill, the danger is that in some of their squabbles the Maori may in his passion injure the pakeha, then we shall be brought into collision with the Government. Therefore I say the pakehas had better all go away from our land and live within the Queen's territory. In reference to the stores that have been plundered at Kawhia and Rangiohia, I am not sure that any robbery was committed. It was more probably a collusion between the pakehas and the Maories.

Te Kereihe put his arms round the three sticks that Wetini had planted in token of his determination to maintain the union, and said you may be ashamed of the connection. I am not, for what I embrace is not wealth, that I have obtained by theft, but riches that have legitimately come to my hand, and therefore I say peace, nothing but peace. The signs of the heavens I do not understand.

Te Karira (from Aotea): We are only a few slaves that are left at Aotea, and therefore we are not represented at this meeting. I simply ask a question. "Is it decided that nobody shall go to Taranaki?" Reply from one of the meeting, "Who has any intention of going to Taranaki to be mocked by the pakeha?"

Te Moni: Is it peace and goodness you are talking about? If I were a baptized man I should not think of doing evil, look at baptismal vows, what do they imply? Will you forsake the works of the devil and the world, and all Maori customs? Many have assented, have taken these vows, and afterwards turned to evil. Look

at the pakehas. They are baptized but they have not forsaken evil. Two things induced us to elect a king, – first that he might preserve our land, second that he might protect and defend us.

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Tamati (Ngapori): I don't approve of any boundaries, and I do not consent to cast off the men who have gone to Taranaki. They are Ngatimaniapotos who have gone. They are halfcastes, they came from Taranaki, and they have gone to see their friends. As for Waikato some of you have desired to go but now the matter is settled. We have heard that the intention is abandoned. Leave those who are gone, don't go after them, but when they return bring them over to our views, and persuade them to unite with us in keeping peace; and as for Wm. King let us drag him over too.

Apairama: I belong to the people you censure. Shall we boast of our strength because of our guns, or rather shall we not boast of our union? The reason why the expedition has gone to Taranaki is that our flag is there. The land is full of flags.

Ruihana: Europeans your acts must be weighed, make haste go to the Governor, get all the information he can give, and let us balance. As things are it is sometimes day, sometimes night, good and bad alternate, nothing is settled.

William Naylor (Te Awaitaia): To Waikato I say I am here by your request, your letter brought me to this meeting. To Ruihana, I say, what is all that to me? I address myself to Thompson. You say that you are understood, but I do not comprehend your movements. If they turn out right all will be well. My word is this, that is your way, this is mine. You intend to take up that ground, I shall remain on this. I do not say to these chiefs this shall be mine (i.e. this new movement). I am the ill looking scrofulous old man you speak of. Ihaia of whom you have spoken was my slave, I reared him, and when I became Christian returned him to his home. Say not that our present troubles have originated at Taranaki, that were false. Say not that the pakehas have caused them, that were false. I ask you to assent to this, according to my thoughts the peace of Waikato should be preserved in Waikato – let there be no hankering after Taranaki, what is Taranaki to us now that we have embraced the gospel? Thompson hear my word, while I tell you where you have gone wrong. You are casting your net over both land and men. This is your error, cease to act thus. End your attempts to enclose the land in your net, and end your attempts to throw it over men. Let your sayings and doings be straight. What can you do? Do you not see how Potatau clings to the pakehas? He will not unloose his hold. The basket of Te Ao-o-te-rangi, let that remain in its grave, let it not be named. Thompson do not get into trouble, lest you draw me into trouble also. Be admonished, take warning, lest we should turn aside into the old path that has been so long whakatupued. (forsaken, not trodden) meaning the path of war.

Ruihana: We are all tapu (sacred) by Christianity, we ought to love all for God made all, fishes, birds, and men. But why did our first parents sin and lead us all astray, who was the first murderer? Was not he who turned upon his brother? Is it not the same now? But the question is settled, let it not be disturbed – we have all seen and heard," (meaning the question of another expedition to Taranaki.)

Hoani Kingi I hold to Potatau's declaration, that Christianity, Love, and Law shall be our foundation. I believe also in his proclamation, "Aua te aha, aua te aha" – let there be no evil done on any account whatever. But Tapihana has made all fly, (i. e., a leader in the party gone to Taranaki has disregarded all that has been said.)

Te Heuheu (of Taupo): My opinion agrees with Ruihana's. "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." I say let the gospel be fulfilled. Let Thompson and William Te Awaitaia, and McLean go to Rangitake, and settle the quarrel, then we shall sleep in peace. When peace is restored let us preserve it until the Governor breaks it.

Raihi (Ngatihaua): I am one of the ill-looking scrofulous men who have been referred to, for I maintain that every man has a right to do what he likes with his own land, why should another interfere with mine? This is what I understand to

be good, let each man dispose of his own land as he pleases. Let this be the law then we shall have peace.

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Jacob of Wangaroa: That is right. Mine is the district that reaches from Wangaroa to Waipa. I am contented to be called a "scrofulous." I shall do as Raihi recommends, then you will fall upon me for I am the only tribe that at present proposes to sell land. So be it.

Tura, a Ngapuhi: Here am I, a Ngapuhi. Ngapuhi has led the way in good things, we sent them on to you. Though Ngapuhi is now a poor man, yet the Governor has nourished us. But I know not how to speak to thee, thou art a Taniwha (a sea God) a thief, O Ngatihaua (Thompson's tribe). Waikato work out thy plans, I shall not accept them, for the Queen hangs upon my neck (alluding to the native ornament Heitiki worn suspended round the neck). If you had consulted Ngapuhi at the commencement of your movement we might have joined you but now we are embracing the Queen, and do not intend to be separated from her. I am the representative of Tamati Waka, I

came from him to this meeting. As for our land we have said to it go away. Te Heuheu, your proposals will not be approved nor your plans succeed.

Tamati Ngapora: I wish my proposals to be disposed of. "Rangitake give me that piece of land that has caused the war." "Give me that piece that has been purchased and paid for by the Governor."

Patene (Ngatimaniapoto) replied, representing W. King, "I shall not give it up."

Tamati: Give it to me.

Patene: "I am under some mistake." He then planted a stick in the ground to represent Potatau and Waitara and said, "this is Potatau my mana stands there; after my mana rested on the land the scrofulous man arose, offered it for sale and the Governor accepted the offer."

Tamati: That is Potatau, is it? and this land has been handed over to Potatau, has it? Then it is mine, I represent Potatau here and I give this land to the Governor. (Tamati was instructed by Potatau to adopt this plan.)

Patene: For what reason do you give that land to the Governor?

Tamati: That peace may be restored and our trouble cease.

Matutaira (Ngatimahanga): He drew a circle around him on the sand, and standing in the centre he said, This piece is mine. Leave me in possession of my own. If I fly to land that is not my own, then patu (strike) me. Hear all ye chiefs this piece is mine, let none of you come to take mine. I shall do what I like with my own, and no man shall prevent me.

Iraia: Spread your piece underneath you. Let it be as a mat to rest upon. But if sales continue then all will soon be gone. The head is consumed, the shoulders are gone, what remains? Then Europeans give us guns. You would give us nothing but gospel; give us guns and powder and lead, distribute them through the land. (Meaning if land sales continue a general war will be the consequence.)

Tamati (Ngapaoa): Te Heuheu will you give that piece of land to me? (meaning Waitara.)

Patene: If I give up that, another piece will be purchased by and bye. How then?

Tamati: Leave that to me, am I not your father?

Patene: I do not consent for this reason, that if I should, the same thing will occur again and again.

Tamati: Shall I consider you as the father?

Patene: All that I have done is this. I have received letters from all quarters handing over land to me. I have not gone and taken unauthorized possession of any man's land. I have coveted no man's property, nor said hand over to me the lands of any tribe. When requested to accept land by letters which have come to me, I have done so, and on this ground I claim a right over those lands, and call them mine.

Paora, Te Wata, I have come here my relatives to assert and maintain our mana. Chiefs have come and slaves have come too because the white man is

eating up their land. The word that has been quoted from the Gospel is all right: "Go ye into all the world, &c.," if they had been content with that, but after that came soldiers, and then the enslaving of men.

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Thompson (Tarapipipi): Just as the Governor has prohibited the sale of ardent spirits and guns, so I prohibit the sale of land. Is there any objection to purchase the land in dispute at Waitara? How many hundred pounds will be required to pay for it? But say not that this land is the only cause of the war. Why does not the Governor speak out and fully declare all the reasons for his wrath? If he is angry about our kingdom and intend to put it down by force of arms let him say so, that we may understand our position. What about "Te Kiri Kumera?" (Ihaia one of the loyal chiefs of Taranaki.) The Governor has formed an alliance with him, if so I shall be able to justify the "uru maranga" (the murders committed on the defenceless Europeans at Taranaki). His allusion is to the murder of Katatore by Ihaia's party.

William Naylor (Te Awaitaia): Don't speak of that king (greatest) of murderers. Katatore was the king of murderers. Did he not murder Rawiri and his friends? Was not that the murder, the greatest act of treachery? Was it not the beginning and the cause of all that followed? If we had nothing to dispose of but the land question it would be easy. We can see daylight through this – but there are the murders. Talk not of "uru maranga," that would have been true according to our former customs, but according to our present custom (our Christianity) it is not true.

Rev. T. Biddle: Do you wish to justify those murders by your former customs, by calling them a "uru maranga?" What are we to understand by this? That you have returned to heathenism? You have renounced Maori customs and embraced Christianity. You profess to be guided by Christian laws. Now, you appeal to Maori law in justification of acts which Christianity denounces as foul murders. Therefore I ask have you renounced Christianity and gone back to Maorism? We regard those acts as murder in the sight of God and man. If my children are peacefully playing or working in the field, and a person or persons take a tomahawk and cut them to pieces is it not murder? What sin had those children committed that they should be thus brutally murdered? But your own principles condemn you. Have you not adopted those principles to form the basis of your new kingdom? Do you not constantly put these forth as your principles of action? Let me ask you by which of those three can you justify the acts of the Taranaki people? By the first, which is Christianity? No; Christian law says it was murder. By the second, Love? No, Love denounces it as murder. By the third, Law? No, all law both of God and man declares it foul murder, and deals with it as such. Cease to talk about "uru maranga," and let those wicked acts receive their merited retribution.

Tumuhuia: I am willing to allow that according to your (European laws) those acts are regarded as murders, but according to Maori law they were but "uru maranga." In reference to the land I approve of the proposal to refund the money that Governor has paid for the purchase.

Te Oriori addressed Tamati: You say you are the father. We have given our land and our mana to you, and we expect you to protect it, but not to give it away.

Hopa: Proposals are made by Tamati. Look at them, they point the way to peace. Why should any of you be disturbed by Tamati's proposals, they are correct. If you go to Taranaki to join W. King no peace will come out of that. If you think well to send a deputation to investigate the matter, good, go in peace, and when you are satisfied that the land was Taylor's leave it to his disposal.

Ruihana: Yes, let us go, Pakeha and Maori, if the land be Taylor's all will be easy, but if we find that it is King's in whole or in part how then? ("Divide it" was the reply from the crowd.) Let us go also to the Governor and have it settled, talking here will not settle it. The Governor ought to have informed us before he went to Taranaki, but he went first and informed us after. Here are two kinds of food, some cooked, some uncooked, (i.e., we have two plans before us.) I

maintain that there is only one path open to us, let us walk in this; the other is closed up, it is decided we do not go to fight, but let us go to restore peace.

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Hamiora Ngaropi (Wesleyan Native Minister): A word about those children that were killed, what was their sin? I sympathise with the pakeha: five hundred men slain in the battle field would not make the pakehas feel so dark as five brutally murdered on the road like those at Taranaki. Do not call it "uru maranga," it was murder. If you can justify such acts then I say such conduct is the road back to your teeth. Your teeth lie just behind, (i.e., if you return to one native custom it is the road back to

cannibalism.) If you can justify murder by reference to Maori law, you can justify cannibalism on the same ground.

Tomo Whakapo: I am thinking of the argument between Tamati and Patene. One says he is the father, the other says no, he is the father. I agree with Tamati, he is the father of us all, of men and land. (i.e., he represents Potatau). This is our plan, we say to all who join this league, give us your land, and give us your person. Our first object is to make fast the land, our second to place our mana over it for ourselves. Men have heard in all parts of the island, and have brought their land and themselves too, and said here is our land and our blood, hold them fast. When they have come and stood in my presence with these words I have consented. I did not go to them, they have come to me. I did not call to them, they came unasked, and our flag has been carried far and wide, it has been planted first in one place then another; it has gone to Taranaki, and that land has been handed to us.

Hopa: Did Taylor come to you and bring his piece and hand it over to you. I do not know that he did so?

Hetaraka, of Whaingaroa; Tomo's statement is not true. Tomo, do you ask whom you have invited to join your league? I reply, you invited and pressed us to join it. You sent to us saying, here is a king for New Zealand. You sent your flags all over the Island, with invitations to the tribes to join you. You found one man quietly at his cultivations, another at his work not thinking of any such movement, and displaying your flag you said, come and join us; to this people give us your land, to that man hand over your piece to us. Why then do you challenge us and say whose land or body have we sought? Have you not gone through the country with your Hakis (flags)?

Te Matenga (Ngatimaniapoto): Let me have a covering for my head (i.e., Europeans to give me clothing.) Let us cease to twist about, when we know we are wrong, rather let us do right. My European friends who live on my land shall not leave I do not intend to part with them.

Moses, (of Pukaki): I have nothing to say. The discussion is finished. The motive that induced me to come here from the presence of the Governor was to advocate righteousness, truth, peace, and kindness. The first meeting of this kind that I attended Potatau delivered his sentiments in favor of Christianity, and exhorted us to build churches. After this we brought him to this place, and his second deliverance was like the first. His third was at Waiuku, there he proclaimed Christianity, love, and law, as the mottoes for all. We received it. And there he proclaimed, "Don't do this and don't do that, let no evil be done amongst us." Then I say, don't go to Taranaki to fight, nor to the pakehas. I heard of disputes at Kaipara about land, and I carried these principles to Tirarau and Paikea who were on the verge of a battle-field, and effected a reconciliation. You have long been engaged in such work; I mean in promoting peace and good will, let this continue, let us love our friends both Maori and pakeha.

Paora (of Orakei): I perceive that you are very eager to pick out the errors of the Governor, but I have not discovered his error. You say that you have not seen wrong on the part of Te Rangitake. I have seen his wrong doing. Letters have reached you that convict him of wrong. Yet you say you have not seen it. I repeat I have seen it, and I believe there is not a chief in Waikato that is not convinced that Te Rangitake is wrong. I have seen Wi Tako's letter addressed to you all, and that letter set my mind at rest on the subject. You have all seen that letter, and its statements should settle the question. Addressing himself par-

ticularly to W. Thompson he said, I have heard of your zeal in this work, and now I see it, what is it? You have nothing to say, the sharp edge of your sayings is this day broken off. I came expecting to hear the wisdom of Solomon, but I hear it not. The edge of your work is broken. Tamati has said he is father, that may apply to the land, but to nothing further. You speak of mana, what is the mana? Where is the mana? There is no such thing as putting mana on the land, and therefore he is wrong. I came to see the work you are doing, not to oppose you, but to see for myself. I thought it might be good, but it will not do for me. You have set up a king without authority, and this is the source of all our present troubles. (Signs of disapprobation.) Ah you would silence all who do not agree with your plans.

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William Barton (Wesleyan Native Minister); Karakarika, I approve of Tamati's proposals to cast all weapons of war into the sea. And I approve of Ruihana's proposal that the Taranaki affair be thoroughly sifted, that New Zealand again be light. But I disapprove of the proposals of many other chiefs who have addressed this meeting. Chiefs of the people be strong henceforth to lead us plebeians in the way of righteousness. I am not sure that you will. Moses has quoted the words of Potatau, lift them up, they are good, let evil be kept out of sight. Remember how apt we are to learn evil, how short a time it requires, one minute will teach much, but it requires a long time to learn a little good. Ruihana, there is another difficulty to be settled. I refer to Whaingaroa. A portion of it has been sold to the Governor; a part of the payment has been made and the money is all gone and now some refuse to complete the purchase. I say complete the purchase, give up the land, and end that difficulty.¹² Do not listen to those chiefs who would lead you astray. Listen to their words and you fall at once into the abyss. Follow them and the land is lost. Cease to speak evil of the pakeha. Tomo loosen our bonds. Kings men, seek peace, if Wetini persist and go to Taranaki, let us remain at Waikato. If we go to Taranaki who can tell what will follow? Who can say that good will come out of that?

Heta Ngatihaa (the young man who made the flags that were sent to Taranaki): Press your words Ruihana, send a deputation to Taranaki, let us know when that land was paid for. Before our mana reached it or after. If our mana was first then we do not let it go, but support Rangitake in his right. This shall decide his claim. The money second, the mana first, we hold it fast.

Taati (of Rangiaohia): If we go to Taranaki let it be by making arrangements with the Governor. If he is disposed for peace we shall have courage to go. Let all be settled. If there are lands for which deposits have been received from the Government let them be handed over. If we have land we wish to keep, the matter is in our own hands we can retain them.

Raihi: The words of Heta may be all right if Taylor approve, but if he has not consented that his land be given to Potatau what then?

John Fisher: I have been sifting the thoughts of our chiefs all this day, and I say let the matter be settled. Shall we not make a complete finish of it? Let it be ended in peace. If we settle it prudently we shall taste no bitterness.

Horomona: I agree with Waka, his thoughts and mine are one. We say let us build a house for the three, (i.e., for Pakeha, God and Maori.)

Kaperiera repeated what he had said at a former meeting. See page 38.

Ihaka of Pukaki enquired: Did W. King speak to you? Yes.

Ihaka: What did he say? He said he did not take away the mat, but called out that he would not part with his land.

Ihaka: When was the land bought? After the flag was upon it.

At this point Donald McLean, Esq., Chief Commissioner of Native Lands, interposed and said, 'those statements are incorrect,' and offered to state the facts of the case at their next meeting, if they

desired information on the subject. This offer was readily accepted, and the meeting closed, as the shades of evening were setting in.

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The Sabbath was devoted to Religious Services. It was pleasing to mark the outward decorum with which the Lord's day was observed. The services were held in the open air in different parts of the encampment. Bishop Selwyn, Revs. J. Morgan, J. Wallis, T. Buddle, A. Reid, and six Native Ministers taking part in ministering the word of life to the several congregations. The Rev. Mr. Garavel officiated with the Roman Catholic natives.

In the afternoon, by request, Bishop Selwyn conducted a service for the Europeans.

MONDAY, MAY 28TH.

The Morning was occupied in collecting and distributing a large quantity of flour. The following is a translation of the statistics of the feast, supplied by Hohana, Assistant Secretary in State Affairs at Ngaruawhia.

"In the year 1860, on the 24th of the days of May, the great assembly of the Waikato tribes has met at Ngaruawhia. The number of the males present were 1400. The number of women and children 1600, in all 3000. These are under the actual numbers, we could not count correctly where numbers are so great.

"Food distributed to the strangers as follows: –

Potatoes, 2000 baskets
Eels, 36,000
Pigs, 84
Bullocks, 3
Flour, 31 tons and 8 bags
Fresh Eels, 580
Bags of Sugar, 9
Baskets of small Fish dried, 16
Sharks, 20
Pumpkins and Vegetable Marrow, without number
Chest of Tea, 1."

A moderate price allowed for the marketable articles in the above list, would give over a thousand pounds sterling – yet the quantity was by no means large considering the number of individuals on the ground. The supplies were obtained in contributions from the various tribes, each presenting its portion according to numbers and ability, many giving away their very subsistence. The probability is, that hunger, and cold, and nakedness will have to be endured by many of the women and children throughout the remainder of the winter, in consequence of this feast having consumed the produce that would have both fed and clothed them. Native feasts are generally attended with great waste and followed by great want.

After the distribution of the food, the men re-assembled in Runanga for further deliberation, the meeting was opened by,

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Tekorehu stating that a message had been sent by Potatau to the effect that he is favourable to the plan of leasing land to Europeans, and wishful that the Europeans who are now squatting on native lands should remain on those lands.

Paora: I consider we finished our talking on Saturday, and have nothing now to discuss. We have only now to rear our flag. The finishing stroke is the flag staff, which you have dragged from the forest to the place it is to occupy. Tomo, I am for finishing what you have begun.

Ti Orii: Ruihana's proposal is not yet disposed of – viz., that we send a deputation to investigate the dispute between Taylor and Te Rangitake. One part of it is decided, viz., that some of us go to the Governor, but the other is yet open. I intend to attend the meeting that has been summoned by the Governor that I may learn his intentions. But the Maori side of the question lies open still, let that be settled.

Ruihana: True, one side is disposed of but the other is like this kete, (taking a native basket in his hand, holding it up and asking, what does this kete contain?) There is something inside, and a dog is biting away outside wanting to get at the food it contains. He does not know what it is whether it is eel, or fish, or pork, but he bites his way through and finds it is only a bit of fern root. We are just like this dog, here we are biting away outside the kete, I want to get inside, to see what it contains, whether fish, or eel, or dung. I want to know who is right and who is wrong, whether the wrong is Governor's or Te Rangitake's, and what all this agitation is about. Perhaps when the basket is open it contains nothing after all. But let us see, and if Governor be right, all is plain it is soon disposed of. But if Rangitake be right what then? Why the burden will fall upon the Queen, and upon our Ministers. I appeal to you Ministers, and Queen's men, and pakehas all, I say you go the Governor, and let Thompson go to Taranaki and see what this basket contains. We pray to God and say God be merciful to me a sinner, but we pray in vain while this state of things continues. Your words Mr. Buddle, and the words of all our Ministers are right, on this subject – and therefore I say let us have this disturbance brought to an end.

Te Heuheu: The designs of the pakeha will not be abandoned. Do you think that God is with the Ministers? Let Mr. Morgan go away and become a soldier. If he persevere we shall be scratching each other.¹³ Let the mails be sent by sea, there is room enough there and plenty of steam. The winds too are fair at sea, but on land we have frequent eddies. Our great work is to establish our king. This is my work. And that too is mine, the leasing of our land. This is for me and those who live in the interior of the country. We have no markets for our produce. You live by the water side and can convey your produce to town. But I cannot, I have no means of obtaining a shilling by my produce, not one penny comes near to me. I must therefore depend on my land and turn it to account by leasing. When I see a pigeon in the branches I fire and it falls. You have witnessed the wrath of the pakeha, I have not. You have more reason than I have to support this movement. If he wishes to put his mark on the land by roads, I say no, let him mark the land he has got. Let him send his mails and make roads in his own territory but not in ours. Let us have none of his authority or commands here. Don't let him call the Maori to bring him firewood, or to do his work. I do not say leave the flag staff on the ground, but I do say let the mails be sent back, I wished to return the mail from Rangiohia, but John Baptist prevented me. Do not permit the pakeha to trample us under his feet. Let him take his mana¹⁴ back to England. Let us not part with our mana, no, never.

Ruihana: I do not approve of the remarks of Te Heuheu, they are not straight, they look in another direction. Leave all that out of the discussion, answer my arguments. Let your replies be direct. Whatever is said on either side let it be correct.

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Tuhikihia: Your word is correct, I take up what you have said. I shall go to town and see Governor. About the roads and mails, let them go by sea. That is the better way, they will go right over this land. In reference to leasing land, I am in doubt, I shall break down that proposal. It will not do.

Ti Orii: Your proposal Ruihana is accepted. The roads referred to by Heuheu, and the money to be paid for clearing is also disposed of; the Bishop has settled that question. Now let love be shewn to both black and white in the conveyance of mails. The mails are an advantage to both. If roads are opened, let us open them, let not Government money be accepted as payment. I shall open roads through my own land. I am doing so, not by the Governor's request, but by my own desire. You Heuheu may take your own way I shall take mine; if I like to open roads, I shall do so. In the matter of leasing I am a wrong doer. I invited the pakeha to come and rent my land.¹⁵ But the Governor's mana is not there. There is no mana there but my own. I wish to support Love, and Law, and Christianity. This is my love to allow my land to be leased. But then it is entangled ground, and I shall have opposition in reference to it.

Katipa (of Waiuku): Your path is light Ti Orii. Do that which is right and we shall have light. I thought you had only one thing to dispose of, viz., the flag staff. "Te rua tena o Potaka" (the pit into which you are whirling). Keep to this, don't look towards Taranaki; though you may think you can find a cause. Be not deceived, an object at a

distance may look like a "pounamu" (greenstone) to the eye, but the heart may find it is not a pounamu. Te Heuheu, Hoani, Hori, all look here (breaking a stick in two and holding a piece in each hand to represent the Pakeha and the Maori), Which will you have? (then taking both in one hand, he said), I shall have both. My one hand shall hold the two. Therefore, I say, keep to the flagstaff alone, it is the "Rua o Potaka."

Tumuhuia: I am confused about those two sticks, one is rotten. That is evident to us now. Moreover no man can serve two masters. One is a hard master, and commands harshly, who will obey him? The other speaks kindly, and we prefer the man that is gentle and kind. On the question of roads, Te Heuheu is perfectly right. The sea is wide enough and open to all, and moreover shortens distance. There you can cut off the corners, but the land is covered with swamps and hills and more difficult to travel. In reference to leasing land I see great difficulties. The land may belong to two or more individuals, and when the rent day comes they will squabble over the shillings. The Pakeha and Maori may live together very peaceably in fine weather, but when foul weather sets in they may not love each other so well. It is easy enough to be kind to the pakeha on a fine day, (i.e., when he is pliable and easy,) but when the weather changes how then? we shall quarrel and difficulties will arise, therefore let us have no land leasing

Iraia: Come Katipa and join us. This is the Pa. Here is the sentinel that keeps watch. Come and see for yourself. On the subject of leasing land I am quite satisfied, I have tried it, we let out cattle runs, but it won't do. No more leasing for me after this. Not at all. Not at all. If you Porokoru persist in land leasing we shall soon have a war. If you persist others will follow your example. This is the path that leads to danger. Let it be abandoned. Leave every other question and send up your flag. I am returning home.

Ruihana: You have fled again. You have left the main question. You have gone to mails and roads and lands. I say give me two postmen, let one go on this side (to Auckland), another to that side (to Taranaki). Let their loins be girt with truth. Let McLean be one, and a Maori the other, and let them bring us the result of their enquiries. If both sides be light, thank you Sir, (i.e. I shall rejoice)

but if not what shall we do? Our trouble will be heavy. I want to see my way through this quarrel and to have peace restored, that I may be able to take off my cap and look up to heaven, and pray to God and say in sincerity, God be merciful to me.

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Te Wetini: I wish to reply to one question. If the Governor's money was laid down for the land at Waitara before it came under our law then he is right. But if it was paid for after the land was handed to us, I do not say what we shall do, that we keep in our pockets, I open not my mouth on that subject, but I can see the depth and height, the length and breadth of that. I lean on our flag; on the whip (a long streamer they hoist, which they call the whip). The wrong committed on the Queen's side, it is for Queen to adjust. The bond of union has been cut, and God and the Maories only now remain in the union. If the land was purchased after it became ours, then I shall shew my love to Rangitake. (Here he recited a native tangi, see p. 17, of Sir George Grey's collection).

"Tera ia te tai o Ngamotu"

FREE TRANSLATION.

By Ngamotu's shores there lives
A friend from whom I'm severed.
The clouds that fly above me
Sweep o'er the sea girt isle
Where thou in solitude art left,
To bid me not forget thee.
From distant tribes I brought thee
To a land stripped of its glory,
And no longer peopled by the brave.
From distant lands I sigh,
And mourn they people's fate.
Flow tides! fast flow! rise high
To sweep away the Tapu
From Muriwhenua,
And bear me on your waters
To the distant shore.
But though I come not
A bird from hence has reached thee,
Unbidden by me, it fled
To gather to the house of refuge
The tribe of Matariki.
Te Whareporutu defend thee.
And the tribes of Ti Awa
Conduct thee through the floods.
My love ends here,
I must lay it in the grave,
Oh! Ah! Oh!

– This is my reply to Tamati. Let me see the Governor's good and I shall be reconciled.

Thus Te Wetini expressed his sympathy for Rangitake, poured out his desires to take him help, and, when he felt the tide so strong against him, yielded to the opposition and gave up his project.

Kereopa (of Waingarua): I am not going to feed on talk like this. This talk is like what we heard on Saturday. I thought you were all advocates for peace. I was glad to hear one elder say, let us go and investigate the matter. I approve of Katipa's two sticks, but if McLean's case be not clear, that may separate the two.

Tumuhuia does not like two masters (signs of disapprobation). The speaker was interrupted when he said, let my remarks, which are fair, be met by words as fair.

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Te Wharepu: Let us keep to one subject and bring what has been said to one point.

Karaka Te Taniwha: Just so – unite your words. Let me have one about roads. Let the mails go through the land, but let them travel by our Maori roads. Let no new roads be opened. If we send away our pakehas who will work our mills?

Ruihana: Cease to confuse the subject. You can settle your leases and other trifles among yourselves; let us have the great subject set at rest.

Te Atua (Ngatipo): It cannot be made right by the money. The money was not paid before the land was under our mana. The money on that land is the mana that rests upon it

Kopara (Ngatihinatu): All subjects are disposed of but one. The question is, was the flag first or the money first? If the land was paid for, before the flag reached it, Governor is right – if not, then the matter cannot rest where it is. If the mana and flag went before we must contend for our land. Our flags have been sent in reply to the applications that come to us. Letters have reached us from many places, saying, give me a flag as protection for my land. And I have sent the flag of King Potatau; I have sent it to Taranaki, Wi Tako, Hapuka, the men of Heretaunga, Rangitake, and others, have come or sent, saying, Give me a flag. We have replied, Here it is. And now it is planted along the Island to Wairarapa. Don't say, I invited those tribes to come for it. No, they came of their own will to seek protection for their land against the white man's encroachment. Let us have patience till our friends who have gone to Taranaki shall return, then we shall know the merits of the case. When we know how matters stand we shall form a second expedition. They may be here to-morrow.

D. McLean, Esq., enquired, "When did that thing of which you speak reach Wairarapa? Wairarapa is mine, it has been sold to the Queen, and is in the hands of Europeans. The men that took the flag to Wairarapa are worthless characters, over head in debt. They have no further claim or right to dispose of that land. This is a trick of yours, in order to obtain adherents. You make false statements, and say that men have joined your movement, who have not done so. You have been unjustly censuring the Governor about Waitara. I promised to give you a history of the case, I will now do so; I am well acquainted with it; I know all about it from the beginning. When Europeans first went to Taranaki, they found the remnant of the tribes you had conquered. Te Rangitake was not there. He had left the land and never expected to return to it. The men you spared sold it to us, they said give us pakehas and we will give them land. You also (Waikato) sold it to us in all its boundaries; therefore I say that land has been fully ceded and given into our hands in open day light. You (Waikato) gave it to us openly, and how can you repudiate your own act? An act performed by your great chiefs Potatau and Kate. They asked for payment because their friends had fallen there; we gave it to them, and they ceded to Governor Hobson all their claim. After this Ngatimaniapoto and William Naylor released their slaves and sent them to re-occupy the land from whence they had dragged them. But Rangitake was at the South and never thought about returning to Waitara. It was Te Whero Whero who invited him back; Taonui, Hikaka added his word, and Rangitake returned. When the people had returned each man sold his own land, without reference to Rangitake. You wish to know how the matter stands between Rangitake and Taylor. I will tell you. When the former thought of returning to Waitara he sent to Taylor and said let us return to Waitara, you take one side, I will take the other. Waikato gives us permission to return. Rangitake wished to occupy the north bank to protect himself against Waikato, and was prohibited by Sir George Grey from settling on the south side; but he built a pa on the south bank by permission of Taylor's father, and soon after his return began to fight about the land. Men were killed in battle, some were murdered in cool blood. Then two families (hapus) said we will sell our land at Waitara, and

they offered it for sale, but the Land Commissioner was not in haste "about it," he let it stand. Then the Governor went to Waitara and land was offered. One got up and said I desire to sell my piece, another got up and said I wish to sell mine. I do not want to sell what is another's but my own. I (McLean) replied, we cannot purchase those small pieces. Then Taylor said to Wm. King, Listen, I am about to offer mine. Governor here is mine, but the Governor did not speak. Taylor said again, give me your word Governor, McLean will not you and the Governor consent to mine? Wm. King sat there all the time and heard. When Taylor had urged it once, twice, thrice, four times, the Governor said, if it be an undisputed claim I accept it. Then Taylor laid down his parawai (mat), but Wm. King did not take it away, he only called out and said, Waitara shall not go, and went away. But we did not take it at once. You say we were hasty, but we were not. Eight months passed over before the bargain was closed. We enquired of all the people, and could not find any rightful claimants but Taylor and his friends. We said if W. King has a piece in this block, we won't have it; we will leave it outside. Do not say then that the Governor made haste to buy it, he took time enough to investigate the claim. You have said that one man sold the land, but that is wrong, there were seventy persons consenting to the sale. After this I went South and visited the middle Island. I saw Ropoama Te Ore of Arapaoa. I said to him Waitara is offered for sale, he asked by whom? I enquired of him "Is it King's?" He said, "No, his land is on the other side of Waitara, that piece is mine, let me have the money for that." I replied, "No, I am not at present clear about the ownership. Let it be settled, give the payment to me he said again. I do not understand it yet, I said, but give me the names of the real owners. You have then unjustly accused the Governor. He has done no wrong, the land was offered to him, he would not consent at once, he took time to obtain information on the character of Taylor's claim, he had said he would buy no land the ownership of which was disputed, neither would he allow any man who wished to sell his own land be prevented by another. He has kept his word. Whose land has he taken? whose rights has he violated? But you have allowed yourselves to be deceived by false statements. You have charged the Governor with making haste to go to war, but had you waited to hear and understand the subject you would not have done so. The Governor has no wish for war, and would not take up arms but in a just cause, and then not till all other means had failed.

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To this address the meeting listened with great attention, but as the evening was advancing, Te Heuheu arose and interrupted Mr. McLean saying "ka po," (it is night). The probability is that he saw how the remarks were telling on Waikato, and Mr. McLean broke off, promising to finish the next day. Many of the Waikato Chiefs were heard to say, "Ka tika te korero o Makarini, ka nui te Marama." – The speech of Mr. McLean was quite straight, great was its light. Potatau also corroborated the statements he had made, and was displeased that Te Heuheu should have interrupted him. Several of the chiefs expressed their displeasure, and Ngatihaua offered to light large fires that he might have an opportunity to complete his statement that night, as they intended to leave early next morning. It was, however, arranged that he should finish next day.

On the 29th, the natives were all busy preparing to erect the Flag-staff, and Ruihana tried in vain to obtain a meeting to give Mr. McLean an opportunity of finishing his address. Mr. McLean waited till noon, but there were no signs of a gathering. He then told the natives he understood their motives in delaying to assemble, and having given them a reasonable time he should wait no longer. He struck his tent and departed.

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On leaving, Mr. McLean called, in company with the Superintendent, to say good bye to Potatau, who shook hands with them in the most friendly manner, saying, –

"Go, return home. My word to you is I mean no evil. I mean no wrong. It is not me, for the black skin to speak to you to the white skin. It is for you for the white skin to teach me. I am black, but though the skin is black outside, the inside my heart is white. Farewell! Go in peace to your home. Farewell!"

"Farewell, Potatau, replied Mr. McLean, your thoughts are good. It is well they should continue to be so. It is the people who are leading you astray. Farewell!"

On the 31st the Flag-staff was dragged to its place and planted, amidst further wild demonstrations of Maori exultation. The war dance was again exhibited, a new Flag hoisted, and a volley of musketry fired as a salute. Honana (Under Secretary) stood on the cross-trees and addressed the assembly. He said "The top of this Flag-staff signifies the King, the centre is for the Chiefs, these four ropes represent the tribes, east, west, north, and south. The name of this Flag-staff is Pane – (Potatau's ancestor).

Potatau briefly addressed the meeting, he said –

"It is good that the flag should be erected at the foot of Taupiri. My Fathers finish this work. The work of former days we have forsaken. Let us cleave to the good work we have begun. Should the flag be dishonoured by these people (the upper Waikato) you (lower Waikato) must uphold it. The principle is now established – support it. I do not say support me. Should the Pakehas come and kill me, never mind, let it be so, do not avenge my death."

After this address the tribes dispersed and the meeting ended.

The principal subjects discussed and settled at this meeting were four.

First – The Taranaki War. The war party, comprising a portion of the Ngatihaua, Ngatimaniapoto, and Waikato, manifested a good deal of pertinacity in maintaining their views, and no feeble resolution to take up arms in defence of W. King. It was obviously with them not a contest for the land but for the principles of their league. They felt themselves committed to W. King and in honour bound to help him. They were made to yield however by the influence of an overwhelming majority. The general voice was against them, The influence of the principal chiefs was thrown into the opposite

scale. The chiefs evidently felt that to take up arms in defence of W. King would be to declare war against the pakehas generally, and the Waikatos especially

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are not disposed to do that; they say peace, peace, until the pakehas declare war, so that though some may go to W. King's assistance, every man that does so will go on his own responsibility, and without the sanction of the King party, as did the Ngatimaniapoto, already gone to Taranaki.

Second – The Land Question. To prevent further alienation of Native lands is the great object of the league, and on this point the kingites carry with them the sympathies of the majority. There are doubtless many who would prefer the liberty to sell when they please, and some of them had courage enough to declare their sentiments, but the Maori feels a strong attachment to the land of his forefathers, he will weep when it passes away from him. Nor does he require much argument to induce him to enter a league which proposes to render such a calamity an impossibility. We need not wonder that there should be a large majority in favour of such a proposition.

Connected with the land subject is that of Leasing, against which there was a decided opinion expressed, which led to positive prohibition.

Third – The Subject of Roads. This is also a land question. The idea, that when a road is opened the land becomes the Queen's, and that roads lead to the alienation of the territory along the line, has taken fast hold of the Native mind, and also the belief that roads open the way for soldiers and big guns; therefore they decide that none shall be open through the King's territory.

Fourth – The Flag-staff. On this subject there was no public discussion. The lower Waikatos came to the meeting fully resolved to hoist the new flag. This was quite contrary to general expectation; a great change must have taken place in their views since the meeting of 1858. It is certain they are not prepared to carry out all that was intended by the first flag-staff erected by the ultra-kingites; perhaps they wished to get that out of the way and hoist a flag themselves which should represent more moderate views, and which they could support. Thompson and his tribe left before the new flag-staff was erected. It was said that he did not wish to be present, that he considered he had hoisted one flag, and it was not necessary to hoist another.

The erection of this new flag-staff is considered as the complete establishment of the Maori kingdom. So that contrary to many predictions and despite a good deal of "pooh pooh!" this movement has advanced till it has become a fact. Its progress has been slow and quiet, but sure. Its promoters have worked steadily at their object, regardless of toil or expense. They have been advised, cautioned, reasoned with, ridiculed, laughed at, and told again and again that the movement must fail, but they have kept their end in view and sought by every means at command to accomplish it. This is characteristic of the Maori, who, when he has set his mind on a thing, does not easily relinquish the hope of possessing it, though he meet with many discouragements; nor does he shrink from toil or trouble to obtain the object of his desire. In this instance the people have been true to their own character. The various tribes have given of their produce, their labour, and their money to support this movement. The contributions of several tribes were paid at the meeting – the Ngatihaua contributing above £130. Persuaded that a Printing Press would advance it they have contributed several hundred pounds for the support of a Printing establishment. A Press has been obtained for them.

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When told that they are not acquainted with the art of government, they acknowledge it, and coolly ask, "How long were your ancestors in acquiring it? Did they understand it all at once? We also shall gain wisdom by experience: no doubt we shall make mistakes, but then we can correct them as we go along."

The movement now numbers amongst its adherents the following tribes: – The tribes of the Manukau and Lower Waikato, except the Waiuku people; divisions of the tribes of the interior, at Waipa, Otawhao, Rangiaohia, Maungatautou, Taupo, and Mata-Mata; divisions of the tribes on the East Coast – at Tauranga, Ahuriri, Opotiki, and Heretaunga; divisions of the tribes on the West Coast – at Kawhia and Taranaki, along the Coast to Wanganui; – so that the leaders seem to be surprised at their own progress, and congratulate themselves with the most evident signs of pleasure on the success of their project. It is very probable that many of its adherents have joined it merely as a land league, without pledging themselves to all its objects, or acknowledging Potatau as a King. The tribes north of Auckland, the tribes on the Thames, and those at Waingaroa and Aotea, are not

only unconnected with it, but decidedly oppose it, and publicly express their determination to remain subjects of the British Crown.

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2 The Maori name of William King.

3 A native who met his death by a blow from a European.

4 A native woman murdered by Marsden, who was executed for the deed.

5 A legendary person.

6 A legendary person.

7 Dead since the meeting.

8 Dead since the meeting.

9 God of War.

10 Father of the Kumera.

11 Thomson evidently thinks that the Gospel opened the way for colonization and the sale of land. He could not mean that the Missionaries generally have been land purchasers, for many of them have never bought an acre of land from native proprietors.

12 He refers to a block of land offered for sale by Potatau some time ago for which he received a deposit from the Government. His right to sell is disputed by some of the owners, and the transaction remains unsettled.

13 Mr. M. having taken an active part in opening a road to Ahuriri through the Taupo District has incurred the displeasure of the King party.

14 The Queen's Sovereignty.

15 He has leased some cattle runs.

RESULTS.

RESULTS.

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The question naturally arises, What have been the results of this movement up to the present stage of its progress? The extreme King party would reply, "It has effected much good; it has extinguished animosities, united the tribes, put an end to the sale of land; and, in stopping land sales, it has done away with the great cause of all our uneasiness, and indeed of our wars; it has also substituted law for muru (a system of plundering offending parties). Look now on the peace and unity that exists among us – at the prospect we have of securing our land for our children, and you see the good results of our "Kingitanga" (Kingdom)."

The moderate party, mainly composed of the Lower Waikato, would reply to the question, as Ruihana did at the great meeting, when he held out his hand with the palm turned upwards, saying, "There is good to-day; but to-morrow it is reversed" (turning his hand. – See his speech p. 43). This he did several times to intimate that the good is mixed, and constantly alternates with evil. He allowed there is some good, but referred to the store plundering at Kawhia and Rangiaohia, and to the war party that had started for Taranaki, as proofs that evil is present also.

The party that opposes the movement altogether, look upon it as a great evil, and likely to be a source of trouble to the country. – (See the speeches of W. Naylor, p. 48, and of Paul, Orakei, p. 51). Katipa of Waiuku ironically bid them erect the flag-staff, saying, "It will be a grave for you." "Te rua tena o Potaka." "It is treachery (kohuru) towards my brother," said W. Naylor to Broughton.

Viewed from our stand point, the evils that are arising out of this movement are many and serious. It has diverted the attention of the Natives from useful and profitable pursuits. Instead of cultivating the land, they have been spending their time in attending runangas, in public meetings for purposes of agitation, and in endless talking almost day and night: so that agriculture has been neglected, mills have fallen into disuse for want of wheat to grind, or into dilapidation from neglect; women and children are starved and half naked, for want of proper food and clothing.

The movement has also called into public life many of the young men, who have long watched the declining power of the Chiefs with uneasiness, and only wanted an opportunity to bring them out in defence of their order, and in a determined effort to restore its power if possible. This class of Maori society has brought into the movement considerable intelligence and energy, and an acquaintance with European customs, derived from mixing a good deal with European society, that render it a very important element in carrying out the project. The young chiefs are generally selected for office, employed as secretaries, magistrates, and leaders in public runangas. They are also employed as agitators, and often make long tours for agitating purposes, carrying about the country with great pomp and show the flag of the Maori Kingdom. But it was easier to call out those restless spirits, than to control them when they had obtained a position of importance. Some of them have taken the liberty to commit serious outrages; they have gone into the Mission Schools and forcibly taken away half-caste girls; they have demanded tribute from European squatters and settlers, and used violence where it was refused; they have plundered European stores to obtain arms; and a party of them has gone to aid W. King at Taranaki. It is but just to say, that Potatau and his principal chiefs repudiate these acts, and condemn them in no measured terms; but then they have no power to prevent such outrages. The scheme furnishes such spirits with a plea and with opportunities for these aggressions on the rights of others: but where is its "mana," its authority, or its power, to restrain the violent, to protect the oppressed, to enforce law, to punish transgression? Potatau has declared such conduct to be treachery towards himself. "They intend to get me into trouble," he said; "to make me like Te Rauparaha (Rauparaha was arrested and kept as an hostage during the Wanganui war). They came and dragged me away from Mangere, and brought me here to be King, with three things to guide me, and now they have added a fourth and a fifth, and what next. Let me return whence I came. If I were young and strong as once, they should not do such things with impunity; but a bundle of bones just held together with a cord, what can I do? I am like Ouenuku (a Maori god). Ouenuku sat under a tree that shaded him from the sun and gave him fruit to eat. He was happy beneath the shade, and enjoyed the fruits, till Tama-te-Kapua envied him and destroyed his resting-place. Tama

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came not in open daylight, but came on stilts, ate the fruit, and destroyed the tree. Ouenuku was ignorant of what was going on, for the thief was on stilts, and nothing but wood was visible, till by and bye his food and shelter both were gone. I am Ouenuku!" Such were his remarks when a Missionary pointed out to him the troubles that had arisen out of the present movement, and told him that such things were done in his name, and that the responsibility fell upon himself.

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The movement could not fail to disturb, and in fact was calculated to destroy, the amicable feelings that previously existed between the races. If not destroyed, those feelings are at least sadly diminished. Confidence is shaken. Maories receive the statements of the pakeha with apparent distrust; the pakeha looks with equal jealousy on those of the Maori. Mutual suspicions are excited. Natives are watching the movements of the white man, and wondering what is intended by all the military drill and practice that is going on; while the white man is watching the movements of the Maori, apprehensive of a coming struggle. Though the great body of the Waikatos are loud in their professions of friendship towards the Europeans, and boldly assert their determination still to cultivate that friendship, – nor is there any reason to doubt their sincerity – yet, it cannot be denied that a great amount of disaffection towards the Government, and of ill feeling towards Europeans generally, exists among the King party. The ultra men let out this feeling occasionally during the demonstrations at the late meetings (see the speech of Paetai, p. 32). He was replying to Tomo, who had opposed the proposition to take arms against the Government, by quoting the scripture, "How many times shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him?" to which Paetai replied, "How many? I will count them, – Rangiahaeata, Hone Heke, Wanganui, Tauranga, Auckland, Te Rangitake. How many? If these wrongs had been committed against us by Maories, we should have sought satisfaction long ago."

The same feeling was displayed in some of the canoes as they approached Ngaruawahia, the man directing the paddlers and beating time for them would improvise for his canoe song, "Naku te aha? Naku te aha? Na Kawana i kori kori mai ki au." – What have I done? What have I done? It is Governor that has arisen against me. Another in directing the movements of "te tungarahu" the war-dance, shouted, "Kua kopa aku huha i te noho roa, na Kawana i korikori

mai, Tena tukua kia ngawari." – My thighs had grown stiff with sitting still so long, now that Governor has given us cause to move, let us exercise them. – These things indicated an undercurrent of ill-feeling in the native mind, as did expressions such as these, "the pakeha wants our land," "he wants to make us all slaves," &c. The causes of this revulsion of feeling it may not be necessary to investigate at present, but it is much to be regretted. It must for a time materially affect the interests of the Natives, the comfort of their white neighbours who are most wishful to befriend them, and the general prosperity of the Colony.

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The effects of this political excitement upon the moral and social advancement of the native race, are such as to awaken the most serious apprehensions in the minds of their best friends. It must be obvious to those who have frequent intercourse with them, that the New Testament is not the constant companion it used to be, that meetings for mutual religious improvement are neglected for the runanga and politics. It must be acknowledged, however, that Waikato can present the most flourishing Native Schools that exist in the country, and has contributed the largest share of pupils to the central schools. There are not only large and interesting schools at Kohanga, Taupiri, Otawahao, and Waipa, under the superintendence of the resident Missionaries, but also numerous primary schools

conducted by Native teachers at the Native villages. Perhaps there is more educating agency at work in the Waikato district at the present time, than has existed at any former period. It is hoped these agencies will not only be continued but multiplied. Their fruits will be reaped in due time. Meanwhile the thoughts and energies of the present generation are being diverted from "the things that belong to their peace." Those large gatherings for political purposes are demoralizing in their tendency. The excitement, the discussions, the war-dance, the haka (song), the indiscriminate camping – all tend to demoralization. The principles of the land league have greatly interfered, in some places, with the religious and educational institutions that were growing up amongst them. It has entirely broken up the Wesleyan Mission among the Ngatiruanui. In 1843 a Wesleyan Missionary was located at Waimate, whose labours were to be devoted to the Ngatiruanui tribe. He settled there as a squatter, without having first obtained land for a Mission Station, on what the Natives call the "noho noa iho" system. After eight years the

locality was found unsuitable, and it became necessary to remove the station. The Society had found by experience that the noho noa iho system neither contributed to the comfort nor usefulness of the Missionary, and resolved that no new station should be formed, unless the Natives would either give or sell a suitable site for the purpose. This they refused to do, and the Mission was suspended for a time. In 1854 another effort was made, and the Society offered to expend a sum of money in erecting buildings for a Training Institution for their youth, on condition they would either give or sell land for the purpose. Tamati Hone of Katatauru offered land to the amount of 70 or 80 acres, but when a person was sent to survey it, he was not permitted to do so. Tamati recalled his promise, and said that neither for Church, School, or any other purpose, would they give up to Europeans any portion of their land. The society then had no alternative but to leave the locality, and seek a field of labour elsewhere. At Kawhia, land that had been reserved for school purposes, and conveyed to the Queen, to be granted to the Wesleyan Mission Society in trust for education, has been resumed, and at Otawhao, Church Mission Station, attempts are being made to take back 700 acres that were given for similar purposes. These are some of the results of the land league and King Movement.

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Thus, though "Christianity" is the principal motto, yet the advancement of the Natives in true godliness is likely to be very materially retarded by the present state of things. They are in danger of assuming to be teachers when they should only be disciples, in fact, in danger of a species of fanaticism in interpreting the Word of God to make it support their own vagaries. Those who have taken up arms and are engaged in actual warfare are not likely to return to their homes (if spared) at all improved in religious and moral feeling. The Northern tribes who were engaged in Heki's war have never recovered from the demoralizing effects of those campaigns.

Christian men will find in these remarks, suggestions bearing on Christian duty. Are we not reminded of the influence of prayer? God who rules the hearts of all men, can send a power from heaven that will over-rule these events, and direct those now misguided people into the way of truth. Let the Christian Church not be wanting in her duty in this respect. Prayer has averted many a threatened danger. Prayer has converted many a curse into a blessing, and from seeming evil educed a certain good. Let prayer arise from every Christian's

closet, and every domestic altar, and every Christian assembly, and God will hear, for "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

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PROBABLE FUTURE.

PROBABLE FUTURE.

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What will be the future of this movement becomes a very natural enquiry. "It must be put down by force of arms," say some. This is easily said by those who feel themselves secure, within reach of garrison protection. But we have more confidence in the sagacity of those who administer the affairs of the country, than to suppose them capable of attempting any thing so palpably foolish. It is hoped that our rulers form a truer estimate of the probable consequences of such a step, than those who talk at random in this fashion. It is more easily said than done. Any attempt to suppress it by force of arms would undoubtedly create a flame that would run from one end of the land to the other, a flame that would not be extinguished, by double or treble the force at present in the country. The Natives appear to have counted the cost; they are not without suspicion that such an attempt may follow the proceedings of the late meeting. They had, in fact, been told that their flag-staff would be cut down, and much of what transpired in the war-dance was intended to be defiant. One of the old chiefs privately expressed his deep concern that the party should thus force on a collision. While it may be considered that they are sincere in disclaiming any intention to attack the Europeans, yet there are those who would not be sorry were the Europeans to attack them; and it would soon be found that the slightest act of aggression proceeding from the side of the pakeha, would instantly bring the tribes to make common cause, and issue in a war of the races.

Ruihana's reply to Potatau at the erection of the flag-staff intimated thus much. When Potatau requested his friends not to avenge his death if anything befell him from the pakehas, Ruihana said, "If any one should be killed away from here (referring to Taranaki) we have nothing to do with it, but if any one were killed here it would be otherwise."

It will be obvious to all who read the report of the late meeting, that the King movement contains within itself the elements of its own dissolution. Though it may exist for a while,

and cause trouble and anxiety to our rulers, yet the probability is, that the "Pa" which Tomo wished to have finished, and which is now considered complete, will, like the Pas that typified it, tumble into ruins in the course of time.

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Where bodies of men become associated for a common purpose, success depends upon their unity. There must be oneness of purpose and unity of action, at least the wishes of the majority must bind the minority, or they can accomplish nothing. But in the King party, there is little unity, either in purpose or in action. Not one subject was discussed on which there was perfect unanimity. It may be said that such is generally the case in all deliberative bodies, but then among civilized men, the vote of a majority binds the minority – but who or what shall bind the minority of a Maori runanga? A house divided against itself cannot stand. Then there is no executive, no mana. The question of a war expedition to Taranaki was discussed long and earnestly. The runanga decided that there should be no expedition for such a purpose. Potatau confirmed that decision, and absolutely commanded the war-party not to go, or, if they went, to leave their guns at home; but a large party did go to Taranaki notwithstanding, and are there now. European stores are plundered in order to obtain arms for the expedition, and the Maori king is involved in the consequences: yet he has no power to punish the rebels against his authority. True, he denounces them as "slaves and fern-diggers," but they care not for that. Now, if every man can do what is right in his own eyes – and no power exists to restrain the unruly or to punish the transgressor – the end will soon come.

The effects of the store plundering at Kawhia, and of the war expedition that went from that place, are felt there already. The prompt and decided measures adopted by His Excellency in removing the Custom-house and the settlers from that place, have had a very beneficial influence. The chiefs and the people that did not join the expedition had a meeting lately, at which they publicly expressed the disgust they feel at the conduct of the king party, and determined to have a better understanding when the war party shall have returned from Taranaki. They were discussing the condition in which they are now left. One said "The Governor wants to keep everything for himself alone. He wants us all, and all we have – all the fire-arms and all the books, all the settlers and all the ministers – all earthly and all heavenly things. He must have all, all, all, and we must have nothing. Why does he not command

the sun to shine on him alone, and give light only to him? Why does he not command the clouds to rain upon him alone?"

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Another said "Why does McLean still charge us with plunder? If we wished to plunder, we should not allow pakehas to keep any property, and certainly not to remove any. But we wanted fire-arms, which were brought to Kawhia for sale, and went to the store with money in our hands to pay for them."

Another said "Don't talk about plunder and fighting, but go to the root – the kingitanga (the kingdom)." Here there was a general outburst of condemnation against the promoters of the king movement. "Our hearts," they said, "were all turned from these things, – we had all become pakehas, – we were all the Queen's subjects."

Takarei of Kawhia, (who made rather a violent speech at the first meeting at Ngaruawahia) began to enumerate the evils that had befallen them, and charged them all upon the founders of the Maori kingdom.

"Taihoa," said another, "Let Makuare and his party return from Taranaki, – then we shall have a meeting and see what can be done."

This meeting exhibits a reaction, and shews that there is no unity and no mana, and that the main body of the people, though they may be carried away by the excitement of a large runanga, and may appear to sympathise with the leaders, yet, when action is taken and unpleasant results follow, are ready to turn round upon those who have led them where they never intended to go.¹⁶

It does not lie within the province of the writer of these remarks to point out the course that should be adopted by His Excellency the Governor in controlling this native movement. It may not however be improper to state two or three points that demand special attention. First – The status of the chiefs should be secured by giving them a position in connection with the Government, in the administration of justice and all other matters affecting the interests of their respective tribes. Second – Native interests should be represented in the councils of the country, either by some of the chiefs or by Europeans in whom they have confidence. Third – The system of purchasing land should be revised. If

some division of tribal property could be made so that each family could possess as bona fide personal property their own portion with power to alienate some, while other portions were made inalienable, the case might be met.

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All anxiety to obtain land should be especially avoided. The idea that the pakehas want all the land, and intend to have it, has got firm hold of the native mind, and the earnestness that is sometimes evinced to purchase, or to lease, fosters and confirms the belief, while at the same time it creates exaggerated notions of the value

of land and makes the native owners exorbitant in their demands. The probability is, if the Government were to enact a law that no land should be purchased for the next five or seven years, that before twelve months were passed away many tribes would want to sell.

A number of chiefs has been summoned to meet His Excellency on 2nd July next, when, no doubt, the matters that are now engaging the native mind, and that affect their present relations to the British Crown, will be fully discussed. It is to be regretted that the meeting is not to be more general. It is of importance to ascertain fairly and frankly the general feeling entertained by the respective tribes towards the Government: and this could only be done by a general meeting.

If a large majority of the native tribes are intending to repudiate the Treaty of Waitangi, and to disregard its provisions, the sooner this is clearly understood the better.

It is very probable that, could a general meeting of influential chiefs be convened, it would be found that while a few might be disposed to demand concessions that would be subversive of the Queen's sovereignty, a great majority would ask nothing that would be inconsistent with the supremacy of the British Crown. If they want law, it could be given them; if they wish to keep their lands, the Treaty of Waitangi allows them to do so, and they might be told that they could keep them till they wish to sell. If they won't have mails, very well: "you derive as much advantage as we do, you shall have no mails." If they want to be represented in the councils of the country, why should they not be? If they wish to take some part in the administration of law and justice, it would be to our advantage to grant it.

It is hoped that the meeting shortly to be held, though it may only be composed of the loyal chiefs, with a few of the more moderate men from the king party, will prepare the way for

future arrangements, and bring these principal chiefs into such immediate relation to the Government as will tend to satisfy them that the king movement is totally unnecessary, and eventually make evident to the ultra king-party themselves, that the really beneficial objects which they have in view, may be attained by a process more easy and less dangerous than that to which they have had resort.

The appeal to reason, rather than to arms, is obviously the most economical, as well as the most merciful mode of dealing with the subject, – a mode more worthy a great nation like Christian England, than to commence a war of extermination against a people in every respect so unequal to the contest. What honour would England reap by sweeping away the native tribes of this country? She could do it in the course of time, no doubt: but such a deed would bring her no glory, – rather would it dishonour the pages of her history to the end of time, and is in every point of view to be deprecated.

16 Since the above was written, Rewi's return from the South has been reported. Finding he could not prevent Ngatimaniapoto from engaging in the Taranaki War, he returned. From Kawhia he has sent twenty men to bring back the War party, stating that should they not return, Waikato will join the Pakehas, and leave Ngatimaniapoto and Taranaki to their fate.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

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SINCE the foregoing pages were sent to press, intelligence has reached us of the sudden death of Potatau. This event will cause important changes. Whether the advocates of the scheme will proceed at once to elect a successor to Potatau, or whether they will allow the matter to drop, is difficult to say. It is possible that the death of the new-made monarch immediately after the late complete and full recognition of his sovereignty by the Waikato tribes, may be regarded as an aitua (an evil omen). It is quite in character with Maori superstition to look on such coincidences in this light. Nor have such superstitions entirely died out. Many of the old men will probably regard the event as being intended to admonish them of a wrong step taken, and as ominous of future evil if persisted in. Should the zeal of the leaders still bear them forward in their determination to carry out their scheme, the future will greatly depend on the person on whom their choice may fall. Should it fall on any one of the war party, the difficulties of our position will necessarily be increased.

The influence of the King movement upon all the best interests of the country, and of its people, indicates the imperative necessity of adopting the most prompt and energetic measures to arrest its progress at this point. For should it be permitted to take root and grow, it must most seriously affect all interests – religious, social, political, and commercial. It will imperil the very existence of the native race, disturb the peace of the country, and ruin the prospects of a Colony, that was promising to become a home for thousands of the surplus population of other lands, and presenting an attractive field for the profitable employment of both capital and labour. It will also destroy the hopes that have been so long, and so fondly cherished of amalgamating the races, and of placing on the future page of history at least one proof, that the Christian Missionary is not necessarily the pioneer of the heathen's destruction; and that the colonization of a barbarous country is possible without the extermination of its aboriginal race.

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It becomes then more than ever the duty of those entrusted with native interests no longer to hesitate, but to enter promptly into negotiations with the King party with a view to prevent them taking any further action. It is not improbable that many of the party may be disposed to look on the death of Potatau as presenting a good opportunity for an honorable withdrawal from the movement, and be found ready to fall in at once with such measures as might be proposed for their acceptance. No time, therefore, should be lost in securing a conference between his Excellency the Governor and the leading men of the party – at which it might easily be shewn to them that all that is really good in the movement, and all that is essential to their happiness, and freedom as a people, could be better secured under the Queen's Government than under any system that they could devise. A frank and candid discussion of their supposed grievances and a disposition to meet their views, so far as they can be met consistently with the supremacy of British rule, might bring the whole affair to an end, and place the country in a much better position as regards the "native question" than it has ever hitherto obtained.

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